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JOURNAL

of the

Malayan Branch

of the

Royal Asiatic Society

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Vol. XXII
1949

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SINGAPORE
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1949

CONTENTS

Volume 22 (1949).

Part 1, published March, 1949.

	Page.
Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya (4 & 5) by Dato Sir Roland Braddell, *S.P.M.J.*, *M.A.*	1
Takuapa and its Tamil Inscription, by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri	25
Dusan Customary Law, by Ivor H. N. Evans	31
Raffles and Palembang, by C. E. Wurtzburg, *M.C.* ..	38
A Panji Tale from Kelantan, by Sir Richard Winstedt, *K.B.E.*, *C.M.G.*, *D.Litt.* (*Oxon.*), *F.B.A.*	53
The Siamese Wars with Malacca during the reign of Muzaffar Shah, by G. E. Marrison	61
The Early History of Christmas Island (Indian Ocean), by C. A. Gibson-Hill, *M.A.*, *F.Z.S.*	67
Malay Festivals, and some aspects of Malay Religious life, by Zainal-'Abidin bin Ahmad	94
Geological and Geographical Evidence of changes in sea-level during Ancient Malayan history and late Pre-History, by J. B. Scrivenor, with an appendix by F. H. Fitch, *A.R.C.S.*, *B.Sc.*, *Assoc. Inst. M.M.* ..	107
Singing Pre-History, by Tom Harrisson	123
The Arabs and the Eastern Trade, by J. A. E. Morley, *M.B.E.*	143
Short Notes	
The Ligor Inscription, by Sir Richard Winstedt ..	176
The Malay Annals Again, by Sir Richard Winstedt	178
The Malay Boat-shaped *Puan*, by W. W. Skeat ..	180
Semeh (*Menyemeh*), by W. W. Skeat	181
The Private Letter Books of John Palmer, by C. E. Wurtzburg	182
The Earliest Word-lists & Dictionaries of the Malay Language, by Dr. W. Linehan, *C.M.G.*, *D.Litt.*, *M.A.*, ...	183
The Straits Settlements Records by Tan Soo Chye ..	187
Reviews	
The Chinese in Malaya (Purcell), reviewed by W. L. Blythe	188
The Life of Francis Light (Clodd), reviewed by C. E. Wurtzburg	192
Corrigenda, Vol. 21 (1948)	194

Part 2, published May, 1949.

Page.

Sungei Ujong, by J. M. Gullick, M. A. (*Cantab*) .. 1

Part 3, published June, 1949.

A Short History of Trengganu, by M. C. ff. Sheppard, *M.B.E., E.D.* 1

The Weaving Industry in Trengganu, by A. H. Hill, *M.A., B.Sc.* 75

Wayang Kulit stories from Trengganu, by A. H. Hill, *M.A., B.Sc.* 85

Cargo Boats of the east coast of Malaya, by C. A. Gibson-Hill, *M.A.* 106

Part 4, published September, 1949.

A Note on Sambas and Borneo, by Dato Sir Roland Braddell, *S.P.M.J., M.A., F.R.G.S.*, with a note by Tom Harrisson, *D.S.O., Curator Sarawak Museum & Government Ethnologist* 1

A Note on the Sambas Finds, by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri 16

The Sambas Finds in Relation to the Problems of Indo-Malaysian Art Development, by Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales 23

The Incense Burner from the Sambas Treasures, by Tan Yeok Seong, *South Seas Society* 19

Gold and Indian influences in west Borneo, by Tom Harrisson, *Curator Sarawak Museum & Government Ethnologist* 33

Index of Authors' Name.

Blythe, W. L. Review of "The Chinese in Malaya" (Purcell), pt. 1, p. 188.

Braddell, Dato Sir Roland, *S.P.M.J., M.A.* Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya (4 & 5). pt. 1, p. 1.

A Note on Sambas and Borneo, pt. 4, p. 1.

Evans, Ivor H. N. Dusan Customary Law. pt. 1, p. 31.

Fitch, F. H. *A.R.C.S., B.Sc., Assoc. Inst. M.M.* Evidence for Recent Emergence of the Land in East Pahang. Appendix to Scrivenor, J.B. pt. 1. p. 115.

Gibson-Hill, C. A. *M.A., F.Z.S.* The Early History of Christmas Island (Indian Ocean). pt. 1, p. 67.

Cargo Boats of the east coast of Malaya. pt. 3, p. 106.

Gullick, J. M. *M.A. (Cantab).* Sungei Ujong. pt. 2.

Harrisson, Tom. Singing Pre-History. pt. 1, p. 123.
Gold and Indian influences in west Borneo. pt. 4, p. 33.

Hill, A. H. *M.A., B.Sc.* The Weaving Industry in Trengganu. pt. 3, p. 75.
Wayang Kulit stories from Trengganu. pt. 3, p. 85.

Linehan, Dr. W., *C.M.G., D.Litt., M.A.* The Earliest Word-lists & Dictionaries of the Malay Language. pt. 1, p. 183.

Marrison, G. E. The Siamese Wars with Malacca during the reign of Muzaffar Shah. pt. 1, p. 61.

Morley, J. A. E. *M.B.E.* The Arabs and the Eastern Trade. pt. 1, p. 143.

Sastri, Prof. Nilakanta. Takuapa and its Tamil Inscription. pt. 1, p. 25.
A Note on the Sambas Finds. pt. 4, p. 16.

Scrivenor, J. B. Geological and Geographical Evidence of changes in sea-level during Ancient Malayan history and late Pre-History. pt. 1, p. 107.

Sheppard, M. C. ff. *M.B.E., E.D.* A Short History of Trengganu. pt. 3, p. 1.

Skeat, W. W. The Malay Boat-shaped *Puan*. pt. 1, p. 180.
Semeh (*Menyemeh*). pt. 1, p. 181.

Tan Soo Chye. The Straits Settlements Records (A note on the index to the). pt. 1, p. 187.

Tan Yeok Seong. The Incense Burner from the Sambas Treasures. pt. 4, p. 19.

Wales, Dr. H. G. Quaritch. The Sambas Finds in Relation to the Problems of Indo-Malaysian Art Development. pt. 4, p. 23.

Winstedt, Sir Richard *K.B.E., C.M.G., D.Litt. (Oxon)., F.B.A.*
A Panji Tale from Kelantan. pt. 1, p. 53.
The Ligor Inscription. pt. 1, p. 176.
The Malay Annals Again. pt. 1, p. 178.

Wurtzburg, C. E. M.C. Raffles and Palembang. pt. 1, p. 38.
The Private Letter Books of John Palmer. pt. 1, p. 182.
Review of "The Life of Francis Light" (Clodd). pt. 1, p. 192.

Zainal-'Abidin bin Ahmad. Malay Festivals, and some aspects of Malay Religious life. pt. 1, p. 94.

Corrigenda, Vol. 22, 1949.

Part 1, March 1949.

Blythe, W.L. Book Review, "The Chinese in Malaya", by Dr. Purcell.

p. 189. Twenty-seventh line from the top of the page. For "dawned," read "dawned),".

p. 190. Eighteenth line from the top of the page. For "Pulcell" read "Purcell".
Forty-first line. For "on" read "in".

p. 191. Seventh line from the top of the page. For "herstlf" read "herself".

Twelfth line. For "Chinese speaking" read "Chinese-speaking".

Nineteenth line should read, "anti-British in character, though definitely anti-imperialist". In view of the".

Twenty-fourth line, insert "would" between "Malaya" and "be" to read "Malaya would be".

Vol. XXII Part I.

JOURNAL

of the

Malayan Branch

of the

Royal Asiatic Society

(Covering the territories of the Federation of Malaya, the Colonies of Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo, and the State of Brunei)

March 1949

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1949

CONTENTS

Volume 22, Part 1, published March, 1949

Editorial & Notice to Contributors vi

Annual Report & Statement of Accounts for 1948 vii

Rules of the Society xi

List of Members for 1948 xiv

Notes of Ancient Times in Malaya (4 & 5) *by* Dato Sir Roland Braddell, *S.P.M.J., M.A.* 1

Takuapa and its Tamil Inscription, *by* Prof. Nilakanta Sastri 25

Dusun Customary Law, *by* Ivor H. N. Evans 31

Raffles and Palembang, *by* C. E. Wurtzburg, *M.C.* 38

A Panji Tale from Kelantan, *by* Sir Richard Winstedt, *K.B.E., C.M.G., D.Litt. (Oxon.), F.B.A.* 53

The Siamese Wars with Malacca during the reign of Muzaffar Shah, *by* G. E. Marrison 61

The Early History of Christmas Island (Indian Ocean), *by* C. A. Gibson-Hill, *M.A., F.Z.S.* 67

Malay Festivals, and some aspects of Malay Religious life, *by* Zainal-'Abidin bin Ahmad 94

Geological and Geographical Evidence of changes in sea-level during Ancient Malayan history and late Pre-History, *by* J. B. Scrivenor, *with an appendix by* F. H. Fitch, *A.R.C.S., B.Sc., Assoc. Inst. M.M.* .. 107

Singing Pre-History, *by* Tom Harrisson 123

The Arabs and the Eastern Trade, *by* J. A. E. Morley, *M.B.E.* 143

Short Notes

The Ligor Inscription, *by* Sir Richard Winstedt .. 176

The Malay Annals Again, *by* Sir Richard Winstedt. .. 178

The Malay Boat-shaped *Puan, by* W. W. Skeat 180

Semeh (*Menyemeh*), *by* W. W. Skeat 181

The Private Letter Books of John Palmer, *by* C. E. Wurtzburg 182

The Earliest Word-lists & Dictionaries of the Malay Language, *by* Dr. W. Linehan, *C.M.G., D.Litt., M.A.* .. 183

The Straits Settlements Records 187

Reviews

The Chinese in Malaya (Purcell), *reviewed by* W. L. Blythe 188

The Life of Francis Light (Clodd), *reviewed by* C. E. Wurtzburg 192

Corrigenda, Vol. 21 (1948) 194

The
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

Patron:
His Excellency the Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald, P.C., Commissioner-General for the United Kingdom in South-East Asia.

Council for 1949

Dato Sir Roland Braddell, *S.P.M.J., M.A.*, ..	*President*
The Hon'ble Dato Nik Ahmad Kamil, *D.K., S.P.M.K.* ..	*Vice-Presidents*
Mr. Anker Rentse	
Mr. J. N. McHugh	
Mr. Brian Harrison, *M.A.*	
The Hon'ble Mr. H. G. Keith, *B.Sc.*	
Mr. M. C. ff. Sheppard, *M.B.E., M.C.S.* ..	
Mr. G. L. Peet	*Councillors*
Mr. R. E. Holttum, *M.A.*	
Mr. Hsu Yun-ts'iao	
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice E. N. Taylor ..	
Mr. B. A. Mallal	
Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie, *M.A.* ..	*Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer*
Mr. C. A. Gibson-Hill, *M.A.*	*Asst Hon. Secretary*

[Mr. C. A. Gibson-Hill acting in place of Mr. Tweedie during January & February.]

Hon. Editor: Mr. C. A. Gibson-Hill, *M.A.*

Editorial

This issue, which forms the first part of Volume 22 (1949), is devoted to miscellaneous papers by 14 different authors. Part 2, a paper on Sungei Ujong by Mr. J. M. Gullick, M.A., has already been printed, and is being distributed to members with this issue. We hope to produce two further Journals later in the year. One (Vol. 22, Pt. 3) will be devoted to papers relating to Trengganu: it will contain a history of the State by Mr. M. C. ff. Sheppard, M.B.E., and separate papers by Dr. C. A. Gibson-Hill and Mr. A .H. Hill. The other (Vol. 22, pt 4) will be devoted to papers on the find of gold images at Sambas, in Borneo: the contributors will include Dato Sir Roland Braddell, Prof. Nilakantra Sastri, Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales and Mr. Tom Harrisson (Government Ethnologist, Sarawak).

The Annual General Meeting was held in the Raffles Museum on Friday, 4 March. The Officers and Council for 1949 were elected, and a vote of thanks was accorded to the Council for its work in 1948. The meeting unanimously elected Prof. Nilakantra Sastri an Honorary Member of the Society, in recognition of his service to scholarship in southern Asia.

Members are reminded that annual subscriptions became due at the beginning of January, and that the amount for this and succeeding years is $10, not $6 as in previous years. Subscriptions should be sent to the Honorary Treasurer of the Society, c/o the Raffles Museum, Singapore. Members are also reminded that the price of additional copies and back numbers published since the recent war has been raised by the Council to $3.50 per copy, with effect from the beginning of this year. Pre-war numbers remain at their previous price of $2 each, except for Sir Richard Winstedt's *A History of Malaya* (Vol. 13, pt 1, March 1935), which is $3.50 unbound, and $5 in cloth covers. Approximate numbers of the stock in hand of all back issues is given in appendices to the recent Index to the papers in Volumes 1-20 (Vol. 21, pt. 3). It is hoped that the members will purchase copies of such Journals as are of interest to them.

Notice to Contributors

In the interests of economy contributors are asked to keep their papers as brief as possible, to avoid the use of foot-notes and to correct and return their proofs with the minimum delay. Contributions should be type-written, on one side of the paper, double-spaced and with good margins. Line drawings should be in Indian ink, on white paper of Bristol board, and large enough and bold enough to allow of reduction.

Contributors are supplied with twenty-five reprints of their papers, free, shortly after the publication of the Journal (Rule 20). Additional copies can be provided on payment, if these are asked for when the paper is submitted, or when the galley proofs are returned to the Honorary Editor.

ANNUAL REPORT

of the

Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society

for 1948.

Membership. The number of members at the end of 1948 was 499 compared with 407 for 1947, and 258 at the end of 1946; this is nearly back to the pre-war figure of 508 at the end of 1941. Several former members have rejoined during the course of the year.

The roll for the end of 1948 consisted of 11 Honorary Members, 3 Corresponding Members, and 485 Ordinary Members, of whom 129 are Life Members. Two Honorary Members, the Revd. Father R. Cardon and H.H. The Sultan of Perak, K.C.M.G., M.B.E., died during the course of the year, and Sir Richard Winstedt, K.B.E., C.M.G., resigned. The Revd. Father Cardon, who was a distinguished authority on the history of Malacca during the Portuguese period, had contributed a number of papers to the Society's Journal. He was elected an Honorary Member, together with Dr. W. Linehan, C.M.G., D. Litt., at the Annual General Meeting in February, two months before his death.

The following 92 members were admitted to the Society in 1948:—

Abdul Rahim Ibrahim
Abdullah bin Mohamed
Adams, Revd R. K. S.
Allen, Mrs B. E. G.
Angus, S.
Association of British Malaya
Australian Commissioner for Malaya
Aziz bin Abdul Hamid, Ungku.
Blaauw, Dr K. H.
Boles, J. D.
Brooks, R. J.
Chong, Peter
Chung, S.
Clunies-Ross, F. S.
Combe, R. G. P. N.
Commonwealth Relations Office
Croger, J. M.
Davis, J. L. H.
Eyre, R.
Findlay, D. A.
Gabb, B. L.
Gibbs, H. D.
Goodwin, J. W.
Hamdan Tahir
Hayward, M. J., *M.C.S.*
Hesse, V.
Holley, W. S.
Howe, C. E., *M.C.S.*
Ibrahim, T. Y. Ma, Haji.
Ingleton, Miss D.
Isahak bin Abdul Hamid.
Jamaluddin bin Kulop Udi.
Jobling, Mrs. J.
Jones, L. W.
Kiddle, J. O., *M.C.S.*
Lane, F. L.
Lewis, Miss M. B.
Lim Chong Eu, Dr.
Loch, J. H., *M.C.S.*
Longfield, J. E., *O.B.E.*
McCann, J. M., *M.C.S.*
MacDonald, H. E. The Right Hon'ble Malcolm, *P.C.*
McLean, Roy., *M.C.S.*
Malay Mail Press Co., Ltd.
Malayan Airways Ltd.
Melliar-Smith, P. L.
Mendel, I. B.
Metcalfe, P. R., *M.C.S.*
Mohamed Hashim bin Mat Piah.
Mohamed Ali bin Mohamed.
Mohamed Kassim bin Bador.
Mohamed Sheriff, *C.B.E.*, Haji.
Mole, R. F.
Morrah, P.
Morris, H. S.
Morris, R. H.
Murray, H. L.
Negri Sembilan, British Adviser.
Neill, T. D. H., *M.C.S.*

Norman, Mrs Cessen.
Nuttal, F. A.
Peach, P. L.
Pekelharing, R. C.
Phillipps, A. E.
Purchase, C. E.
Rawson, Dr. C. P.
Samuels, A. B.
Searle, G.
Sehested, K.
Sim, Mrs Katherine.
Sinclair, J.
Simmons, Major C. W.
Staniforth, Major N.
Starkey, C. Q.
Steincke, M.
Stewart, Mrs M. I.
Sykes, J. P.
Tan, S. H.
Taylor, Mrs E. M.
Taylor, T. K.
Thompson, D. F.
Tuanku Mohamed School, Kuala Pilah.
Wagner, E. A. S.
Wan, A. Hamid.
Wan Chik bin Ismail.
Weinbergen, W. M.
Whale, K. L. V.
Willis, I. R. M.
Woodroffe-Hill, M. J.
Wu Lien Teh.
Yapp Man Siu.

Annual General Meeting. The Annual General Meeting was held at the Raffles Museum on Friday, 27 February. The retiring president, Dr. Linehan, was in the chair. There were sixteen other members present. It was agreed that in future the title-page of the Society's Journals should carry a short summary, in brackets, of the areas covered by the Society. The Meeting approved the recommendation of the Council that a member of the Society be formally appointed to edit the Society's publications, and that this position be held by Dr. C. A. Gibson-Hill. It also approved the recommendation that the annual subscription for ordinary members be increased to $10, and the sum due for life membersship to $150 for newly elected members, and $75, or $150 less the amount already paid in subscriptions, whichever is the greater, for ordinary members. The revised subscriptions were subsequently confirmed at a General Meeting held in June, and accordingly became effective on January 1st this year.

Journals. Three Journals were published during the year, dated April, September and October; the title-page and list of contents for the volume were distributed with the third part. The first Journal was of a miscellaneous character, and contained 9 papers by different authors, including Sir Richard Winstedt, Dr. Linehan and the late Revd. Father Cardon. The second Journal was devoted to two papers, both by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice E. N. Taylor, on aspects of Customary Inheritance in Negri Sembilan and Mohammedan Divorce in Penang and Singapore. The third Journal consisted of an index to the papers in Volumes 1-20 (1922-1947) of the Society's publications, prepared by the Honorary Editor.

Finance. Subscriptions and Life Membership fees received during the year amounted to $3,457.86, but these included $769 in subscriptions for 1947, and $391.86 towards subscriptions for 1949-1953. Contributions from the Governments of the Federation of Malaya and the Colonies of Singapore and Sarawak amounted to $3,850. The total income for the year, including the sale of back numbers of the Journal, was $9,711.86. In February 1948 it

had been estimated that it would only be in the neighbourhood of $7,665. The difference was in part due to a welcome increase in membership, yielding about $1,000 more than had been expected, and in part to the sale of back numbers of the Journal, following the publication of the index to the papers in Volumes 1-20. At the beginning of the year it had seemed that some $6,400 would be available for printing, if the Society's credit balance was not to be reduced below the level left at the end of 1947. In actual fact the total printing costs for the year were kept down to $5,825. In consequence there was a saving of $2,235.24 on 1948, as opposed to a loss of $2,056.79 in 1947. A forecast of the expected income for 1949, as given below, suggests that approximately $7,500 will be available for printing. The Society has a number of interesting papers on its files awaiting publication. As it now has a reserve of $2,834.16, as opposed to $2,655.77 at the beginning of 1947, it is proposed that about $8,000 should be spent on printing this year, leaving the Society a reserve at its close of some $2,250. A programme has been drawn up along these lines, and is being put into operation. This will yield a miscellaneous Journal of about 190 pages, a monographic Journal of about 70 pages, and two short Journals devoted to papers dealing with particular subjects. A brief summary of these are given in the editorial to this issue.

The figure of $7,500 given above is arrived at as follows,

Expected Income		
Subscriptions & Life Membership	$3,500	
Sale of Journals	1,100	
Contributions, Federation of Malaya	3,000	
Singapore	700	
Sarawak	150	
North Borneo	100	
Brunei	80	
Interest on Investments	370	
		$9,000
Expected Expenditure (excluding publishing)		
Salary for the Society's Clerk	900	
Postage, Sundries, Bank Commission, etc. ..	600	
		$1,500
Balance likely to be available for printing		$7,500

C. A. GIBSON-HILL,
Ag. Hon. Secretary.

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MALAYAN BRANCH, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Receipts and Payments for the year 1948.

RECEIPTS.

Balance at Mercantile Bank at 31st December 1947	$ 572.72	
Petty Cash December 1947	26.26	$ 598.98
Subscription:—		
For 1947	769.00	
For 1948	1,662.00	
For 1949	317.86	
For 1950	42.00	
For 1951	22.00	
For 1952	6.00	
For 1953	4.00	2,822.86
Life Membership:—		635.00
Sales:—		2,037.00
Government Contributions:—		
Federation of Malaya	3,000.00	
Colony of Singapore	700.00	
Colony of Sarawak	150.00	3,850.00
Interest from Investments:—		367.00
		$10,310.84

PAYMENTS.

Publications:—		
Printing Vol. 21 pt. 1	$2,997.00	
Blocks Vol. 21 pt. 1	172.89	
Separates Vol. 21 pt. 1	248.00	$3,417.89
Printing Vol. 21 pt. 2	1,625.50	
Separates Vol. 21 pt. 2	35.75	1,659.25
Printing Vol. 21 pt. 3		703.50
Title Pages for Vol. 21		45.00
Miscellaneous:—		
Clerk's Salary	900.00	
Postage	427.48	
Posting Certificates	8.31	
Stationery	115.55	
Sundries	171.40	
Income Tax	10.45	
Cheque Book	1.00	
Refund to Mrs Cessen-Norman	4.00	
Bank Commission	12.85	1,651.04
Balance at Mercantile Bank at 31st December 1948	2,798.93	
Petty Cash in hand at 31st December 1948	35.23	2,834.16
		$10,310.84

C. A. GIBSON-HILL
Ag. Hon. Treasurer
Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society.

RULES

of

The Malayan Branch

of the

Royal Asiatic Society

I. Name and Objects.

1. The name of the Society shall be the 'Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.'

2. The objects of the Society shall be:—

(*a*) The increase and diffusion of knowledge concerning Malaya and the neighbouring countries.

(*b*) the publication of a Journal and of works and maps.

(*c*) the acquisition of books, maps, and manuscripts.

II. Membership.

3. Members shall be of three kinds—Ordinary, Corresponding and Honorary.

4. Candidates for ordinary membership shall be proposed and seconded by members and elected by a majority of the Council.

5. Ordinary members shall pay an annual subscription of $10 *payable in advance on the first of January in each year.*

No members shall receive a copy of the Journal or other publications of the Society until the subscription for the current year has been paid.

Newly elected members shall be allowed to compound for life-membership for $150; other members may compound by paying $75, or $150 less the amount already paid by them as ordinary members in annual subscriptions, whichever of these two sums is the greater. Societies and Institutions are eligible for ordinary membership.[1]

6. On or about the 30th of June in each year the Honorary Treasurer shall prepare and submit to the Council a list of those members whose subscriptions for the current year remain unpaid. Such members shall be deemed to be suspended from membership until their subscriptions have been paid, and in default of payment within two years shall be deemed to have resigned their membership.[2]

7. Distinguished persons, and persons who have rendered notable service to the Society may on the recommendation of the Council be elected Honarary Members by a majority at a General meeting. Corresponding Members may, on the recommendation of two members of the Council, be elected by a majority of the Council, in recognition of services rendered to any scientific institution in Malaya. They shall pay no subscription; they shall enjoy the privileges of members (except a vote at meetings and eligibility for office) and free receipt of the Society's publications.

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1 Subscriptions amended to present figures in 1948.

2 Bye-Law, 1922. "Under Rule 6 Members who have failed to pay their subscription by the 30th June are suspended from membership until their subscriptions are paid. The issue of Journals published during that period of suspension cannot be guaranteed to members who have been so suspended.

III. Officers.

8. The officers of the Society shall be:—

A President.

Vice-Presidents not exceeding six, ordinarily two from the Colony of Singapore, and four from the Federation of Malaya and the territories covered in Borneo,[1] although this allocation shall in no way be binding on the electors.

An Honorary Treasurer. An Honorary Secretary.

Five Councillors. An Assistant Honorary Secretary.

These officers shall be elected for one year at the Annual General Meeting, and shall hold office until their successors are appointed.

9. Vacancies in the above offices occurring during any year shall be filled by a vote of the majority of the remaining officers.

IV. Council.

10. The Council of the Society shall be composed of the officers for the current year, and its duties and powers shall be:—

(*a*) to administer the affairs, property and trusts of the Society.

(*b*) to elect Ordinary and Corresponding Members and to recommend candidates for election as Honorary Members of the Society.

(*c*) to obtain and select material for publication in the Journal and to supervise the printing and distribution of the Journal.

(*d*) to authorise the publication of works and maps at the expense of the Society otherwise than in the Journal.

(*e*) to select and purchase books, maps and manuscripts for the Library.

(*f*) to accept or decline donations on behalf of the Society.

(*g*) to present to the Annual General Meeting at the expiration of their term of office a report of the proceedings and condition of the Society.

(*h*) to make and enforce by-laws and regulations for the proper conduct of the affairs of the Society. Every such by-law or regulation shall be published in the Journal.

11. The Council shall meet for the transaction of business once a quarter and oftener if necessary. Three officers shall from a quorum of the council.

V. General Meetings.

12. One week's notice of all meetings shall be given and of the subjects to be discussed or dealt with.

13. At all meetings the Chairman shall in the case of an equality of votes be entitled to a casting vote in addition to his own.

14. The Annual General Meeting shall be held in February in each year. Eleven members shall form a quorum.

15. (i) At the Annual General Meeting the Council shall present a report for the preceding year and the Treasurer shall render an account of the financial condition of the Society. Copies of such report and account shall be circulated to members with the notice calling the meeting.

(ii) Officers for the current year shall also be chosen.

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1 Replacing the previous allocation of "two each from (i) the Straits Settlements, (ii) the Federated Malay States and (iii) the Unfederated or Other Protected States" in conformity with present political terms.

16. The Council may summon a General Meeting at any time, and shall so summon one upon receipt by the Secretary of a written requisition signed by five ordinary members desiring to submit any specified resolution to such meeting. Seven members shall form a quorum at any such meeting.

17. Visitors may be admitted to any meeting at the discretion of the Chairman but shall not be allowed to address the meeting except by invitation of Chairman.

VI. Publications.

18. The Journal shall be published at least twice in each year, and oftener if material is available. It shall contain material approved by the Council. In the first number of each volume shall be published the Report of the Council, the account of the financial position of the Society, a list of members and the Rules.

19. Every member shall be entitled to one copy of the Journal, which shall be sent free by post. Copies may be presented by the Council to other Societies or to distinguished individuals and the remaining copies shall be sold at such prices as the Council shall from time to time direct.

20. Twenty-five copies of each paper published in the Journal shall be placed at the disposal of the author.

VI. Amendments of Rules.

21. Amendments to these Rules must be proposed in writing to the Council, who shall submit them to a General Meeting duly summoned to consider them. If passed at such General Meeting they shall come into force upon confirmation at a subsequent General Meeting or at an Annual General Meeting.

List of Members for 1948

As far as possible this list has been corrected up to 31 December, 1948. A space has been left where the present address of a member is not known. The Honorary Editor would be grateful for any information leading to the completion of this list, or the elimination of errors.

The names of life members are marked with an asterisk, and the date of their election.

Patron

His Excellency the Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald, *P.C.*, Commissioner-General for the United Kingdom in South East Asia.

Honorary Members

Year of Election.	
1890 *1918	Blagden, Dr C. O., 40 Wychwood Avenue, Whitchurch Lane, Edgware, Middlesex, U.K.
1935	Bosch, Dr F. D. K. Burggravenlaan 11, Leiden, Holland.
1935	Coedès, Prof. Dr George, 59 Avenue Foch, Paris 16e, France.
1930 *1934	Crosby, Sir Josiah, *K.B.E., C.I.I.*, Shanghani Banking Corporation, 9 Gracechurch Street, London E.C.3, U.K.
1922	Johore, H.H. The Sultan of, *D.K., G.C.M.G., K.B.E.*, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
1900 *1932	Kloss, C. Boden, Royal Societies Club, 63 St James's Street, London S.W.1, U.K. (Council, 1904-08, 1923, 1927-28; Vice-Pres., 1920-21, 1927; Hon. Sec., 1923-26; Pres., 1930).
1925	Linehan, The Hon'ble Dr W., *C.M.G., M.A., D.Litt.*, Director of Museums F.M., Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M. (Vice-Pres., 1933-35; Council, 1941-42; Pres., 1946-47).
1903 *1927	Maxwell, Sir W. G., *K.B.E., C.M.G.*, Chindles, High Salvington, Worthing, Sussex, U.K. (Council, 1905, 1915; Vice-Pres., 1911-12, 1916, 1918, 1920; Pres., 1919, 1922-23, 1925-26).
1890 *1912	Ridley, H. N., *C.M.G., F.R.S.*, 7 Cumberland Road, Kew Gardens, Surrey, U.K. (Council, 1890-94, 1896-1911; Hon. Sec., 1890-93, 1896-1911).
1916	Sarawak, H.H. The Rajah of, *G.C.M.G.*
1921	Van Ronkel, Dr P. H., Zoeterwoudsche Singel 41, Leiden, Holland.

Corresponding Members

1935	Hamilton, A. W., Union Bank, Perth, West Australia.
1920	Laidlaw, Dr F. F., *M.A.*, Eastfield, Uffculme, Devon U.K.
1920	Merrill, Dr E. D., Gray Herbarium, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.

Ordinary Members

Year of Election.	
1940	Abbas bin Haji Ali, Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.
*1921	Abdul Aziz, The Hon'ble Engku Y.M., *D.K.*, *C.M.G.*, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M. (Vice-Pres., 1933-34, 1935, 1941-42, 1946-47).
1947	Abdul Aziz bin Zakaria, Raffles College Hostel, Singapore.
1926	Abdul Malek bin Mohamed Yusuf, The Hon'ble Mentri Besar, *M.C.S.*, State Secretariat, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
1945	Abdul Rahim Ibrahim, 235 Geylang Serai, Singapore.
1941	Abdul Rahman bin Abdul Aziz, *M.B.E.*, *J.P.*, C-3183 Semabok Road, Malacca, F.M.
1933 *1947	Abdul Rahman bin Mat, Magistrate's Court, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
*1926	Abdul Rahman bin Yassin, The Hon'ble Dato, 3 Jalan Chat, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
1947	Abdul Wahab bin Abdul Aziz, The Hon'ble Haji, Dato Panglima Bukit Gantang, Mentri Besar, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
1947	Abdul Wahab Rashid, 17 Bussorah Street, Singapore.
1947	Abdullah bin Ibrahim, *M.C.S.*, State Secretariat, Kuala Lipis. Pahang, F.M.
1948	Abdullah bin Mohamed, State Secretariat, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
1936	Abdullah bin Mohamed Ali, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
1946	Abu Bakar bin Pawanchee, St John's College, Cambridge, U.K.
1948	Adams, Revd Cannon R. K. S. St Andrew's School, Woodsville, Singapore.
*1909	Adams, Sir Theodore, *C.M.G.*, United Universities Club, Suffolk Street, London, U.K.
*1919	Adelborg, F., 40 Artillengatan, Stockholm, Sweden.
1935	Ahmad bin Haji Tahir, Asst Commissioner Police, Batu Pahat, Johore, F.M.
1947	Ahmad bin Mohamed Ibrahim, Sandy Pillay & Ibrahim, Room No. 4, Laidlaw Building, Singapore.
1926	Ahmad bin Osman, *M.C.S.*, State Secretary, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
1939	Akers, R. L., Irrigation Dept, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
1948	Allen, Mrs B. E. G., Joseph Travers, P. O. Box 615, Singapore.
1947	Allen, E. F., Dept of Agriculture, Teluk Anson, Perak, F.M.
1947	Allen, J. A. G., Selbourne Estate, Padang Tungku, Pahang, F.M.
1938	Anderson School, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
1934	Archer, R. L., *Ph.D.*, Methodist Mission, Singapore.
1946	Achey, Dr G., Auckland Institute and Museum, P.O. Box 27, New Market, Auckland, New Zealand.
1926	Ariff, Dr K. M., 12 Beach Street, Penang, F.M.
1948	Association of British Malaya, Malaya House, 57 Trafalgar Square, London W.C.2, U.K.
1948	Australian Commissioner for Malaya, Union Building, P.O. Box 99, Singapore.
*1908	Ayre, C. F. C., Lloyds Bank Ltd, 6 Pall Mall, London S.W.1, U.K. (Hon. Treas., 1910-11).

1948 Aziz bin Abdul Hamid, Engku, 548 Jalan Dato Mentri, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.

1938 Azman bin Haji Abdul Hamid, Magistrate's Court, Batu Pahat, Johore, F.M.

*1926 Bagnall, Sir John, *K.B.E.*

*1919 Bailey, A. E., "Keecha", Park Road, Leamington Spa, Warwickshire, U.K.

*1926 Bailey, John, *C.M.G.*, 197 Latymer Court, London W.6, U.K.

1926 Bain, V. L., Forest Office, Ipoh, Perak.

1947 Bainbridge, R. C., Mansfield Co., Ltd, Ocean Building, Singapore.

*1912 Baker, Capt., A. C., *M.C.*, Glenthorne, Wye, Kent, U.K. (Council, 1928; Vice-Pres., 1931).

1935 Banks, T. W. T., Kuala Pergau Estate, Ulu Kelantan, Kelantan, F.M.

1947 Banks, E., Fisheries Adviser, Kuching, Sarawak.

*1899 Banks, J. E., Ambridge, Penn., U.S.A.

1932 Barrett, E. C. G., *M.C.S.*, Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1927 Burton, Y. E., Shell Co. of S.S. Ltd, Shell House, Collyer Quay, Singapore.

1947 Baughman, Revd Burr H., Methodist Mission, 5 Fort Canning Road, Singapore.

1925 Bee, R. J., *A.C.G.I.*, *M.I.C.E.*, *F.G.S.*, *F.R.G.S.*, Public Works Department, P.O. Box 1041, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.

1947 Bennett, Wing Commander J. A., Officers' Mess, R.A.F. Post Office, Seletar, Singapore.

*1910 Berkeley, Capt., H., *I.S.O.*, Clink Gate, Droitwich, Worcestershire, U.K.

1941 Berwick, E. J. H., Department of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1912 Bicknell, J. W., Bykenhulle, Hopewell Junction, Duchess County, New York, U.S.A.

*1947 Biles, H. F., Welfare Dept, Kuantan, Pahang, F.M.

1931 Birse, The Hon'ble Mr A. L., *M.C.S.*, The Residency, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1947 Blaauw, Dr K. H., Tawau, North Borneo.

*1923 Black, The Hon'ble Mr J. G., *M.C.S.*, British Adviser, Perak, F.M.

1921 *1947 Blasdell, Revd R. A., 5 Mount Sophia, Singapore.

1925 Blythe, The Hon'ble Mr W. L., *M.C.S.*, President, Municipal Commissioners, Singapore.

1948 Boles, J. D., Colonial Secretariat, Jesselton, North Borneo.

*1926 Boswell, A. B. S., Forest Dept, Taiping, Perak, F.M.

*1919 Bourne, F. G., "Little Dawbourne", St Michaels, Tenterden, Kent, U.K.

1921 Boyd, R., *C.M.G.*, *M.C.S.*

1919 Boyd, W. R., Aram, Hollywood, Co. Down, U.K.

1946 Boyd-Walker, J. W., *F.S.I.*, *M.C.S.*

1913 *1937 Braddell, Dato Sir Roland, *S.P.M.J.*, *M.A.*, Braddell Bros., P.O. Box 1001, Singapore. (Council, 1936-37; Vice-Pres., 1938-42, 1946-1947; President, 1948).

1936 Braine, Dr G. I. H., Chief Medical Officer, Kota Bahru, Kelantan, F.M.

1947 British Adviser Negri Sembilan, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.

1948 Brooks, R. J., District Office, Papar, North Borneo.

1947 Broome, R. N., *M.C.*, *M.C.S.*

*1913 Bryan, J. M., Borneo Co., Ltd, 28 Fenchurch Street, London, U.K.

1932 Bryson, The Hon'ble Mr H. P., *M.C.*, *M.C.S.*, Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

*1926 Burton, W., 1 Court Lane Gardens, Dulwich, U.K.

1947 Burton, W., Government English School, Batu Pahat, Johore, F.M.

1947 Butterfield, B. C., Abaco (Selangor) Rubber Ltd, Abaco Estate, Semenyih, Selangor, F.M.

*1921 Butterfield, H. M., "Kedah Peak", Excelsior Road, Parkston, Dorset, U.K.

*1913 Caldecott, Sir A., *K.C.M.G.*, *C.B.E.*, Pier Point, Itchenor, Crichester, Sussex, U.K. (Vice-Pres., 1931-32, 1934-35).

1925 *1937 Carey, H. R., Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.

*1921 Cavendish, A., 3 Cecil Court, Hollywood Road, London S.W.10, U.K.

1946 Chan Peng Yin, Box 533, Singapore.

*1924 Cheeseman, H. R., *C.M.G.*, 6 Cannon Road, Ramsgate, Kent, U.K.

1936 Chew Lian Seng, Wah Lam Co., Ltd, 3rd Floor, China Building, Chulia Street, Singapore.

1948 Chong, Peter, 7 & 9 Robinson Road, Singapore.

1913 Choo Kia Peng, *C.B.E.*, Ampang Road, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1941 Chu Chit Chin, National Yunnan University, Kunmin, Yunnan, China.

1948 Chung, S., Civil Hospital, Tawau, North Borneo.

*1926 Clarke, G. C., Asiatic Petroleum Co., Ltd, St Helen's Court, Great St Helen's, London E.C., U.K.

*1911 Clayton, T. W.

1948 Clunies-Ross, F. S., Dept of Broadcasting, Jurong Transmitting Station, Jurong Road, Singapore.

1947 Coates, P. A., *M.C.S.*, Financial Secretary's Office, Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

*1920 Collenette, C. L., 107 Church Road, Richmond, Surrey, U.K. (Council, 1922).

1947 Collings, H. D., *B.A.*, Raffles Museum, Singapore.

1947 Colton, A. G., *M.C.S.*, Chartered Bank, Singapore.

1948 Combe, The Hon'ble Mr R. G. P. N., Sandakan, North Borneo.

1948 Commonwealth Relations Office Library, Division B, King Charles Street, Whitehall, London, S.W.1, U.K.

1926 *1941 Coope, A. E., *M.C.S.*, 219 Percy Road, Whitton, Twickenham, Middlesex, U.K.

1936 Cooper, E. C., Lloyds Bank Ltd, Aldwych Branch, 346 Strand, London, W.C.2, U.K.

1929 Corner, E. J. H., Executive Secretary, International Hylaea Institute of the Amazons, P.O. Box 292, Manaus, Brazil. (Council, 1934, 1935-1941).

1947 Corry, The Hon'ble Mr W. C. S., *M.C.S.*, British Adviser, Pahang, F.M.

*1923 Cowgill, J. V., 21 Brunswick Drive, Harrogate, Yorkshire, U.K.

1947 Cowan, C. D., *M.A.*, Raffles College, Singapore.

1948 Croger, J. M., Cable & Wireless Ltd, Hongkong.

*1921	Cullen, W. G., Bartoleme Mitre 559, Buenos Aires, Argentine.
1947	Currid, Dr P. G., State Medical & Health Officer, Raub, Pahang, F.M.
1923	Curtis, R. J. F., *M.C.S.*
*1910	Daly, M. D., Cleve Hill, Cork, Eire.
1948	Davis, J. L. H., *C.B.E.*, *D.S.O.*, *M.C.S.*, Labour Office, Bentong, Pahang, F.M.
*1927	Dawson, The Hon'ble Mr C. W., *C.M.G.*, *M.C.S.*, Chief Secretary, Sarawak.
1923	Day, The Hon'ble Mr E. V. G., *M.C.S.*, British Adviser, Kedah, F.M.
1926 *1936	Del Tufo, M. V., *M.C.S.*
1922	Denny, A., Sungei Pelek Estate, Sepang, Selangor, F.M.
1940	De Silva, G. W., Advocate & Solicitor, Kota Bhrau, Kelantan, F.M.
1930	De Vos, A. E. E., 323 Tulai Road, Taiping, Perak, F.M.
*1921	Dickson, Revd F. L., "The Chantry", Tuxford, Near Newark, Nottinghamshire, U.K.
1947	Dodsworth, Mrs M., 5 Fort Canning Road, Singapore.
*1926	Dolman, H. C., Forest Office, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.
*1923	Doscas, A. E. C., Department of Agriculture, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
1936	Douglas, Dato F. W., Kampong Jawa, Selangor, F.M.
1947	Drake, A. J., Presgrave & Mathews, Penang, F.M.
*1915	Dussek, O. T., Malaya House, Trafalgar Square, London S.W.1, U.K. (Vice-Pres., 1935).
1931	Earl, L. R. F., *M.C.S.*, Commissioner-General's Office, Singapore.
1946	Easaw, Dr T. C., Health Office, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
*1922	Ebden, W. S., *M.C.S.*, Malaya House, Trafalgar Square, London S.W.1, England.
1947	Eber, J. F. St. J., Eber & Koek, 4a Raffles Place, Singapore.
1922	Eckhardt, H. C., Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.
1922 *1947	Edgar, A. T., *M.B.E.*, Anglo-Oriental Building, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
1927	Education Department, Alor Star, Kedah, F.M.
1947	Education (Malaya), Asst Director of, Dept of Education, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
*1947	Edye, I. M., *M.C.S.*, The Residency, Kuala Trengganu, Trengganu, F.M.
1947	Eklund, Revd Abel, 1 Wesley Road, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
1947	Elbury, E. T. F., Public Work Dept, Singapore.
1921 *1939	Elder, Dr E. A., British Dispensary, 33 Raffles Place, Singapore.
1946	Eldridge, C. H., Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
1947	Engleman, K., Malayan Wire Mesh & Fencing Co., Ltd, Mercantile Bank Building, Singapore.
1932	English School Union, Muar, Johore, F.M.
*1923	Eu Tong Sen, *O.B.E.*, Sophia Road, Singapore.
1921 *1940	Evans, I. H. N., District Office, Kota Belud, via Jesselton, North Borneo. (Vice-Pres., 1926-1930).
1947	Evans, P. R. J., Harrison & Crosfield (Malaya) Ltd, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1947		Eyre, R., Palmer & Turner, P.O. Box 771, Singapore.
1919		Fairmaid, G. H., Pahang Consolidated Co., Ltd, Sungei Lembing, Pahang, F.M.
1947		Falquier, G. A., Consulate of Switzerland, Union Building, Singapore.
1909		Farrer, R. J., *C.M.G.*, St John's Island, Singapore. (Council, 1925-27).
1946		Federation of Malaya, Secretariat Library, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
*1911		Ferguson-Davie, Revd C. J., Fort Hare University, Allice, Cape Province, South Africa. (Council, 1912-13).
1937		Ferguson, D. S., Drainage & Irrigation Dept, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
1946	*1948	Fiennes, David, Mansfield & Co., Ltd, Singapore.
1948		Findlay, D. A., Administrative Officer, Sandakan, North Borneo.
*1919		Finnie, W., 73 Forest Road, Aberdeen, U.K.
1947		Firth, Prof. Raymond, London School of Economic & Political Science, Houghton Street, Aldwych, London W.C.1, U.K.
1947		Fitch, F. H., Geological Survey, Kuantan, Pahang, F.M.
*1897		Flower, Major S. S., Old House, Park Road, Tring, Hertfordshire, U.K.
1928		Foenander, E. C., Forest Dept, Bentong, Pahang, F.M.
1923		Forest Botanist, Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, U.P., India.
1926		Forestry, Director of, Kepong, Selangor, F.M.
1946		Forsyth, C. R., *M.C.S.*, District Officer, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.
*1918		Foxworthy, Dr F. W., 762 Arlington Avenue, Berkeley, California, U.S.A. (Council, 1923, 1926-27).
1935		Francois, Very Revd Father J. P., Church of St Michael, Ipoh, Perak, F. M.
*1908		Freeman, D., 96 Priory Road, West Hampstead, London N.W.6, U.K.
1947		Gabb, B. L., 54 Leighton Road, Old Trafford, Manchester, 16, U.K.
1947		Gabb, F., 28 Malcolm Road, Singapore.
1912		Gallaher, W. J., 72 Courtfield Gardens, London S.W.5, U.K.
1931		Gardiner, E. A., State Engineer, Public Works Department, Ipoh, Perak, F. M.
1920		Geale, Dr W. J., Grove House, Clare, Sudbury, Suffolk, U.K.
*1926		George, J. R.
1947		Ghani, Hashim, 6th Police Court, Singapore.
1948		Gibbs, Howard D., Director Pittsburgh Numismatic Museum, Room 402, California Buiding, Pittsburgh, P.A., U.S.A.
1940	*1947	Gibson-Hill, C. A., *M.A.*, *F.Z.S.*, Raffles Museum, Singapore. (Ag. Hon. Sec. & Treas., June 1947 to April 1948; Hon. Editor 1948).
1923		Gilmour, The Hon'ble Mr A., *M.C.S.*, Secretary for Economy Affairs, Fullerton Building, Singapore.
1947		Girdler, A. H., *O.B.E.*, *M.C.S.*, Kluang, Johore, F.M.
*1922		Glass, Dr G. S., Glyn Mills & Co., Whitehall, London S.W.1, U.K.
1947		Godesen, A. E. W., East Asiatic Co., Ltd, P.O. Box 145, Penang, F.M.
1948		Goodwin, J. W., Singapore Free Press, Cecil Street, Singapore.
1920	*1940	Gordon-Hall, The Hon'ble Mr W. A., *M.C.S.*, The Residency, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
1931		Gregory, C. P., Kerilla Estate, Kelantan, F.M.

1946 Grehan, D. W., *M.A.*, *B.A.I.*, (*Dublin*), *A.M.I.C.E.*, E. Engr, P.W.D., Segamat, Johore, F.M.

1947 Gullick, J. M., *M.A.*, 11 Phillimore Place, London W.8, U.K.

1946 Gunaratinam, Mrs A., Art Misstress, Raffles Girls' School, Singapore.

*1923 Hacker, Dr H. P., Long Acre, Downe, Kent, U.K.

1948 Hamdan Tahir, Clifford School, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.

1924 Hamzah bin Abdullah, The Hon'ble Dato, Selangor Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1946 Han Wai Toon, 1003 Upper Thomson Road, Singapore.

1933 Hannay, H. C., Hannay & Steedman, Post Office Box 41, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.

1937 Harrison, B., *M.A.*, Raffles College, Singapore. (Council, 1938-39; Hon. Treas., 1941-42; Vice-Pres., 1948).

*1926 Hastings, W. G. W., 56 Klyne Street, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

*1921 Hawkins, G., *O.B.E.*, *M.C.S.*, Colonial Secretary's Office, Singapore.

*1904 Haynes, A. S., *C.M.G.*, The Oaks Hotel, Warwick Place, Leamington Spa, Warwickshire, U.K.

1932 Hayward, M. J., *M.C.S.*

1936 Headly, D., *M.C.S.*, District Officer, Kuala Selangor, Selangor, F.M.

1947 Heal, Mrs. W. E.

1947 Henderson, J. A.

1921 Henderson, M. R., Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Council, 1928; Hon. Treas., 1928-34; Hon. Sec., 1946).

1947 Henry, J. S., High School, Klang, Selangor, F.M.

1947 Hertfield, S. J., Selbourne Estate, Padang Tungku, Pahang, F.M.

1944 Hess, P. O., Asst Controller of Supplies, Kuala Trengganu, Trengganu, F.M.

1948 Hesse, V., Caxton Press Ltd, P.O. Box 307, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

*1923 Hicks, E. C., Education Office, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.

1929 *1948 Hill, A. H., Superintendent of Education, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, F.M.

*1923 Hodgson, D. H., Forest Dept, Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa.

1947 Hoey, Major R., 2238 North Vermant Street, Arlington, Virginia, U.S.A.

1948 Holley, W. S., District Office, Sandakan, North Borneo.

1922 Holttum, R. E., *M.A.*, Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Council, 1933, 1935, 1940-42, 1946-47; Hon. Treas., 1923-26, 1928; Vice-Pres., 1929, 1936-37).

1933 Hooykaas, Dr C., Wilhelminah 55, Batavia-C., Java.

1946 Hone, Sir Ralph, *K.B.E.*, *M.C.*, *K.C.*, "Kashmir", 14 Dalvey Road, Singapore.

1938 Hough, Prof. G. G., *M.A.*, 9 Raffles College, Singapore.

1948 Howe, C. E., *M.C.S.*, District Officer Jelebu, Kuala Klawang, Negri Sembilan, F.M.

1941 *1947 Hsu Yun Tsi'ao, P.O. Box 709, Singapore. (Council, 1946-48).

1947 Hunt, Mrs W. E., "Moycraig", Penang Hill, Penang, F.M.

1947 Hussain Baba, Police Headquarters, Kangar, Perlis, F.M.

1927 Ibrahim School, Sungei Patani, Kedah, F.M.

1948 Ibrahim T. Y. Ma, Haji, Chinese Consulate, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.

*1926	Ince, H. M., Kencot Lodge, Lechlade, Gloucestershire, U.K.
1930	Ince, R. E., Education Office, Raub, Pahang, F.M.
1948	Ingleton, Miss D., "Carcosa", Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
1947	Institute of Social Anthropology, 1 Jowett Walk, Oxford, U.K.
1926	Irving, Mrs G. C., 8 The Avenue, Beckenham, Kent, U.K.
1948	Ishak bin Abdul Hamid, Public Relation Dept, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, F.M.
*1921	Ivery, F. E., Alor Star, Kedah, F.M.
1947	Jack, Dr H. W., *O.B.E.*, 71 Holland Road, Singapore.
1939	Jackman, C. W., *B.A.*, Education Department, Nairobi, Kenya.
1947	Jakeman, R. W., *M.C.S.*, District Officer, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.
1948	Jamaluddin bin Kulop Udi, Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
1946	Jamuh, George, Mukah, Sarawak.
1947	Jennings, E. L. S., Asst Editor, Straits Times, Cecil Street, Singapore.
*1921	Jermyn, L. A. S., 71 Carter Avenue, Exmouth, Devon, U.K.
1947	Jessamine, J. E. B., Batu Pahat Rubber Co., Ltd., Batu Pahat, Johore, F.M.
1947	Jobling, Mrs G. L., Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C., U.K.
1948	Jones, L. W., Deputy Commissioner of Immigration, Sandakan, North Borneo.
*1913	Jones, S. W., *C.M.G.*, *M.C.S.*, 5 Boscombe Cliff Road, Bournemouth, U.K. (Council, 1935; Vice-Pres., 1937; Pres., 1939-42).
*1919	Jordan, Revd A. B., The Parsonage, Marshall Hill Drive, Mapperly, Nottingham, U.K.
*1921	Kay-Mouat, Prof. J. R., 16 Camp Hospital, Ingleburn, New South Wales, Australia.
1926	Keith, The Hon'ble Mr H. G., Forest Dept, Sandakan, North Borneo. (Vice-Pres., 1948).
*1921	Kellie, J., Dunbar Estate, Neram Tunggal, P.O. Chegar Perak, Pahang, F.M.
1947	Kemp, A. S. H., *M.C.S.*, Segamat, Johore, F.M.
*1920	Ker, W. P. W., Paterson Simons & Co., Ltd, London House, Crutched Friars, London E.C.3, U.K.
*1920	Kerr, Dr A., c/o Mrs. Palliser, Street House, Hayes, Kent, U.K.
1947	Kesteven, Dr G. L., *D.Sc.*, 29 Fort Road, Katong, Singapore.
1926	Khoo Sian Ewe, 380 Burmah Road, Penang, F.M.
1948	Kiddle, J. O., *M.C.S.*, Economic Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
1946	King George V School, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
1947	Kuppusamy, V. D., *F.R.G.S.*, *F.R.A.S.*, Anglo-Chinese School, Kampar, Perak, F.M.
1935	Lai Tet Loke, 121 Sultan Street, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.
1948	Lane, F. L., Mansfield Co., Ltd, Ocean Building, Singapore.
*1921	Lee, L. G., Ladang Geddes, Bahau, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
*1913	Leicester, Dr W. S., Sungei Lembing, Pahang, F.M.
1938	Le Mare, D. W., Director of Fisheries F.M., Penang, F.M.
*1925	Leonard, R. W. F., Mansfield Co., Ltd, Ocean Building, Singapore.
*1948	Lewis, Miss B., School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London, London W.C.1, U.K.

1941 *1947	Lewis, G. E. D., Education Dept, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
1938	Lewis, L. I., Education Office, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
1922	Leyne, E. G., Sungei Purun Estate, Semenyih, Selangor, F.M.
1947	Lim Bee Pin, Government High School, Klang, Selangor, F.M.
1936	Lim, C. O., 33 China Street Gaut, Penang, F.M.
1947	Lim, R. K. C., 55 & 57 Hill Street, Singapore.
1947	Lim, S. K., Ho Hong Building, 65 Chulia Street, Singapore.
1948	Lim Chong Eu, Dr, 3 Pangor Road, Penang, F.M.
1947	Lim Kean Chye, 15 Chancery Lane, Singapore.
1948	Loch, J. H., *M.C.S.*, Colonial Secretary's Office, Singapore.
1947	Loch, M., Kuala Sidim Estate, Kuala Ketil, Kedah, F.M.
1948	Longfield, J. E., *O.B.E.*, District Office, Tawau, North Borneo.
1930	Luckham, H. A. L., *M.C.S.*, District Office, Kinta, Batu Gajah, Perak, F.M.
1936	Lyle, C. W., *M.C.S.*, Labour Dept, Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
*1907	Lyons, Revd E. S., 1089, Wash, 35th Street, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.
*1920	MacBryan, G. T. M., 1 Woodstock House, 11 High Street, Marylebone, London, England.
*1948	MacDonald, H. E. The Right Honourable Mr Malcolm, *P.C.*, Bukit Serene, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
*1933	MacDonald, P. J. W., Laan Cornelius, 7 Batavia-C., Java.
1947	Macdonnel, H., Mercantile Bank, Singapore.
1927	Mace, Land & Survey Dept, Sibu, Sarawak.
*1910	MacFadyen, Sir Eric, *M.A.*, *J.P.*, 1-4 Great Tower Street, London E.C.3, U.K.
1930	MacLean, Mrs D. L., Chartered Bank, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
1935	MacTier, R. S., Glen Line Ltd, 20 Billiter Street, London E.C.3, U.K.
1946	Madoc, G. C., British Embassy, Bangkok, Siam.
1929	Mahmud bin Jintan, Education Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
1937	Mahmud Mahyiddeen, Major Haji, *D.P.M.K.*, *M.B.E.*, *Kn. C.S. (retd)*, Pantai Chinta Berahi, Semut Api, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, F.M.
1947	Mahmud bin Mat, *C.B.E.*, The Hon'ble Dato, Mentri Besar, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.
1932	Malacca Historical Society, Malacca, F.M.
1926	Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.
1948	Malay Mail Press Co., Ltd, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.
1948	Malayan Airways Ltd, Ocean Building, Singapore.
1935	Mallal, Bashir A., 22A Malacca Street, Singapore. (Council, 1946-1948).
1946	Maniam, K. S., P.O. Box 453, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
1916	Mann, W. E., Kebajoran, Java.
1934	Martin, J. M., 25 Pelham Place, London S.W.7, U.K.
*1925	Martin, W. M. E.
1946	Mathias, T. J., *M.C.S.*, Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.
1922 *1938	May, Percy W., 6 Queen Anne's Garden, Bedford Park, London W.4, U.K.
1948	McCann, J. M. T., *M.C.S.*, District Office, Pekan, Pahang, F.M.

1946 McDonald, E. M., Estate Duty Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1947 McGraw, E., Methodist Mission, Sibu, Sarawak.

1939 McHugh, J. N., Public Relations Department, P.O. Box 1037, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M. (Vice-Pres., 1948).

1923 McKerron, The Hon'ble Mr P. A. B., *C.M.G.*, Colonial Secretary's House, Singapore.

1947 McLean R., *M.C.S.*, District Office, Kota Belud via Jesselton, North Borneo.

1939 Mead, The Hon'ble Mr J. D., Osborne & Chappel Ltd, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.

1927 Megat Yunus bin Megat Mohamed Isa, *M.C.S.*, Kinta Land Office, Batu Gajah, Perak.

1947 Meissonier, Revd Father Ph., 128 Rue du Bac, Paris 7e, France.

1948 Melliar-Smith, P. L., Warden of Mines, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.

1948 Mendel, I. B., *M.C.S.*, District Office, Bentong, Pahang, F.M.

1922 Merican, Mohamed Ismail, *J.P.*, 29 Alor Muah, Alor Star, Kedah, F.M.

1948 Metcalfe, P. R., *M.C.S.*, Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Singapore.

1941 Meyer, A. G., Serangoon English School, Simon Road, Singapore.

1926 Miles, C. V., Rodyk & Davidson, Chartered Bank Chambers, Singapore.

1925 Miller, G. S., 67 John Street, Helensburgh, Dumbartonshire, U.K.

*1921 Miller, The Hon'ble Mr J. I., *M.C.S.*

1926 *1947 Mills, J. V., Hotel Stuart, Richmond, Surrey, U.K. (Council, 1919-1930, 1932-33, 1936, 1938; Pres., 1937).

1933 Milne, Mrs C. E. L., Government English School, Muar, Johore, F.M.

1947 Mitchell, W. S., Boots Pure Drug Co (Far East) Ltd, Union Building, Singapore.

1948 Mohamed Ali bin Mohamed, Education Office, P.O. Box 1039, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1948 Mohamed Hussim bin Mat Piah, Government English School, Johore, F.M.

1936 Mohamed Jaffar bin Mantu, High School, Kajang, Selangor, F.M.

1948 Mohamed Kassim bin Bador, P.O. Box 1005, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1947 Mohamed Kassim bin Dato Sika Naji Abdul Rashid, Dato Undang of Sungei Ujong, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.

1922 Mohamed Said, Major Dato Haji, *D.A.M.J.*, *P.I.S.*, Private Secretary to H.H. the Sultan of Johore, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.

1921 Mohamed Salleh bin Ali, The Hon'ble Dato, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.

1921 Mohamed Shariff bin Osman, The Hon'ble Haji, *C.B.E.*, Alor Star, Kedah, F.M.

1948 Mole, R. F., Colonial Secretariat, Kuching, Sarawak.

1946 Morell, Capt. D. H., Head Quarters, Northern Ireland District, Lisburn, County Antrim, U.K.

1946 Morgan, E. D., *M.C.S.*, Labour Office, Klang, Selangor, F.M.

1946 Morice, J., Customs Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

*1920 Morkill, A. G., University China Committee, 16 Gordon Square, London W.C.1, U.K.

1947 Morley, J. A. E., *M.B.E.*, *M.C.S.*, Secretary to British Adviser, Ipoh, Perak.

1948 Morrah, P. Malay Mail Press Co., Ltd, Pudu Road, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1947 Morrell, R., 7 Raffles College, Singapore.

1948 Morris, H. S., Colonial Secretariat, Kuching, Sarawak.

1948 Morris, R. H., Mukah, Sarawak.

*1915 Mundell, H. D., Sisson & Daly, Singapore. (Council, 1938).

1948 Murray, H. L., Larut Tin Fields, Taiping, Perak, F.M.

1934 Mustapha bin Tengku Besar Burhanuddin, Tungku, Ampang Tinggi, Kuala Pilah, Negri Sembilan, F.M.

1947 Namazie, The Hon'ble Mr M. J., 22a Malacca Street, Singapore.

1946 National Library of Peiping, Peiping, China.

1947 Neill, T. D. H., *M.C.S.*, Secretariat Chinese Affairs, Singapore.

1946 Newboult, Sir Alec, *K.B.E.*, *C.M.G.*, *M.C.*, *E.D.*, Chief Secretary, Government Federation of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1934 Nightingale, H. W., *M.C.S.*, 194 Watten Estate, Singapore.

1933 Nik Ahmad Kamil bin Haji Nik Mahmud, The Hon'ble Dato, Mentri Besar, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, F.M. (Vice-Pres., 1948).

1947 Noone, R. O. D., *B.A.*, *F.R.A.I.*, Botanical Hotel, Domain Road, South Yarra, Victoria, Australia.

1948 Nuttall, F.A., S.H.Q., Sgts' Mess. Royal Air Force, Changi, Singapore.

1947 Oppenheim, Prof. A., 5 Raffles College, Singapore.

1935 Oppenheim, H. R., Peet, Marwick, Mitchell & Co., Union Buildings, Singapore.

1925 Owen, A. I., 8th Mile Pantai Road, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.

1929 Pagden, H. T., Department of Agriculture, P.O. Box 1004, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1947 Panglima Bukit Gantang, Dato, 21 Hale Street, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.

*1921 Paterson, Major H. S., *M.C.S.*

1937 Payne, Dr C. H. Withers, Drew & Napier, P.O. Box 152, Singapore.

1937 Payne, E. M.F., *M.A.*, *B.Sc.*, Education Office, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.

1948 Peach, P. L., 2 Wesley Road, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1933 Pearson, C. D., Survey Office, Batu Pahat, Johore, F.M.

1931 Peet, G. L., Editor, The Straits Times, Cecil Street, Singapore. (Council, 1948).

1947 Pekelharing, R. C. Netherlands Consulate-General, Singapore.

1926 Penang Library, Penang, F.M.

*1926 Pengilley, E. E., *E.D.*, *M.C.S.*, Commissioner of Lands, Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

*1925 Penrice, W., Mansfield Co., Ltd, Ocean Building, Singapore.

*1938 Pĕrsĕkutuan Guru-Guru Mĕlayu, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, F.M.

*1920 Peskett, A. D., Barclays Bank, Weston-Super Mare, Somerset, England.

1948 Phillipps, A. E., North Borneo Trading Co., Ltd, Sandakan, North Borneo.

1939 Pillay, Sandy G., 2nd floor, Laidlaw Building, Singapore.

1937 Pooley, E. G., Messrs Presgrave & Matthews, Penang, F.M.

1928 Powell, I. B., 100 Westward Rise, Barry, Glarmorgan, U.K.

1932 Pretty, E. E. F., *M.C.S.*

1935 *1947 Purcell, Dr V. W. W. S., *C.M.G.*, Clutton, Normandy, near Guildford, Surrey, U.K.

1948 Purchase, C. E., Asst Attorney-General, Jesselton, North Borneo.

1934 Raffles College Library, Raffles College, Singapore.

1939		Raghavan, N., Hermitage, Ormes Road, Kilpauk, Madras, India.
1947		Raja Ayoub bin Raja Haji Bot, *M.C.S.*, Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
1929		Raja Razman bin Raja Abdul Hamid, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, F.M.
1937		Ramani, R. K., Braddell & Ramani, Hongkong Bank Chambers, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
1929	*1949	Ramsay, A. B., *M.C.S.*, c/o Sessions Court, Taiping, Perak, F.M.
1930		Rangoon University Library, Rangoon, Burma.
1932	*1940	Rawlings, G. S., *M.C.S.*, Collector of Land Revenue, Malacca, F.M.
1948		Rawson, The Hon'ble Dr C. P., Dept Social Welfare, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
1947		Rea, Miss C. L., Methodist Girls' School, Kuantan, Pahang, F.M.
*1924		Reed, Dr J. G., *M.B.E.*, Sungkai, Perak, F.M.
1937		Regester, P. J. D., *O.B.E.*, 6/8 Mountbatten Road, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M. (Council, 1946-47).
1947		Rego, Prof. A. Da Silva, Rua Ivens 34-40 Lisbon, Portugal.
*1910		Reid, Dr Alfred, Batang Padang Estate, Tapah, F.M.
1947		Rentse, Miss B., c/o A. Rentse, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, F.M.
1930		Rentse, A., Kota Bharu, Kelantan, F.M. (Vice-Pres., 1941-42, 1946-1948).
*1931		Rex, Marcus, *C.M.G.*
*1926		Rigby, W. E., *M.C.*, *M.C.S.*, Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
1938		Robb, L. T. A., Telok Pelandok Estate, Coast Road, Port Dickson, Negri Sembilan, F.M.
1947		Robertson, Mrs D. S., Shell House, Shell Co. of S.S., Penang, F.M.
1926	*1935	Robinson, P. M., Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, 9 Gracechurch Street, London E.C. 3, U.K.
1936		Ross, A. N., *M.C.S.*, Administrative Officer, Kelantan, F.M.
1947		Sammy, P., 2 Raffles Place, Singapore.
1948		Samuels, A. B., Methodist Boys' School, Kuala Lumpur, Seangor, F.M.
*1923		Sanson, C. H., Lloyds Bank Ltd, Section G3, Pall Mall, London S.W.1, U.K.
*1919		Santy, D., Sĕlamat, Hospital Road, Hill Crest, Natal, S.A.
1946		Savage, H. E. F., Geological Survey Dept, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, F.M.
1935		Schweizer, H., Diethelm & Co., Ltd, P.O. Box 191, Singapore. (Council, 1946-1947).
1947		Schofield M., 26 Swettenham Road, Singapore.
1947		Scott, Mrs. G. J., P.O. Box 262, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M. (Asst Hon. Sec., 1948).
*1920		Scott, Dr W., Sungei Siput, Perak, F.M.
1948		Searl, G., Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Co. (Eastern) Ltd, Shell House, Collyer Quay, Singapore.
1948		Sehested, K., Singapore Club, Singapore.
1922	*1939	Sehested, S., Singapore Club, Singapore.
*1927		Sells, H. C., "Satuan", Burnham, Buckinghamshire, U.K.
1937		Sĕri Maharaja, Tengku, Kota Bharu, Kelantan, F.M.
1946		Seth bin Mohd Said, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.
1947		Shamruddin bin Haji Abdulrahman, Dato', Kuala Klawang, Jelebu, Negri Sembilan, F.M.

1947 Shaw, H., *M.C.S.*, Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.

1929 Sheppard, M. C. ff., *M.B.E.*, *M.C.S.*, District Officer, Klang, Selangor, F.M. (Vice-Pres., 1948).

1946 Sheridan, C. M., Attorney General's Office, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.

1947 Silcock, Prof. T. H., 2 Raffles College, Singapore.

1947 Sidney, R., 15 Perak Road, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.

1948 Sim, Mrs K., 24 Green Lane, Penang, F.M.

1949 Simmons, Major C. W., Dept Custodian Estates, Tawan, North Borneo.

1927 Simpson-Grey, L. C., M.C.S.

1948 Sinclair, J., Botanic Gardens, Singapore.

1931 Singam, S. Durai Raja, Abdullah School, Kuantan, Pahang, F.M.

1947 Singram, K., 121 Buffalo Road, Singapore.

1934 Sivapragasam, T., Co-operative Societies Dept, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1937 Skeat, W. W., "Pixies Holt", Lyme Regis, Dorset, U.K.

1947 Skeldon, J., Mansfield Co. Ltd, Ocean Building, Singapore.

*1926 Sleep, The Hon'ble Mr A., *C.M.G.*, *M.C.S.*, The Residency, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.

1948 Smith, F. M., British Advisor's Office, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.

1924 Smith, The Hon'ble Mr J. D. M., *C.M.G.*, *M.C.S.*, Financial Secretary, Singapore.

1930 *1937 Soang, A.I.C., Tanah Intan Estate, Martapoera, E. .E Borneo.

1940 Somerville, D. A., Administrative Officer, Batu Pahat, Johore.

1948 Staniforth, Major N., Depot Malay Regiment, Port Dickson, Negri Sembilan, F.M.

1928 *1940 Stanton, W. A., Woodland Manor, R.F.D., No. 3, Rockville, Maryland, U.S.A.

1948 Starkey, C. Q., Mansfield Co., Ltd, Ocean Building, Singapore.

1948 Steincke, M., East Asiatic Co., Ltd, Clarke Street, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1941 Stewart, Mrs. N. I., Froynesfield Cottage, Nairn, U.K.

*1917 Stirling, W. G., Cox & King, 10 Haymarket, London S.W.1, U.K. (Council, 1923-25, 1927-29).

*1939 Stubbs, G. C., Survey Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1946 Stuchbury, A. D., *M.C.S.*, Secretariat for Economic Affairs, Singapore.

1926 Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, Perak, F.M.

1947 Sundram, S. S., Government High School, Klang, Selangor, F.M.

1947 Syed Idrus, Tengku Besar of Tampin, Negri Sembilan, F.M.

*1918 Sykes, G. R., *M.C.S.*

1948 Sykes, J. P., Cable & Wireless Ltd, Hongkong.

1947 Tan, S. H., 82 Orchard Road, Singapore.

1908 Tan Cheng Lock, *C.B.E.*, 96 First Cross Street, Malacca, F.M.

1913 Tayler, C. J., c/o Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Kuala Lumpur, F.M.

*1928 Taylor, The Hon'ble Mr Justice E. N., Judge's Chambers, Supreme Court, Singapore. (Council, 1948).

1948 Taylor, Mrs E. M., Selayang Tin Dredging Ltd, Batu Caves, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1948 Taylor, T. K., High School, Klang, Selangor, F.M.

1947 Texeira, Revd Father M., Portuguese Church, Victoria Street, Singapore.

1941 Thambiah, S., *B.A.*, Victoria Institution, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1947 Thom, R. C., Malayan Police.

1938 Thomas, Francis, *B.A.*, St Andrew's School, Singapore.

*1921 Thomas, L. A.

1947 Thomas, N. E., Asst Controller of Telecommunications, Singapore.

1948 Thompson, D. F., *M.C.S.*, "Carcosa", Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1946 Thomson, G. G.

1947 Tratman, Prof. E. K., King Edward VII College of Medicine, Singapore.

1936 Triplicane University Library, Triplicane, Madras, India.

1948 Tuanku Muhammad School, Kuala Pilah, Negri Sembilan, F.M.

1947 Tubb, J. A., Fisheries Dept, Sandakan, North Borneo.

1930 Turner, H. G., *M.C.S.*, Malayan Establishment Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1932 Tweedie, M. W. F., *M.A.*, *C.M.Z.S.*, Director, Raffles Museum, Singapore. (Hon. Treas., 1936-40; Hon. Sec. & Treas., 1946-48).

1947 Vaughan, R. F., Sandakan, North Borneo.

1937 Wade, G. H., Borneo Co., Ltd, Penang, F.M.

*1926 Waddell, Miss M. C.

1948 Wagner, E. A. S., 5 Old Pudu Road, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1948 Wales, C. A., Tabanac Estate, Lahud Datu, via Sandakan, North Borneo.

1931 Walker, F. S., Forest Office, Tapah, Perak, F.M.

1947 Walker, G. S., *M.C.S.*, Resident Commissioner's Office, Malacca, F.M.

*1926 Wallace, W. A. Tewantin, via Cooray, Queensland, Australia.

1948 Wan A. Hamid, Raffles College, Singapore.

1948 Wan Chik Bin Ismail, Royal Air Force Regiment (Malay) Depot, Sembawang, Singapore.

1923 Wan Idris bin Ibrahim, The Hon'ble Dato', *D.P.M.J.*, *P.I.S.*, Johore Bahru, Johore, F.M.

1948 Weinbergen, W. M., Lloyds Bank, Regent Street, London, U.K.

1948 Whale, K. L. V., Mansfield Co.,Ltd, Ocean Building, Singapore.

1946 White, F. T. M., Mines Dept, Court Hill, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

1935 White, L. E., Tebing Tinggi Estate, Kusial, Kelantan, F.M.

1923 Whitfield, L. D., Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, Perak, F.M.

*1926 Wilcoxson, W. J., Straits Trading Co., Ltd, Singapore.

*1926 Willan, The Hon'ble Sir H. C., *K.B.E.*, Chief Justice F.M., Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.

*1921 Willbourne, Dr E. S., Batu Gajah, Perak, F.M.

1947 Williams, E. C., Cold Storage Creameries Ltd, 186 Orchard Road, Singapore.

1921 *1946 Williams, R. M., "The Laurels", Cossington, Bridgwater, Somerset, U.K.

1946 Williams-Hunt, Major P. D. R., *F.S.A.*, *F.R.I.A.*, *F.R.G.S.*, Mercantile Bank, Singapore.

1948		Willis, I. R. M., M.C.S., District Officer, Christmas Island, via Singapore.
1940		Windsor, Mrs. E., Kuantan, Pahang, F.M.
1937	*1946	Winsley, Capt. T. M., Barclays Bank, Grahamstown, Cape Province, South Africa, (Hon. Treas., 1946).
1921		Wolfe, Dr E. D. B., Deputy State Surgeon, Sungei Patani, Kedah, F.M.
1938		Wolters, O. W., M.C.S., Chinese Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, F.M.
1948		Woodroffe-Hill, M. J., Rothmans Ltd, P.O. Box 1098, Singapore.
*1905		Worthington, A. F., Longclose, Pennington, Lymington, Hampshire, U.K. (Vice-Pres., 1924).
1948		Wu Lien-Teh, Dr, 12 Brewster Road, Ipoh, Perak, F.M.
1921	*1936	Wurtzburg, C. E., M.C., Glen Line, 20 Billiter Street, London, E.C.3, U.K. (Council, 1924-26, 1930; Hon. Sec., 1925; Vice-Pres., 1927, 1929, 1933-35; Pres., 1936).
1940		Yao, T. L., c/o Mr. Hsu Yun Tsi'ao, P.O. Box 709, Singapore.
1948		Yapp Man Siu, District Office, Lamag, Kinabatangan, via Sandakan North Borneo.
*1923		Yates, H. S., 331 Jiannini Hall, Barkeley, California, U.S.A.
1932		Yeh Hua Fen, Revd, Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford Seminary Foundations, Hartford, Connecticut, U.S.A.
*1920		Yewdall, Major J. C., "Seatoller", Berkhamsted, Herts, U.K.
*1904		Young, H. S., Rosemount, Tain, Rosshire, U.K.
1920		Zainal-Abidin bin Ahmad, School of Oriental & African Studies, Malet Street, London W.C.1, U.K.
1939		Zainal Abidin bin Kasahatan, District Office, Kuala Kubu Bahru, Selangor, F.M.

Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya*

(Received, February 1948; revised, August 1948)

by ROLAND BRADDELL, *M.A. (Oxon:), F.R.G.S.*

(Continued from J.R.A.S.(M.B.) Vol. XX, Pt, 1, pp. 161-186; Pt. 2, pp. 1-19).

4. Takola and Kataha.

In Book VII of his Geography Ptolemy gives the following four positions, as stated in Renou's edition (56), which is generally conceded to be best (272, p. 22, n. 3) :—

Beroba, town	162° 20′ E	6° N.
Promontory situated after this town	159° E	4° 20′ N.
In the Golden Chersonese: Takola, emporium	160° 30′ E	4° 15′ N.
Promontory situated after this town	158° 20′ E	2° 20′ N.

The first two of these positions are the last of those given "Amongst the cannibal Besyngitai in the Sabarakos Gulf".

In 1897 Dr. C. O. Blagden said that the Golden Chersonese is "without any doubt the Malay Peninsula" (62, p. 236) and that is the generally accepted identification. The data in Ptolemy's Geography make it certain, in our view, that his Golden Chersonese must have been the Malay Peninsula.

The usual view is that Ptolemy wrote his Geography *ca*: 150 A.D. and certainly during the period 150-160 A.D. It is clear from his Almagest that he took observations personally the earliest of which was in 127 A.D. and the latest in 141 A.D. The Tetrabiblos and then the Geography followed the Almagest and finally the Astronomical Hand-tables. Therefore, the Geography must have been written after 141 A.D.; and it seems to be clear that Ptolemy outlived the Emperor Antoninus Pius who died in 161 A.D.

As Ptolemy tells us himself, his Geography was based upon the work of Marinos of Tyre, which he corrected and completed from further information gathered by himself. Marinos, who is usually

* Unfortunately suitable type for setting some of the diacritical marks required by this paper is not available in Malaya. An attempt has been made to obtain the the necessary fonts from the manufacturers, but they have not been able to supply it in time. To avoid confusion, the paper has therefore been **set without any diacritical marks.**

dated as *ca*: 120 A.D., obtained his information from the book of a sea-captain or traveller named Alexander, who is usually ascribed to *ca*: 75 A.D. The works of Alexander and Marinos have been lost and are known only from quotations by Ptolemy.

The evidence of classical literature, therefore, shows that the history of Takola begins in the 2nd century A.D. and, since it was then of sufficient importance to be a Roman emporium, must go back at least to the 1st century A.D.

We take the Malay Peninsula as beginning at the isthmus of Kra in latitude 10° N. and that is the usual view; but many writers take it further north to 13° 45′ N. so as to include Tenasserim. For Ptolemy it began at the promontory which we identify with Junk Ceylon (Puket Island), following Berthelot (53). One piece of evidence was adduced in the *Introduction*[1] to show that Junk Ceylon once was not an island but an actual promontory, and to that more evidence could be added, so that this fact can be accepted. Whether or not it was still an actual promontory in the time of Ptolemy does not matter, since its general appearance is such. The Sabarakos Gulf is agreed generally to have been the present Gulf of Martaban and the area extending south of it. The last town given by Ptolemy in the Besyngitai country is Beroba. Using the general indications in Ptolemy, Berthelot places Beroba about two-thirds down the coast line and so where the present Karathuri appears on the map[2]; and this identification we accept. Below the Gulf of Martaban there is only one really prominent promontory and that is the one formed by Junk Ceylon.

To locate Ptolemy's Takola we must look for a place well to the east and also to the south, of Ptolemy's promontory. It is axiomatic with us that, while the exactitude of Ptolemy's positions cannot be accepted, and identification must accord with his general indications or otherwise the whole subject becomes mere guess-work; and we find the most satisfactory method of approach to be that of Berthelot, which has been explained already in the *Introduction*[3].

Since, therefore, Ptolemy's promontory can only be Junk Ceylon and since Takola was east and south of it, we must reject the identification with Takuapa, which has been accepted by so many, and we would ask what is the promontory, if Takola were Takuapa. We should also note that there is no real similarity between the names, although Takuapa is often, even generally, called Takopa. *Takuapa* means "tin in the forest", while *Takuatung* means "tin in the plain", *takua* being Siamese for "tin" (309, ii, pp: 16 and 17)[4]. In Ptolemy's time the Thai languages had not reached this area, according to general opinion.

It would seem that in his identification of Takola with Takuapa Dr. Quaritch Wales was greatly influenced by the fact that it afforded the best anchorage for ships on the whole west coast of the Malay Peninsula and that it was the first point of land reached by east-bound vessels from India after leaving the Ten Degree Channel (288, pp: 36, 55). Of the excellence of its harbour there cannot be any doubt but what evidence is there that the ships used the Ten Degree Channel? Seen on a modern map, one can, as Dr. Quaritch Wales did, push one's finger from Negapatam through the Channel in a south-eastward direction until it rests upon Takuapa; but did the ancient sailors from Negapatam so push their ships? The only direct evidence which we have in translated form is that of I Ching (I Tsing) in the 7th century A.D. and it does not help because ships in those days sailed from the ancient port of Kedah, as will be seen later. Moreover, according to Ptolemy, ships for the Golden Chersonese sailed from the *apheterion*, a place somewhere in the Godavari-Kistna area, and it would seem, though it is far from certain, that they crossed to a place which Ptolemy calls Sada and from there sailed down the coast. Moreover, as Dr. Quaritch Wales says, it was necessary to escape "the clutches of the savage Andamaners". Both for that purpose and navigationally one would have supposed a passage between Car Nicobar and the Nicobar Islands. There is the further fact that water and wood were necessary at convenient places for the ancient ships and that the Nicobars were well situated for this purpose. Long direct passages in early times were avoided for a variety of reasons.

Takola as written by Ptolemy, is agreed universally to have been the same place as the sanskrit Takkola. Reference has already been made in the *Introduction*[5] to Sylvain Levi's celebrated geographical study (61) in which he considered a number of places, including Takkola, which appear in various works of ancient Indian literature and particularly in the *Niddesa*, usually dated as between the end of the 1st and beginning of the 3rd century A.D. (181, p. 58). The name of Takkola appears also in the pali *Milindapanha*, the date of which is uncertain but is placed in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*[6] as approximately about the beginning of the Christian era. Professor Nilakanta Sastri, however, considers it to be *ca*: 400 A.D. (57, pp: 623-624). In St. John's translation (60, p. 217) the passage reads:—

"Just, O King, as a ship-owner who has become wealthy by constantly levying freight in some seaport town, will be able to traverse the high sea, and go to Vanga or Takkola, or China, or Sovira, or Surat, or Alexandria, or the Coromandel coast, or Further India (Suvannabhumi) or any other place where ships do congregate".

The description of Takkola as a place where ships congregated accords well with the word *emporion* which Ptolemy attaches to Takola; but it is only in Ptolemy that we get any data for its location. There are absolutely none in the Indian literature. We have discussed the identification of Takola in the *Introduction*[7]. Berthelot considered that Ptolemy's general indications showed that it must have been Trang and we pointed out that archaeologically Trang does not seem to have been sufficiently ancient. We suggested, accordingly, ancient Kedah; but that suggestion has been rejected by Dr. Quaritch Wales (268, p. 67) and by Professor Nilakanta Sastri (310, p. 9); so the question must be re-considered. The rejection turns upon the Chola inscriptions of the 11th century A.D., concerning which there is a large literature, and it involves consideration of the Tamil names *Kaḍaram*, *Ilangasoka* and *Talaittakolam* occuring therein. In the inscription there is no geographical indication where these places are but scholars have agreed identifications upon etymological reasoning. Nobody, however, has paused to consider the complete disappearance from Indian literature of the sanskrit *Takkola* for many centuries before the appearance of the tamil *Talaittakolam*.

In the *Introduction*[8] the identification of the Chinese toponyms Tun-sun (Tien-sun, Tun-hsun) and Tou-chu-li has been considered and the facts concerning them have been set out. It was submitted upon these facts that Tun-sun must have been a general name for the Malay Peninsula. Its principal place is not named in the Chinese records but the facts which they give show that it must have been on the west coast of the Peninsula and that it was a port, from which ships sailed to India, as well as a mart for east and west to which merchants came in great numbers to barter. It was, accordingly, an entrepot. The name Tun-sun dates back to the 3rd century A.D. and the notice in the *Liang Shu* says that there were five kings in Tun-sun, all of whom were vassals of Funan, though it is not possible to say exactly at what date. It appears from the *Liang Shu* that Tou-chu-li became known in China during the time of the Wu dynasty, 222-280 A.D. There are no geographical data concerning it except that clearly it must have been a port on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula in sea-communication with India. In the *Introduction* the resemblance of the name to that of Takola was noted and views upon that question were collected; and we posed the question "May it not be that Ptolemy's Takola, the principal town of Tun-sun and Tou-chu-li are one and the same?"

In his latest work Professor Coedes considers that Tun-sun was "probably on the Malay Peninsula" (272, p. 30 and p. 46, n.1) and he accepts without any reservation (ibid: p. 47) that T'eou-kiu-li (i.e. Tou-chu-li) is the same place as the sanskrit Takkola

of the *Milindapanha*. It is also worthy of remark that in his *Kambuja-Desa*, 1944, Professor R. C. Majumdar accepts that Teu-ki-li, as he writes it, was "probably the famous port of Takkola". We feel justified, therefore, in putting forward the suggestion that the answer to the question which we posed should be in the affirmative.

Professor Nilakanta Sastri in 1940 (311, p. 287, n. 1) placed Takola "on the isthmus of Kra or a little to the south" but that will not fit the data in Ptolemy. In 1944 Professor Coedes (272, p. 47) wrote concerning the sanskrit Takkola that "it is agreed to place this town at Takua Pa on the west coast of the isthmus of Kra, but it may perhaps have been more to the south"; and for the latter part of that statement he cited the present writer's *Introduction*. For reasons already given, we suggest that Takuapa must be rejected and that we must look east and south of Junk Ceylon. If the lack of archaeological evidence can be ignored, Berthelot's identification with Trang is undoubtedly satisfactory and answers the data in Ptolemy. Warington Smyth (309, ii, p. 11) considered that the port of Tun-sun was "more than likely to have been near Trang". In the *Introduction*[9] we wrote with regard to Takola that "We would expect a surrounding hinterland of importance. We are not dealing with the south but the north of the peninsula. A harbour and the meeting of trade-routes is sufficient for a southern emporium served by both monsoons but not for the northern one"; and the facts of navigation and of the monsoons make that proposition clear. Trang satisfies these requirements. Rice is grown there (309, ii, p. 13) and easy land-routes connect it with Patalung province (272, p. 33), which is an agriculturally rich one (309, ii, p. 117) and with the big province of Nakon Sri Tammarat, or Lakon as it is more usually called (309, ii, v. 128). This latter province is also known as Ligor, which Graham says is "probably a Chinese corruption of Lakon" (312, i, p. 31): he tells us (ibid: p. 10) that "round about the towns of Lakon and Patalung the largest and most fertile plains are situated". Warrington Smyth says that in his time Trang could generally be used by small coasters and that vessels there did not need to face half the bad weather that they must when going to the other ports (309, ii, p. 128). He also says that according to public tradition native boats could ascend the eastern branch of the Bandon River to its source and then go down the Trang River to the west coast without a portage, the distance being given as 170 miles (ibid: p. 80). The Bandon River drains an extensive valley between two mountain ranges.

The reader will have noticed that Ptolemy puts Takola 5 minutes south of the promontory and 1 degree 30 minutes east of it (his degree being 50 geographical miles), and it may well be asked how that fits Trang. An examination of Berthelot (53)

should be made on this point but some further facts concerning Ptolemy's methods will also be helpful. As we have said, he corrected and completed the work of Marinos by means of further information which he collected himself from sailors, merchants and travellers in Alexandria. None of such information could have been really accurate. As Warmington says (33, p. 131), Ptolemy "was dependent for his information upon ignorant sailors, who often misspelt hopelessly the very names of the ports at which they touched. He had only their word for the directions in which they sailed from port to port, and this was often entirely wrong; and for distance, as he himself confesses, he had to be content with calculating from the average run of a ship per day, with deductions to allow for irregularities of the coast, and other disturbing factors". Seamanship in those days was pilotage rather than navigation and the ships themselves had unhandy steering and rigging which did not permit of their sailing close to the wind or tacking across it. They were dependent upon wind and tide, and the wind had to be a favouring one. To attribute to each day's sail by such ships, particularly in Malaysian waters, a fixed average must have led to errors. Throughout antiquity longitudes were matters of dead reckoning; there was no precise method of observing diurnal time or of comparing such observations with one another. Though there were instruments by which latitudes could be measured, it would seem that experienced travellers did not use them extensively and it is clear that Ptolemy had very few such observations, none of which could have been completely accurate. The gnomon and the astrolabe (fore-runner of the sextant) were known but experienced seamen did not rely upon them. They sailed from point to point, or, where they knew the favouring wind, put out boldly to sea trusting to arrive roughly at their destination.

Ptolemy assigned precise longitudinal and latitudinal positions and prepared his tables "by calculating and comparing itineraries, rendering days' journeys and voyages into stadia, and other such rough methods as have been employed by geographers in all ages when they have had to lay down maps of countries for which they had no proper scientific materials" (55, ii, p. 549). He thus gave scientific form to that which was quite unscientific. Moreover, the maps and MSS. of Ptolemy's Geography which remain to us all date many centuries later than the original work and there exists the margin of error caused by faulty copying or by deliberate changes. Accordingly, it is useless to attempt a purely mathematical approach to his longitudes and latitudes. The only method is to accept the general indications and to endeavour, as Berthelot does, to work back to the information received by Ptolemy, and then to check results, where possible, with archaeological and historical facts. It is for this reason that we suggest Berthelot's identification of Takola with Trang to be satisfactory.

Summarizing, then, we submit (1) that Ptolemy's Promontory was Junk Ceylon (2) that Takola = Takkola = the principal place of Tun-sun = Tou-chu-li and (3) is best fitted by Trang, save upon archaeological evidence. Since that evidence has been ignored in the identification with Takuapa, it can also be ignored in the case of Trang, for it must be remembered that archaeologically Takuapa cannot be taken back to Ptolemy's time, the potsherds discovered there by Dr. Quaritch Wales being of doubtful evidentiary value, to say the least.

We have suggested in the Introduction[10] that Tou-chu-li is not the same place as the Chu-li (which seems to be the correct rendering of Chu-chih) appearing in the *Nan chou i wu chih;* but, even if it is, the name seems to disappear after the 3rd century A.D., since Wan Chen, the author of that work, is stated by the *Sui Shu* to have lived in that century. Accordingly it would seem that just as Takkola disappears from ancient Indian literature and Takola from classical, so Tou-chi-li disappears from the Chinese records, any later mention being but repetition in the fashion of Chinese historians and encyclopaedists. As will be seen later, *Takkola* is preserved, however, in the name of a commodity for many centuries later.

We pass now to Kataha which Dr. Quaritch Wales (268) would locate in Perak and Mr. Moens (241) first in Java and later in Johore.

In the text of the famous Tamil poem *Pattinappalai*, of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D., we are told of "goods from *Kalagam*" which found their way to the ancient city of Puhar (Kaveripattinam). The full passage is translated by Professor Nilakanta Sastri in his history of the Cholas (57, pp: 99-100). The annotator of the poem, who wrote very much later, says that this *Kalagam* was the same as *Kadaram;* and Professor Nilakanta Sastri says that this has the sanction of old lexicons like the Pingalam (ibid: p. 264) and that the *Divakaram*, the earliest lexicon in the Trang language now known to us, gives the equation in its geographical section (313, p. 26). *Kadaram*, also written *Kidaram*, was the Tamil equivalent of the sanskrit *Kataha*, as we know from the Chola inscriptions. The views of Professor Nilakanta Sastri upon the series of names (and no higher authority could be cited on the point) are as follows:—

(1) "In the text of the *Pattinappalai*, the word *Kalagam* stands for the name of a place in constant trade relations with *Pattinam* or *Kaveripatnam*, the celebrated port of the early Chola monarchs of the Sangam age. And the mention of *Kalagam*, which must be *Kadaram* or nothing, in this early poem of the second or third century A.D. is not without considerable significance to a

study of the early history of the Hindu colonies of the East" (314, pp: 128-129):

(2) "*Kataha* is Sanskrit, and the three other words are Tamil; of these *Kadaram* and *Kidaram* are variants of the same word (cf: Kada-kida, kana-kina, pala-pila, etc.) which has the same meaning as *Kataha;* while *Kalagam* meaning 'black' is synonymous with *Kadara*, also Sanskrit, meaning 'tawny' or 'dark brown'. The form *Kalagam* is the earliest in Tamil literature. So that the Indian names of this kingdom fall into two groups:

Skt. *Kataha* = Tam. *Kadaram* or *Kidaram* = cauldron

Skt. *Kadara* = Tam. *Kalagam* = black, or dark brown.

"It is difficult to decide which of these is the earliest form of the name, and all of them seem to be purely Indian words, having little to do with any language in Indonesia" (ibid:, pp: 129-130).

Professor Nilkanta Sastri, therefore, is in accord with the views expressed by Professor Coedes in his famous study of Srivijaya in 1918 (315, pp: 19-20); and he rejects the criticism of those views by Ferrand (140).

Though the identity of Kalagam with Kadaram may, perhaps not be entirely free from doubt, there is general agreement with the rest of these views, and for our present purposes all are accepted.

Dr. V. S. Agrawala (316, p. 96) says that "Kataha Dvipa is mentioned several times in Sanskrit and Prakrit literature as a place situated beyond the sea and reached by ships leaving the sea-port of Tamralipti. In Prakrit its name occurs as Kadahadipa". Tamralipti is, of course, the modern Tamluk in the Midnapur district in the western part of the Ganges delta.

References to the Puranas were made in the *Introduction*[11], and to the nine divisions, Indra-dvipa, Kaseruman, Tamra-varna, Gabhastiman, Kumari-dvipa, Naga-dvipa, Saumya, Gandharva, Varuna. The Vamana Garuda Puranas substitute Kathaha in place of Saumya or Gandharva (317, p. 59) and the Agnipurana refers to a "peak, as the boundary of a tract, under the name of Anda-Kataha, of which the limit is said to be the peak in question" (318, p. 59, n. 13).

Dvipa, of course, means either "island" or "continent". Kataha Dvipa therefore, indicates generally a large tract of sea-girt land: and the *Kaumudimahotsava* mentions a city Kataha-nagara as one of the great Indian cities famous for gay life (318, pp: 61-63; 316, p. 59). Dr. Sircar (316, p. 59) thinks that this sanskrit

drama is not earlier than the 7th or 8th century A.D. Dr. O. C. Gangoly says that the upper limit of its date "has been accepted by scholars as the seventh century" (318, p. 61). He writes (ibid: p. 67) that "Reverting to the text of the *Kaumudi-mahotsava*, we have cited enough references to establish that Katahanagara as a very popular city was very well known to Indians who made frequent voyages to the city, which was thus linked up with India Proper in various ties of mercantile and social interest". He thinks (ibid: p. 64) that "It is very probable that Kataha (Kalagam, Kadaram) was an important sea-port and a brisk centre of trade, at least from the third century A.D., long before the rise of the Sailendras". He says (ibid: p. 65) that the principal port of embarkation for Kataha was Tamralipti and that various passages in the *Kathasaritsagara* leave no doubt that frequent voyages were made.

The Katha literature of the 8th to 11th centuries A.D. shows Kataha Dvipa as a popular place in stories concerning the adventures of merchants overseas (316), and one finds some slender geographical clues for its location in the Kathasaritsagara, or Ocean of Story, for which we use the superb edition by Mr. N. M. Penzer (173). These clues are as follows:

(1) the story of Guhasena shows that the city of Tamralipta (as Mr. Penzer has it) was in sea communication with "the country of Kataha" (173, i. pp: 153-156);

(2) in the story of Chandrasvamin we are told that he went in a ship from Jalapura, an Indian coastal city, to the "great island of Nārikela" and then to the island of Kataha with the merchant Danavarman; and there he heard that another merchant named Kanakavarman "had gone from that island to an island named Karpura. In the same way he visited in turn the islands of Karpura, Suvarna and Simhala with merchants, but he did not find the merchant whom he was in search of. But from the people of Simhala he heard that that merchant Kanakavarman had gone to his own city, named Chitrakuta" (173, iv, pp: 223-224);

(3) in the story of the Two Princesses we are told that King Gunasagara, who was a King in "the dvīpa named Kataha, the home of all felicities", decided that his daughter should marry King Vikramaditya; "Accordingly, the King made his daughter embark in a ship on the sea, with her retinue and wealth, and sent her off. But it so happened that when the ship came near Suvarnadvipa it was swallowed, with the princess and the people on board, by a large fish" (173, ix, pp: 50-51).

Some further facts as to Takkola and Kataha can be obtained from the names of certain products. As to the former the reader

should note Sylvain Levi (61) and Coedes (315, p. 15). Professor Nilakanta Sastri adduces further evidence to which attention is now drawn.

In India to this day, and particularly in South India, the Malaysian area is known as *dvipantara* (319, p. 1) and the antiquity of this name has been shown by Sylvain Levi (320), who shows that it corresponded exactly with the Chinese use of K'un-lun and accordingly covered the "South Sea", or Malaysia. Professor Nilakanta Sastri refers to two other passages, one in Sanskrit and the other in Tamil, in which the word *dvipantara* occurs (319, pp: 3-4). In the former there occurs the phrase *"dvipantara-nita-lavanga"*; and a connection between the *dvipantara* and *lavanga* (sanskrit for "cloves") is shown in the full passage. Unfortunately, however, the learned Professor has fallen into the error of thinking that "the home of the cloves, *lavanga*, is the Malay Peninsula". Despite many attempts in early British times, cloves could never be grown successfully in the peninsula. This, however, is immaterial and all we need do is to substitute "Malaysia" for "Malay Peninsula" and remember that, as far back and as late forward as we can trace, the entrepots of the Peninsula have been great centres of the clove and spice trade. The Moluccas are, of course, the true home of the clove.

The Sanskrit passage cited by the Professor occurs in the *Raghuvamsa* of Kalidasa, who is generally taken to have lived at the end of the 4th century, or in the 5th century, A.D., though additions were made later to his work.

The Tamil passage occurs in the ancient poem *Silappadik-aram* and is rendered by the Professor (313, p. 26) thus, "Having entered together with the east wind that came laden with (the aroma) of aloe, silks, sandal, spices and camphor put by the residents of Tondi on board a fleet of tall roomy ships". The place which was entered was the city of Madura in the south of India. Professor Nilakanta Sastri thinks that the Tondi here could not have been either the celebrated one of the Cheras on the south-west coast of India or the one in the Ramnad District of south India but must, from the context, have been a Tondi somewhere in lands colonised by Indians across the sea and probably Malaysian. The commodities are just such as would have come from a Malaysian entrepot, their arrival on the east wind means that they had come from such a direction, and one knows that the ancient Indians carried names from their home-lands to their new colonies. One need have no hesitation, therefore, in accepting the Professor's suggestion.

He refers also to two commentators upon the poem, one an early one and the other of about the 14th century A.D. From them we learn that amongst the spices (*vasam*) was lavangam, Tamil

for "cloves", and *takkolam*, Tamil for "cubeb", while the later commentator mentions three varieties of aloe, *agil*, of which two are called respectively *takkoli* and *Kidaravan*. Obviously these names derive from Takkolam, or sanskrit Takkola, and Kidaram (Kadaram, Kataha). The Silappadikaram, in the view of Professor Nilakanta Sastri, is not an early work like the Pattinappalai and the passage relating to Tondi is later than the *Raghuvamsa* "by about a century, if not more" (313, p. 28).

Did the commodities take their names from the places or *vice versa?* We suggest the former as the true answer. Takkolam[12] is still to-day the name of an ancient and historic place, though nowadays it is a simple village situated directly to the west of Madras, six miles south-east of Arkonam junction (61, p. 14). The name Kadaram is known in Madura and it was there that Hultzsch in 1891 placed the Kadaram of the Chola inscriptions (315, p. 5). Certain exports of Malaysia were once known in England as "Straits produce", though none of them was grown there: they were trans-shipped at Straits Settlements ports. In our view, Takkola and Kataha were beyond doubt entrepots and the practice of attaching to commodities the name of the principal place from which they were shipped is an old and well attested practice, followed by the ancient Chinese, e.g. their use of *Po-ssi*, Persian. We suggest, therefore, that the names of two ancient places in India were given to two Indian overseas entrepots and that the names of the latter were later attached to distinctive commodities exported from them.

We have now given such facts concerning Kataha as appear in the ancient Indian literature available to us. Standing alone, they do not enable us to locate the place precisely; but the following conclusions can be drawn:—

(1) Kataha was the name of a large tract of sea-girt land, *Kataha Dvipa*, or in parkrit *Kadahadipa*, in which there was a famous city *Katahanagara*, which was also an entrepot in constant sea-communication with India;

(2) In Kataha there was an important peak which formed the boundary of a tract called Anda-Kataha;

(3) Kataha was in the *dvipantara* i.e. Malaysia, and from it sea-routes led to and from Tamralipti in the Ganges delta, Narikela Dvipa, Karpura Dvipa, Suvarna Dvipa and Simhala Dvipa;

(4) from Kataha agil, or aloe-wood, was a celebrated export to India.

Beyond any question, Narikela Dvipa was the Nicobar Islands, Suvarna Dvipa was Sumatra, and Simhala Dvipa was Ceylon.

The location of Karpura Dvipa, which means "the Camphor Islands", is not certain; but in all probability it was either Borneo or the north-western part of Sumatra. Mr. N. M. Penzer (173, iv. p. 224, n. 1) quotes with approval a letter from Dr. C. O. Blagden to this effect; and Professor R. C. Majumdar has adopted this identification (181, p. 52). One finds it continually stated that the camphor from Barus, in NW Sumatra, was the finest but, in point of fact, this was the Arab view expressed from the 9th century A.D. onwards. The Chinese have always considered the Bornean camphor to be the best and have paid the highest prices for it. To them at any rate Borneo would have been *the* camphor island but what the Indians thought one does not know. Since Suvarna Dvipa in the *Kathasaritsagara* was clearly Sumatra, one prefers to allot to Karpura Dvipa the position of Borneo rather than to divide Sumatra into two *dvipa*, though the latter would be consistent with ancient practice. The objection to Borneo would be that the search of Chandrasvamin would take him very far, whereas, if he went to Ceylon, to NW Sumatra and to some other part of Sumatra, he would be travelling to places in the Kataha circle. Against that, however, is the fact that the shipwreck of Vikramaditya's daughter occurred near Suvarna Dvipa on her way to Kataha. There Suvarna Dvipa must be the north of Sumatra. Accordingly, we suggest that it is better to look outside Sumatra for Karpura Dvipa, and Borneo, being a notable camphor island fits well.

Kataha is usually identified with "Kedah" (e.g. 272, p. 181), and we may have here the true origin of the latter name. Mr. Penzer (173, i, p. 155) quotes Mr. R. Sewell, a high authority, as follows:—

"Granted that Kedah was so spelt in ancient times, and that it came to be called Kadaram in South India, we can delete the "m" as a South Indian dialect suffix (e.g. *pattana* becomes *pattanam*, *mandala* is *mandalam*, etc.). Then the transformation is natural enough:

Ke	da	h	
Ka	tā	ha	
Ka or Ki	dā	ra	m "

Mr. Sewell considered that the phonetic change from *ha* to *ra* is not too forced.

Mr. Penzer adds "It should be noted that the Southern Hindus knew of a Kadaram in their own country, and it is natural for people, hearing of a foreign place with a name like that of one of their own towns, to call the foreign place after their own". However, the prakrit *Kadaha* gives the same sound as the tamil *Kadaram* and the Chola inscription to which we refer late gives both sanskrit *Kataha* and tamil *Kadaram*. We suggest that the Indians took the name with them.

Sewell and Aiyangar (51, p. 65) say "Kadaram is almost certainly a South-Indian perversion of the name Kedah, a state on the west of the Malay Peninsula". The sanskrit Kataha, of which Kadaram was the tamil equivalent, gives us, however, a much closer approximation, and one may well query the derivation of the name Kedah, which Wilkinson gives in his Dictionary, from the Indian *Kheddah*, "elephant trap", or the arabic *Kadah*, "goblet". This question will be pursued further in the next section of these *Notes*.

Though it should be accepted in general that "Kedah" was Kataha or better Kataha Dvipa, and that Chieh-cha was the 7th century Chinese name for its principal port, this does not take us very far. We do not know the exact boundaries either of Kataha or of ancient Kedah. In 1894 Dennys[13] wrote "Kedah (formerly written "Queda", the Portuguese spelling), called *Sai* by the Siamese, to whom it is nominally tributary, is a State, bounded, on the north by Ligor (part of Siam), on the east by Patani, on the south by Perak, and on the west by the sea and the strip of land called Province Wellesley. It lies between 5° 30′ and 7° 4′ N. lat., is about 130 miles long by 30 to 40 miles broad". The State was then divided into three province—Setul, Perlis, and Kedah proper. The first-named was the most northerly and Perlis in the centre has since become a separate State under its own Rajah. Province Wellesley is a strip of land, originally part of the State of Kedah but ceded to the British in 1798.

In 1839 Newbold (69, ii, p. 2) wrote that Kedah extended "from the Trang river 7° 20′ N to the Krian, in 5° 10′ N., which separates it from Perak". The recent publication of the *Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires* enables one to give the extent of Kedah in the 16th century as "almost bounded on one side by Trang (Terrão) and on the other by the end of the kingdom of Malacca and Bruas (Baruas)". The mouth of the Bruas lies in 4° 28′ N.

The present Kedah River has its mouth in 6° 06′ N. but the Old Kedah (about 26 miles away) lay at the entrance of the Sungei Merbok in 5° 41′ N (321, p. 14) and Mr. Mills quotes Mr. Best, of the Malayan Survey Department, as saying that "The present Kedah River, owing to the geological formation, can never

have been much different from what it is now—a shallow-mouthed estuary within which a vessel drawing more than 6-8 feet would possibly be "neaped" for periods up to a fortnight by poor tides: the roadstead is hopelessly exposed to the S.W. monsoon. On the other hand, Kuala Merbok gives every indication of having always been a deep entrance, and it is still connected by a deep navigable channel with the Muda River, which in the old days undoubtedly carried nine tenths of Kedah's exportable produce. Knowing this area well, I am convinced that this channel, which runs through an extensive swamp, was once much larger than it is now and may possibly have been the main outlet of the Muda". The mouth of the Merbok lies in 5° 41′ N.

But in 1825 Milburne and Thornton[14] said that the Kedah River (Kuala Batrang) was navigable for vessels of 300 tons but that the entrance was choked by a mud-bank. All vessels which passed that bank went up to Alor Star. In 1839 Newbold 69, ii, p, 3) said "The embouchure of the Quedah river lying in 6° 6′ N., will admit, at spring tides, vessels of 250 tons".

For the geology of Kedah and Perlis the reader should refer to Willbourn (169) and for its prehistory to Collings (322; 323) and Callenfels (324), while there is a short note concerning the Trang-Patalung area by Evans (83, p. 161).

For the archaeology of Kedah in historic times we have Evans (83, pp: 105-121), Dr. Quaritch Wales (268), and Dr. and Mrs. Quaritch Wales (325).

It is certain that in Ptolemy's time the geography of the Malay Peninsula must have presented different features from those shown in a map to-day,[15] but on the material available at present it is quite impossible to state the differences. Willbourn (169, p. 290) says "Mr. Ridley[16] suggests on botanical evidence, that at no great distance of time the flat land of Kedah was under the sea, in which Gunong Jerai[17] and Gunong Perak stood out as islands as Penang does at the present day, and that the present flora of Province Wellesley and Gunong Jerai came up from the south while the flora of the country from Bangtaphan to Alor Star came from Burmah southwards". Mr. Ridley, doubtless, was referring to times long preceding the Christian era. Nowadays the plain on the side of Kedah Peak "extends into Perlis to within a few miles of the Siam border, and east of Alor Star a narrow deep bay of alluvium penetrates inland as far as Kampong Pinang. It is possible to draw a line from the sea eastwards through Alor Star, on perfectly flat country for more than half the breadth of the State at its widest part" (169, p. 296). "The greater part of Perlis is occupied by a flat alluvial plain which extends southwards through Kedah as far as Gunong Jerai" (ibid: p. 299). Dr.

Quaritch Wales (268, pp: 1-2) says that much of the flat land available in Kedah and Province Wellesley for padi culture is "of quite modern formation, especially that which lies north of Kedah Peak, and has been vastly increased within living memory. The importance of the so-called Kedah River, on which the modern capital Alor Star is situated, is of only very recent origin. It is formed only by the confluence in new low land of several small streams which in the early days of Indian colonization emptied themselves separately into the sea and offered neither safe anchorage nor suitable agricultural land on their banks". He places his "First Wave" of Indian colonization in Kedah as having occurred in the 1st to 3rd centuries A.D. Before one could accept the generalized statements in the passage just quoted from Dr. Quaritch Wales as representing the state of affairs in Ptolemy's time (which falls within the "First Wave") one would prefer to have detailed reports from the Survey Department or the Irrigation Department and would prefer much closer dating than "very recent origin". In point of fact, the earliest archaeological evidence of ancient Indians in Kedah dates from the second half of the 4th century A.D., two hundred years later than Ptolemy, and the dating is based upon epigraphic reasoning.

It is important to remember that Ptolemy mentions only two entrepots in the Golden Chersonese, Takola in the north and Sabana in the south, and that he makes no mention of Kataha or any name like it. The fair inference from this is that in his time Takola was the northern entrepot and that at some time later it became supplanted in importance by Kataha, just as in our own British times Malacca yielded in importance to Penang and Penang in its turn to Singapore. If we place Takola at Trang, as it seems that we must, we have seen what were its advantages and that it was situated conveniently to the Ganges delta and the Gulf of Siam: but a place in ancient Kedah would have had greater advantages which may have become apparent only after the settlement at Trang had been made. An entrepot on the Merbok River at the foot of Kedah Peak, in addition to having local food supplies, would have been in a good situation for navigation not only to and from the Ganges delta, as well as from Ceylon and Negapatam. The dating of Indian works is too vexed a subject to enable one to use them as the basis for positive evidence of the founding of Kataha, and the negative evidence of Ptolemy should prevail that in the 2nd century A.D. Kataha did not exist or, if it did, was then of no importance. Dr. Quaritch Wales says (268, p. 1) "Kedah combined the practical advantage of an excellent anchorage (the estuary of the Merbok) with the spiritual attraction of being dominated by a high mountain (Kedah Peak), which to the superstitious Indian sailors must have appeared to be a veritable home of the gods. From Kedah there was of course always easy access to the Ligor region of the

east coast, by the route now followed by the railway; but this route, as a means of avoiding the sea journey round the Peninsula, could never have competed with the much shorter route from Takuapa, further to the north, across to the Bay of Bandon. It is rather then as affording a good harbour at the northwest entrance to the Straits that Kedah drew its importance". Save for the identification of Takola with Takuapa we are in accord with Dr. Quaritch Wales in this passage. States and capitals had the same names very often and we identify Katahanagara (Kataha) with the settlement on the Sungei Bujang, which flowed into the Merbok estuary (268, p. 3); and the peak, which was the boundary of Anda-Kataha, we identify with Kedah Peak.

If we accept Trang as Takola, then the promontory which Ptolemy gives after it becomes Kedah Peak and not, as Berthelot has suggested, Penang. He made the mistake of thinking that Kedah Peak could not be described as a promontory; but we differ. It stands out in solitary grandeur and is a landmark for sailors visible 30 miles distant and we agree with Dr. Quaritch Wales (268, p. 2) that it was probably a peninsula at the material date.

We do not agree with Dr. Quaritch Wales in placing the city of Kataha inland in Perak. The evidence cited shows that the town of Kataha (or Katahanagara) was also a port. On the other hand, we do agree with Dr. Quaritch Wales that there must have been an important Indian settlement, or more than one, in the Kinta valley, Perak. In his criticism of the views of Dr. Quaritch Wales, Professor Nilakanta Sastri (310) has not appreciated either the effects of the NE monsoon upon the east coast of the Peninsula or, in particular, the results of mining. The actions caused by mining and the accumulation of silt and slag are too well known to us here from cases within our memory and the possibility of the disappearance of a city as the result of mining is something which has been proved by actual experience within the past forty years, e.g. Kuala Kubu and Serendah.

To summarize so far, it is submitted that (1) Kataha and Kadaram (variant Kidaram) were certainly the same place (2) Kataha was ancient Kedah (3) Ptolemy's Takola and the sanskrit Takkola were certainly the same place, which also was represented probably by the chinese Tou-chu-li (3) Takola is more likely to have been Trang than Takuapa.

5. Ilangasoka and Kadaram.

The Malaysian conquests of the Chola king Rajendra I are considered to have taken place in 1025 A.D. In the *Introduction*[18] we criticized the statement that these conquests are reflected in in the Malay Annals by Raja Suran's campaign in the Peninsula

and that Raja Suran was Rajendra I. We suggested that the name Suran stood for a King of the solar race.[19] Dr. Quaritch Wales (268, p. 78) consider that "Suran is clearly a reference to the fact that the Colas belonged to a dynasty claiming solar origin"; and he considers that the legends concerning Suran's conquests "do refer to the Cola invasions"; but he thinks that there is a mixture of Rajendra's two campaigns, the first against the Ganges area and the second against Kadaram. He takes Raja Chulan probably to be a corruption of the name of the Sailendra emperor Culamanivarman known to be reigning at the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Professor Nilakanta Sastri considers that our suggestion that Suran stood for a king of the solar race (*suryavamsa*) is "probable" (310, p. 15) and that we raised "many valid objections to Raja Suran's exploits being connected with Rajendra's expedition" (ibid:, p. 14, n. 7). He does not think that Raja Chulan stood for Culamanivarman because that suggestion seems "to overlook the fact that Culamanivarman never came into conflict with the Cola power, but lived on most friendly terms with it" (ibid: p. 15). Recently, Sir Richard Winstedt, basing himself upon identifications by Dr. L. D. Barnett, suggests that "Shulan must be the dynastic name of the Cholas of Negapatam" and that "Raja Suran could be Rajesuran, the Tamil form of Rajesvara or else the legendary Raja Sura of Tirukkalukkunram in Chingleput. His three "sons", Jiran of Chandragiri, Chulan of Vijaya-nagara, and Pandyan of Negapatam, must be corruptions of the names of the Chera, Chola, and Pandya dynasties, though the Cheras never ruled Chandragiri, the Cholas were nearly extinct before Vijayanagara arose and the Pandya kingdom never include Tanjore, in which Negapatam lies" (326, p. 129). One can only hope that scholars in India will turn their attention to the names and the legends in the Malay Annals.

We pass now to the Chola inscriptions upon which there is a large literature. It will be sufficient here to refer the reader to the discussions by the French scholars, Professor Coedès (315: 272 and Gabriel Ferrand (140), and by the Indian scholars, Professors R. C. Majumdar (181, pp. 167-182) and Professor Nikankanta Sastri (57, pp: 224, 258-268, 332-333, 622-624; 311, pp: 280-291).

In the sanskrit portion of the Larger Leyden Grant of Rajaraja Chola the Great, which may be dated 1005 or 1006 A.D., we learn of a Lord of *Sri-Visaya* "who was conducting the rule of Kataha". In the tamil portion he is called *Kidarattaraiyan*, or ruler of Kidaram.

Then there is a series of inscriptions concerning the conquests overseas of Rajendra Chola I, the first of which is dated in the 6th year of his reign and the last in the 31st year. There are

differences of opinion as to the exact dates of the regnal years of this king, but Professor Nilakanta Sastri puts them at 1012-1044 A.D. The inscriptions will be found summarized in Sewell and Aiyangar's *Historical Inscriptions of South India* (51, pp: 58 ff:). From them we find that the sanskrit Kataha and the tamil Kadaram are names for one and the same place.

Most important for our present purposes is a passage which occurs in the *prasasti* of the tamil portion of the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D. It has been translated several times by different scholars and we give the latest rendering by Professor Nilankanta Sastri, the distinguished Tamil scholar and historian (311, p. 286), setting the places out in capitals:—

"(Rajendra) having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Sangrama-Vijayottungavarman, the King of Kadaram, together with the elephants in his glorious army, (took) the large heap of treasures, which (that king) had rightfully accumulated; (captured) with noise the (arch called) Vidhyadhara-torana at the war-gate of his extensive capital (nagar), SRI-VIJAYA with the jewelled wicket-gate adorned with great splendour and the gate of large jewels; PANNAI with water in its bathing ghats; the ancient MALAIYUR with the strong mountain for its rampart, MAYURI-DINGAM, surrounded by the deep sea (as) by a moat; ILANGASOKA undaunted (in) fierce battles; MAPPAPPALAM having abundant (deep) water as defence; MEVILIMBANGAN guarded by beautiful walls; VALAIPPANDURU possessed of Vilaippanduru (?); TALAITTAKKOLAM praised by great men (versed in) the sciences; the great TAMRALINGA (capable of) strong action in dangerous battles; ILAMURIDESAM, whose fierce strength rose in war; the great NAKKAVARAM, in whose extensive gardens, honey was collecting; and KADARAM of fierce strength, which was protected by the deep sea".

In his previous translation of this passage (57, pp: 254-255) he added to Ilangasoka the words "i.e. Lankasoka", and for "the great Tamralinga" he gave "Madamalingam", the form also used by Professor Coedès.

It should be noted also that Jayangondar, the Court poet of the Chola king Kulottunga I, who wrote the tamil war-poem *Kalingattuppurani*, speaks of the Chola conquest of "Kadaram where the the crystal waves washed the sand mixed with red gold" (315, p. 20; 57, pp: 263-264).

The Tanjore inscription does not give geographical data upon which any identification of the places named could be ventured and

phonetic reasoning, combined with historical facts, has had to be followed. When the identification of Ptolemy's Takola was considered in the *Introduction*[20], it was suggested that it should be looked for in ancient Kedah and that the promontory which succeeded it would then be "the bulge of land between the Perak and Bernam Rivers, or Pangkor north of it". This suggestion was rejected by Dr. Quaritch Wales (268, p. 67) because in his views the bulge probably did not exist in Ptolemy's time, and because "secondly, there seems little doubt that Takola survived in the XIth century as the Talaittakkolam of the Cola inscription of 1030 A.D. But since the Ilangasogam of the same inscription has definitely been identified with the Langkasuka which the *Kedah Annals* so clearly locate at the base of Kedah Peak it is necessary to look for Talaittakkolam elsewhere".

Again he writes (ibid: p. 71) "we know for certain that in the XIth century Ilangasogam (= Langkasuka, the city on the Sungai Bujang, Kedah) was a dependent of the Śailendra Empire". At pp: 76-77, he points out that Kadaram must have been different from Ilangasogam and says "Coedès himself felt this difficulty since he had already located the Langkasuka of the *Kedah Annals* (= Ilangasogam of the Cola records = Ling-ya-sseu-kia of Chau Ju-Kua) at the base of Kedah Peak, with which localization I cordially agree". And, at p. 68, he writes of "the powerful kingdom of Lang-ya-hsiu which is generally agreed to have been situated at Ligor".

Throughout his recent paper concerning the name Langkasuka in this Journal (vol: XXI, Pt: I, pp: 119-124) Dr. Linehan has assumed that it represented the Kedah settlement.

We agree completely that the Ilangasoka (Ilangasogam) of the inscription must be the Malay Langkasuka but we do not agree that it was the city at the foot of Kedah Peak on the Sungai Bujang. The evidence, as we shall show, places it on the east coast of the Peninsula.

In his latest work (272, pp: 182-183) Professor Coedès gives the following identifications of the places mentioned in the Tanjore inscription of 1030 A.D. as having been conquered by Rajendra I; and we give them as written by him:—

Crivijaya (Palembang),

Malaiyur (the Malayu of the 7th century, i.e. Jambi),

Mayirudingan (the Je-lo-ting of the Chinese, some place on the Malay Peninsula),

Ilangacogam (Lankasuka),

Mappappalam, (Pappha,al placed by the singhalese chronicle *Mahavamsa* on the coast of Pegu),

Mevilimbangan (identified with Karmaranga or Kamalanka on the isthmus of Ligor),

Valaippanduru (perhaps Pandur (anga), in Champa, preceded either by the Tamil word *ralai* "fortress", or by the Cham word *palei* "village"),

Talaittakkolam (Takkola of Ptolemy and the *Milindapanha*, on the isthmus of Kra),

Madamalingam (Tambralinga, Chinese Tan-ma-ling, of which the centre was at Ligor),

Ilamuridecam (Lamuri of the Arabs, Lambri of Marco Polo at the northern extremity of Sumatra),

Manakkavaram (Nicobar Islands),

Kadaram (Kedah).

As Professor Nilakanta Sastri says (311, p. 286) "it is not easy to explain the order in which the different places are named; this does not seem to follow with any accuracy the actual course of the campaign, but is apparently determined by the requirements of verse"; but (ibid: p. 287) "we may assume with Krom: "first an attack on the capital Sri Vijaya in which the king was taken prisoner, followed by the occupation of two important points of the East Coast of Sumatra; then the conquest of the Malay Peninsula, and finally Atjeh (Lamri) and the Nicobars on the way home; and all this summed up in the fall of Kataha"."

In connection with the names it should be noted that the Tamil *ma* is the same sanskrit *maha*, each meaning "great" and that the Tamil *talai* in Talaittakkolam means "head" or "chief". Sylvain Levi (40, p. 43), as quoted by Majumdar (181, p. 75), considered that the *me* in Mevilimbangan should "be analysed, in the inscription of Tanjore, like Ma-Damalingam, Ma-Nakkavaram, as Me-Vilimbangan; it is clear that Velimbangan is the Indian transcription of Malay *belimbing* which is the equivalent of Karmaranga. The Indian name of fruit, derived from the country, has become in its turn the indication of the country itself". Professor Coedès cites this passage from Sylvain Levi's *Pre-aryen et pre-dravidien dan l' Inde* (40) as the authority for his identification of Mevilimbangan.

Professor Nilakanta Sastri, as has been seen, writes Tamralinga in place of Madamalingam; and all are agreed that the

two places are the same. One prefers respectfully his view Valaippanduru defines satisfactory identification (311, p. 287).

We propose now to consider the identification of Ilangasoka (Ilangacogam) and Kadaram, which obviously from the context of of the inscription were two different places. We do not propose to weary the reader with a recapitulation of all the views which have been expressed about the location of these places. They exhibit in details a considerable conflict of opinion and many of them are out of date. We shall consider the matter afresh, giving such references as seem to be helpful.

There cannot be any doubt that the Tamil *Ilangasoka* is the same name as the Malay *Langkasuka* and the Javanese *Lengkasuka* of the *Nagarakretagama* of 1365 A.D.; but we do not agree with Dr. Quaritch Wales that the Ilangasogam of the Tanjore inscription "has definitely been identified with the Langkasuka which the *Kedah Annals* so clearly locate at the base of Kedah Peak" (268, p. 67). His authority for this identification was the famous study of Srivijaya in 1918 by Professor Coedès (315, p. 15), who based himself at that time on Gerini (327), Blagden (328), and Colonel Low's translation of the Kedah Annals, *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*. When this last was considered in the *Introduction*[21] we accepted the 1918 identification by Professor Coedès and related the Chinese Langga-siu (as we wrote it then) of the *Liang Shu* with the Lankasuka of Low's translation; but a further and closer analysis of the available facts causes us how to reject it, and, as will be seen later, Professor Coedès himself does not seem to hold the opinion any longer.

In 1906 Blagden wrote "But it is worth mention that Langkasuka still lies in the memory of the local Malays. It has developed into a myth, being evidently the 'spirit-land' referred to as Lakan Suka ('Lakaun Suka') by the peasantry of the Patani states and the realm of Alang-ka-suka, interpreted by a curious folk etymology as the 'country of what you will', a sort of fairy-land where the Kedah Malays locate the fairy princess Sadong, who rules over the Little People and the wild goats of the lime-stone hills, and persistently refuses all suitors, be they never so high-born or otherwise eligible" (328 p. 119). In 1905 Col: Gerini had identified the Lengkasuka of the *Nagarakretagama* as the old capital of Kedah mentioned in the Kedah Annals (327, pp: 495-498) and in 1909 he repeated this in his study of Ptolemy (46, p. 825). In 1909 in his *Notes on Malay History* (III) Blagden accepted this identification by Gerini and he set out the passage in the second strophe of Canto 14 of the *Nagarakretagama* where the dependencies of Majapahit in the Malay Peninsula are given. He also considered the identification of these dependencies; and

the reader will find in Ferrand's *Textes* (172, i i,pp: 651-665) a list of all the names in the Javanese poem with many identifications. In his identification of Lengkasuka Blagden rested himself upon the Kedah Annals (328, pp: 148-149): but in addition to this name the poem gives *Keda* and *Jera*. The former was regarded by Blagden as obviously Kedah and Ferrand agrees. Of Jera Blagden said that, while the Dutch *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie* identified it with Jering in the Patani states, it might equally well stand for Gunong Jerai (Kedah Peak) except that that district was already referred to by the mention of Lengkasuka.

The Kedah Annals, as Sir Richard Winstedt says, are "full of omissions, anachronisms and errors" and the text would not seem to have been completed till late in the 18th or early in the 19th century (329, pp: 32, 33). They are, therefore, clearly a case of a late annalist giving written form to current legends and oral history. As a source of interest the traditional matter is well worth exploration but the work cannot be treated as authentic history. In 1932 in his great Dictionary the late Mr. R. J. Wilkinson wrote that Langkasuka was "Probably in North Malaya (where there is a River Langkasuka, where the Kedah records speak of L. still as an old Kedah capital, and where there are traditions of a fairy land (alang-ka-suka) or kingdom of a Golden Age)" Winstedt (92, p. 21) says that the Langkasuka River is "a tributary to an upper reach of the Perak River".

It is, then, clear that the legend of Langkasuka is not static in one place; the name represented a golden empire and a golden time of the past. That the Kedah annalist should have incorporated such a place in his work as the first name of the ancient settlement founded by Marong Mahawangsa was only natural, with the traditions of Langkasuka all around him on the tongues of the people; but these traditions were a general Malay heritage. The question before us is where Langkasuka must be placed exactly; and the facts of history show that (even if at one time or another its confines may have stretched to the west coast) it was primarily an east coast state, while Keda (Kedah) was always on the west coast and never reached the east.

(*To be continued*).

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3 ibid:, pp: 12-22.

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9 J.R.A.S. (M.B.), vol: XVII, Pt: 1, p. 205.

10 ibid:, pp: 203, 206.

11 J.R.A.S. (M.B.), vol: XV, Pt: 3, pp: 65-75.

12 In 949 A.D. it was the scene of the famous battle in which the Chola Crown Prince Rajaditya lost his life (57, pp: 157-158).

13 *Descriptive Dictionary of British Malaya*, 1894.

14 *Oriental Commerce*, 1825.

15 See *Introduction*, J.R.A.S. (M.B.), vol: XV, Pt: 3, pp: 94-95.

16 H. N. Ridley, F.R.S., most distinguished of Malaya's botanists.

17 Kedah Peak.

18 J.R.A.S. (M.B.), vol: XIV, Pt: 3, pp. 44-48.

19 Ibid: p. 44.

20 J.R.S. (M.B.), vol: XIV, Pt: 3, p. 35.

21 J.R.A.S. (M.B.) vol: XV, Pt: 3, pp: 64-103.

Takuapa and its Tamil Inscription*

by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

(*Received, May 1948*)

Some sixteen years ago I published in the *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras* (Vol. VI 1932) the result of my first study of the antiquities of Takua-pa and of the Tamil inscription discovered in that place. I wish now to set forth my present views on the subject reached in the light of subsequent researches of other scholars particularly Dr. Quaritch Wales and Mr. Roland Braddell. Some time ago I happened to mention to Mr. Braddell that I was thinking of writing this paper for this Journal, and he kindly favoured me with an advance typescript of the further instalment of his *Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya* (under publication) in which he discusses with his usual thoroughness and clarity the identification of Takola and Kataha. More than anything else this last mentioned paper of Mr. Braddell has impressed on me the unwisdom of dabbling in the history of Malaya without a direct knowledge of the terrain and its peculiarities. On these matters I shall accept the guidance of Dr. Wales and Mr. Braddell and proceed to set down what I now think of Takuapa and its antiquities, and of its Tamil inscription.

In 1932 I accepted Col. Gerini's identification of Takua-pa with Takola of Ptolemy, and Takkola of the *Milinda Panha*[1]. There has been much discussion on this matter since and Mr. Braddell in his *Notes* has adverted to the subject repeatedly; he has critically examined Dr. Wales's effort to defend Gerini's identification and found it unsatisfactory. After a good deal of hesitation lasting over some years he has now definitely plumped for Berthelot's identification of Takola with Trang which he considers best satisfies the data from Ptolemy on Takola and the Chinese sources regarding Tou-chū-li, the capital of Tun-Sun (Malay Peninsula). He also points out that archaeologically the claim of Takuapa is no better than that of Trang, as the potsherds discovered at Takuapa by Dr. Wales are "of doubtful evidencential value, to say the least". I accept the position finally taken up by Mr. Braddell and admit readily that it is no longer possible to hold that Takuapa is the same as Ptolemy's Takola.

* Unfortunately suitable type for setting some of the diacritical marks required by this paper is not available in Malaya. An attempt has been made to obtain the necessary fonts from the manufacturers, but they have not been able to supply it in time. To avoid confusion, the paper has therefore been **set without any diacritical marks.**

1. JRAS. 1904 pp. 242-7

In considering the sculptures in 1932 I cited the remarks of L. de Lajonquière at some length. He said in 1909: "The principal personage appears to be (again) Siva between two feminine divinities or celestial danseuses.... Sculptures and inscriptions have been found on the hillock which dominates the opposite bank, but I have been able to recognise only very vague traces of the foundations of a sanctuary, of which the dimensions are far from corresponding to the proportions of the sculptured stela[2]". In 1912 the same writer modified his opinion on the relation between the shrine and the sculptures. He described the mountain of Phra Narai as a small conical hill forty metres high and covered by forests; on its summit were remains of a small sanctuary which measured three metres from side to side in the interior and opened to the East. He added: "On the opposite side of the Khlong Ko Sok, an ornate stela of Brahmanical figures *which came from this small shrine* is deposited on the bank[3]". On the sculptured stela he gave a very detailed description from which I cite only the sentences of immediate interest for our purposes: "It appears to have been cut in a large slab of schistose limestone on which three figures came out in reliefs exceeding at certain points 90 centimetres in thickness. The most important, at the centre, represents Siva standing.... The figure which, on the stela....is placed to the right of the god is without doubt that of his wife, Parvati. Probably the goddess is represented as seated.... The head is dressed in the form of a high cylindrical chignon formed of tresses gathered up in front and held in position by golden ornaments; a golden crown with two large ear laps... The figure to the right (of the spectator) represents a danseuse; resting on the left knee with the left hand on the hip, she stretches towards the god her right arm which is broken....a cordon passed over the left shoulder hangs between her two well developed breasts....These three figures of natural size are very superior as sculpture to what we have so far found in Indo-China".

In my discussion of the sculptures in 1932, I took Lajonquière's description of the figures at their face value and treating them as one male god between two female divinities I pointed out that as Siva is never thus represented, and as the sculptures came from the mountain of Visnu and the inscription accompanying them gives the name of Visnu for the tank mentioned therein, we must treat the figures as Visnu between his two consort—Sridevi (Laksmi) and Bhu-devi (Earth goddess). Had I looked more closely at the line drawing of Lajonquière himself[4] which I reproduced with my paper, I could have realised that the figure to the right of 'Siva' was a male with a Jata-makuta in striking contrast to the figure on the

2. BCAIC 1909 pp. 234-6
3. BCAIC 1912 pp. 166-9 (Italic mine).
4. BCAIC 1909 Fig. 2

other side with 'her two well-developed breasts'. I will not speculate how Lajonquière happened to fall into the mistake!

Now we have the excellent photographs of these sculptures accompanying Dr. Wales's paper on *'A Newly explored route of Ancient Indian Cultural Expansion*[5]', and they leave not the least room for any doubt in the matter. The central figure is obviously a male god, that to his right a male devotee, and that to his left a female divinity. Of them Dr. Wales observes: "The images, too, though evidently made in the peninsula, are fairly close to the Pallava style of South India, and appear to date from the seventh or eight century. They have not yet been satisfactorily identified. Lajonquière considered that central figure (height 4 feet 7 inches) to be Siva; and it appears to me that there is some resemblance to the Gangadhara group at Trichinopoly[6]". This I consider a very valuable suggestion. In the Trichinopoly sculpture, the figures on either side of Siva are male, but a reference to the other sculptures of Gangadhara reproduced in Gopinatha Rao's *Hindu Iconography* along with the Trichinopoly sculpture would show that we have here really a figure of Gangadhara, with Bhagiratha on his right and Parvati on his left[7]. The stone panel from Elephanta is a particularly close parallel to our sculpture.

On the provenance of the sculptures Lajonquière, as we have seen, is very definite that they came from the shrine on the Pra Narai Hill. He goes further and says: 'An inscription was found on the Khao Pra Narai at the same time as the stela of which we have just spoken'. But Dr. Wales casts serious doubt on the whole matter. He says: "Examination of the top of the hill did, it is true, reveal a few broken bricks and a slab of stone, evidently the remains of a small shrine, and indeed one might well expect to find that a solitary hill at the junction of two rivers would be crowned with a shrine. But its connection with the three images I judge to be due only to coincidence, and I propose to dismiss the local story as an explanatory myth. My reasons are, firstly, that the little shrine could only have been 6 feet square and hence could hardly have fittingly accommodated these large sculptures (a view, we may observe in passing, once expressed by Lanjonquière himself though he seems to have given it up later); and, secondly, the stone slab on the top of the hill was square, and was apparently a smooth-grained sandstone. On the other hand, the sculptures are in a slaty schist, exactly similar to that which we have seen employed at T'ung Tu'k." He points out further that the worked and unworked water-worn schist boulders lying near the images exactly resemble those found on

5. IAL. ix pl. iv figs. 2-4
6. Ibid. p. 15
7. T.A.G. Rao: *Hindu iconography* II (i) plates xc-xciii

the island (T'ung Tu'k) and nowhere else. Lastly he lays stress on the fact that the inscribed schistose slab which mentions the digging of a tank is quite out of place at the junction of the two rivers where no tank was necessary. "But at T'ung Tu'k one can well see the need for it, since there are only very small fresh water streams on the island and there must have been a teeming population". "And then the inscription mentions that the tank was placed under a guild of merchants, who would be more likely to live on the coast than inland. I think, therefore that we can conclude that the stones, the inscriptions, and the sculptures did originate from T'ung Tu'k, and if so, they afford valuable evidence as to the date—at any rate, a date—of that settlement[8]". To account for their presence near the confluence of the rivers inland, he assumes that the Indian colonists from the island sought to carry them to the flourishing Indianised cities of the east coast, and asks "what more natural than that when their heavily-laden boats went aground in the shallowing water above the river junction, they should have reverently laid the precious relics on the bank facing the shrine of the spirit guardian of the place?" I do not, however, consider it normal for people to carry heavy sculptures across the width of the peninsula, much less an inscription bearing on a local work of public utility and its protection. And I have not at any time found it easy to accept in all their details Dr. Wales's favourite theories relating to centres of cultural expansion in the colonies and the four waves in which Indian culture came to the east. And I must leave it to others who know the country to determine how far Dr. Wales's views on the provenance of the sculptures and the inscription have been influenced by his eagerness to find a date for the T'ung Tu'k settlement discovered by him and how far they are dictated by facts. The main question for decision here is whether the sculptures could have been contained in the shrine at the top of Khao P'ra Narai; and on this while Dr. Wales is positive that the shrine could not have held them, Lajonquière wavered, though he says definitely more than once that both the sculptures and the inscription were found on the hill. Only the archaeologists of Malaya can settle this by another careful local inspection and enquiry.

We may now turn to the text of the inscription which is engraved in Tamil characters of the ninth century A.D. I would read the inscription now thus:

1. .....(ya) varmakku.
2. ....man tan nang(u)r (u) dai(ya)
3. n totta kulam per sri A(vani)
4. naranam manikkiramattar(k)

8. IAL. IX. pp. 14-16.

5. kum Senamukattarkkum

6.....patarkkum adarkkalam.

The first line gives part of the name of the king; how much of the inscription has been lost in the beginning cannot be ascertained. Possibly the royal name must be restored as Nandipottaraiyavarman, in the light of the title Avani-narana occurring in lines 3-4 as the name of the tank and as one of the well-known titles of the Pallava king Nandivarman III (A.D. 826-50). Lines 2-6 may be rendered thus: 'The tank dug by Nangur-udaiyan (and) called Avani-naranam (is placed under) the protection of the Manikkiramam, the residents of the military camp and....'

The inscription is of considerable historical importance and belongs to the time of one of the later Pallava kings Nandivarman III who ruled at Kancipuram and whose exploits form the subject of the laudatory poem *Nandikkalambakam* in the Tamil language.[9] In this poem the king is repeatedly called Avani-naranan (vv. 14, 18, 22, and 66) and the village of Kaverippakkam about twenty miles north of Kancipuram bears in its inscriptions the name Avani-narayana-caturvedimangalam. Naranan is the common Tamil variant of the fuller Sanskrit form Narayana, and the title with this form is also found in the Tamil poem in some verses (e.g. v. 64). This poem also describes him as the unrivalled master of the four oceans—Narkadarkoru-nayakan (v. 26), and our inscription is important as the solitary piece of concrete evidence in support of this tall claim made on behalf of Nandivarman III by his court-poet.

We must also note this. In spite of his title Avani-naranam (Visnu of the earth) the monarch was an ardent devotee of Siva, and the Tamil poem makes this clear by saying that he never once put Siva out of his mind—*Sivanai muludu-maravāda sindaiyan* (Add. v. 8). It therefore seems quite likely that the sculpture of the Gangadhara group at the temple which must have contained it are coeval with the tank made in its neighbourhood. For the sake of completeness I might repeat briefly the explanations I offered in 1932 for the rest of the inscription. Nangur is a variant of Nangur, a well-known village (in the Tanjore District) noted for its martial valour as we learn from frequent references to it in the hymns of the Vaisnava Alvar Tirumangai. The person who dug the tank had most probably a military fief in Nangur and was for that reason known as Nangurudaiyan according to a common practice in the Tamil states. The inclusion of the garrison of Takua-pa in the safe-guarding of the tank is also explained naturally on this supposition. The Manikkiramam deriving its

9. 391 and 394 of 1905 of Madras Epigraphical collection.

name ultimately from Sanskrit Vanik-graman (guild of merchants) is a powerful mercantile corporation often mentioned in South Indian inscriptions. We thus see clearly that our inscription attests the presence at Takua-pa of a good number of Tamils including soldiers and merchants and having a permanent stake in the country round about and rearing religious and secular institutions conducive to their spiritual and material welfare. Quite possibly the political power of Nandivarman III extended to parts of the west coast of the Malay peninsula at least for some years.

Dusun Customary Law at Kadamaian

by IVOR H. N. EVANS

(*Received, May, 1948*)

The catalogue of Dusun crimes and punishments, etc., given here refers only to the village of Kadamaian (Tempasuk), about 1½ miles from Kota Belud, a Government station in the West Coast Residency of British North Borneo. It is possible, nay probable, that punishments in other villages of the district, especially up-country, may be, or may have been, quite different.

All my information comes from my old friend Gansiau whom I first knew in 1910. He tells me that, when a small boy, he often attended cases in which his father, then village headman, adjudicated. This was before Chartered Company rule was firmly established, though there was already a Government officer at Abai, on the coast; and previous to this, there had been a Government station at Baharu-Baharu, near Ambong. Gansiau was a small youth when the Government post was moved from Timbang Dayang to Kota Belud.

At the present time all crimes according to European ideas are dealt with by the Government. Offences against native custom are still judged by the headman, whose findings can, if necessary, be enforced by the Native Court. This is composed of Government-appointed Native Chiefs, and deals with minor affairs.

The following are the descriptions and sizes of buffaloes, cattle, pigs and gongs mentioned in the fines.

BUFFALOES AND CATTLE

Karud.[1] A breeding female.

Kiadik. A young animal of either sex whose mother has had a subsequent calf. Used only of cattle; not of buffaloes.

Sandangau. ("one span") An animal whose horns are a span long. See also below. Used only of buffaloes.

Manansang. An animal with horns of the measurement from the tip of the index finger to the fork of the thumb. Used only of buffaloes.

[1] *Karud* is the more usual term, equivalent to the Malay *endong*. At Kadamaian such an animal is called *molobing*. ("old one").

PIGS

Tipong longon. ("Arm measurement"). The distance from insertion of deltoid muscle, below the shoulder, to the tip of the outstretched fingers.

Tipong siku. ("elbow measurement"). The distance from the elbow to the end of the finger tips.

GONGS

Measurements are taken from the rim to the edge of the boss:—

Sandangau ("one span") is the stretch from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the second finger.

Sandangau tuduk ("first finger span") is the stretch from the end of the thumb to the point of the first finger.

Sampangawit is the stretch from the second joint of the first finger, folded, to the tip of the thumb.

Crimes

MURDER

If the murder was committed of set purpose or under the influence of drink, the murdered person had to be "replaced", the fine (*salak*) for the crime being as below. If, however, the murderer was very drunk, so drunk as not to know what he was doing, only half the fine was inflicted. The traditional payment was as follows:—

1 *sanang tomanis* (expensive gong, rather shallow).

1 *tawag.* (expensive gong, deep and deep-toned).

1 old jar of the type called *panding.*

3 buffaloes (*sandangau*).

3 pigs (*tipong longon*).

3 fowls.

The fowls were *sogit* ("cooling compensation"), the other goods *salak* (on account of the crime committed.)

ACCIDENTAL KILLING

No *salak or sogit* was demanded, unless the deceased was killed by a spring-trap set by the offender, when half the fine for murder was inflicted.

WOUNDING

If the wounding was serious, involving temporary or permanent disablement, the *salak* was:—

1 buffalo (*karud*)

1 *tinukol* (shallow gong, most varieties being cheap).

Furthermore, the aggressor had to support the wounded person until he was fully recovered. This also applied when a person was wounded by a spring-trap.

In minor wounding, a pig (*tipong siku*) had to be paid as *sogit* if the wound was deep.

BEATING

A pig (*tipong siku*) and a fowl had to be paid as *sogit*, in addition to maintenance until recovery, if necessary.

ADULTERY

A man finding his wife committing adultery was entitled to kill both parties. If the adultery was only proved by witnesses, the male offender had to pay *salak* of one *sapi karud* to the woman's representatives, compensation (termed *lapau*) of another *sapi karud* to the husband, and *sogit* of a pig (*tipong longon*) and a fowl.

RAPE

A man caught in the act by the woman's or girl's father or husband could be killed on the spot. Otherwise the payment (*salak*) was as below, unless, in the case of an unmarried girl, the affair could be settled by marriage. In the latter case all three parties (the girl, her parents and the man) had to be agreeable.

1 buffalo or cow (*karud*).

TOUCHING A WOMAN'S BREASTS AGAINST HER WILL

As above.

STEPPING ON A WOMAN'S MAT WHILE SHE IS ASLEEP ON IT

Salak of a *sapi kiadik*.

CAUSING SHAME TO A WOMAN BY EXPOSURE.

One *sapi karud*.

CURSING A MAN OR A WOMAN

KILLING BUFFALOES OR CATTLE WITHOUT DUE REASON

Such offences are sometimes committed out of spite. The punishhment was replacement of the animal killed and payment of one *kiadik* as *pongaiyud*.

WOUNDING CATTLE OR BUFFALOES

A crime due to spite, or to irritation at damage done to crops (see below). If the animal was permanently maimed, it had to be replaced and a fowl given as *sogit*. If the wounding did not result in permanent damage, there was *pongaiyud* of a buffalo of *sandangau*, with a fowl as *sogit*.

DAMAGE BY ANIMALS

Dogs, etc., belonging to others caught stealing food in a house could be killed. Hunting dogs, being of special value, were supposed to wear a bell to distinguish them. In the case of a dog protected by wearing a bell, the owner was warned and had to replace the food stolen.

If crops were damaged by buffaloes, or cattle, breaking in, and the fences were sufficient, the animals concerned might be killed. An adequate fence was defined as a strong fence, in good condition, with five posts to the fathom and ten rails.

If fences were sufficient, pigs breaking into crops might be killed after warning their owners.

OFFENCES BY MAGIC

Though those may be considered crimes, there is no legal punishment in the Dusun code for a man who sends a spirit to cause the illness or death of an enemy, or to destroy his crops. All that the aggrieved person can do, if he suspects that he is a victim of such magic, is to employ a man who has a *pigulik* (from *mulik*, to go home). This is a talisman which makes the spirit return home to its master and attack him instead of the intended victim. Kaianggus of Kadamaian, recently deceased, had such a talisman.

WORKING ON "REST DAYS" TO THE PUBLIC HURT

The wet rice fields of Kadamaian depend on an irrigation dam and canal for their water supply. It is believed that if work is done on certain rest days in the Dusun month (see *Studies in Religion*, pp. 44-45, and further material now ready for publication) the dam will suffer injury. The days in question are those called *Katang*, *Giok*, *Tonibol* and *Tonob*. Offenders against custom who work on such days are liable to a *sogit* of one fowl to the

controller of the dam (*mongigit do wokok*). Those who do not come to work on the dam, when the villagers are called together to repair it, are liable to a fine of 10 gantangs (one *mandor*) of padi.

Some Civil Affairs

DEBTS

For small debts of two or three dollars a single buffalo might be seized by the creditor. If the debt was large, several animals might be taken. A report of what had been done was made to the village headman. The animals taken were retained until the debt was paid.

Slaves seem to have been rare at Kadamaian. Gansiau says that he only knew of one, a Dusun girl from Mengkabong, in the Tuaran District, whom a Bajau had seized for a debt owed by her deceased father. She died young, and was not married. Slaves appear to have been well treated. They were, of course, expected to assist their master, but they could not be beaten if they were lazy. They could take up land on their own account and work on it, and could enrich themselves by selling their rice and purchasing buffaloes, and so on. Moreover, a slave was entitled to his (or her) liberty if and when he refunded his purchase price to his owner. In the case of the slave girl mentioned above, who was bought by Native Chief Banatih's father, the purchase price was a pony. Further, if a man of the village was attracted by a girl slave, and wished to marry her, he could obtain her freedom by refunding the purchase price.

DISPUTES ABOUT LAND

If a quarrel arose with regard to land, in the absence of evidence of ownership, the taking of an oath (*mipopol*) was employed as a method of decision, curses being called down on the head of the party who lied. If one of the disputants refused the oath, it was clear proof that the land was not his. If the evidence was not clear, and both parties persisted in their claims and took the oath, resort was had to ordeal by immersion. Both claimants entered a river, and their heads were pressed down under the water by a beam placed across their necks. The first one to succumb temporarily, his body floating away on the current and being retrieved and revived by his friends, was judged to be in the wrong.

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Raffles and the Massacre at Palembang

(Palembang in 1811 en 1812: J. C. Baud. Bijdragen tot en Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde Van N. I. No. 1 Amsterdam 1852)

by C. E. WURTZBURG, M.C.

(Received, September 1948)

Baud's article sets out to prove that Raffles was morally responsible for the brutal massacre of the Dutch Garrison and their families at Palembang in 1811. As it is still quoted in modern works dealing with Java (e.g. *Nusantara*, by Vlekke)[1], I felt it incumbent on me to examine it in connection with my own book on Raffles. Mr. D. Rahusen of Amsterdam kindly obtained a copy for me. I am also indebted to Mr. C. M. Morrell of the British Chamber of Commerce for the N.E.I. for translating the Dutch Narrative, and to Sir Richard Winstedt, for translating Malay Letters appended to it.

The Author. J. C. Baud was born in 1789, and was educated partly in England. He entered the Dutch Navy and arrived in Java with Janssens in 1810. After the fall of Java he obtained an introduction to Assey, through du Puy (who was already employed in the British Secretariat), and by this means became an Assistant Secretary. He was related by marriage to Muntinghe; they had married half-sisters. According to Furnivall[2], Baud was a blatantly unscrupulous careerist. He discarded his principles and his friends with equal readiness, if he thought his own career could thus be advanced. His scheming was very successful for a time. After various posts in the Netherlands Indies and in Holland, he became Governor-General (1833/6), but that was the end of his active career. His capacity for the turning his coat had by then become too notorious. His article is clearly inspired by hatred of Raffles. Every shred of evidence is given the worst possible construction. Whether this hatred arose from some personal affront from Raffles, or whether from the then fashionable attitude (which would for Baud be an adequate reason), I do not know. The narrative is carelessly written. In spite of the various authorities that he claims to have consulted, he seems to have been unable to get all his facts right.

The Background. In 1811 Raffles was established at Malacca as Agent for the Governor General of India (Lord Minto) with the Malay States. In modern language he was performing the func-

1 "Nusantara" B. H. M. Vlekke (Harvard 1945).
2 "Netherlands India", Furnivall (London 1939).

tions of a Military Intelligence Officer, collecting information and preparing the way for the invasion of Java. Among his other responsibilities he had to try to establish friendly relations with the ruling Princes and if possible secure a promise of assistance, or at least neutrality, during the Java operations. The Sultan of Palembang (Mahmud Badru'd-din) was one of those with whom Raffles got into communication.

After the capture of Java Raffles, now Lieutenant Governor, sent a Mission to Palembang to report the fact, to replace the Dutch Resident by a British officer and to negotiate, if the time seemed propitious, a treaty with the Sultan. The Mission was received with great hostility and kept in complete isolation. It returned to Java without achieving anything, but with a strong suspicion that the Dutch Garrison at Palembang had been massacred. It was found on arrival at Batavia that the suspicion had been fully justified. While the Mission had been away some of Raffles's Malay couriers had managed to escape from Palembang and make their way to Batavia. They reported that the Dutch garrison had been tricked into leaving their fort on the pretext that there was a ship waiting to take them to Java, and had been brutally murdered. A punitive expedition was despatched by Raffles under Gillespie. The attack on Palembang, 60 miles up-river, was difficult and hazardous. But Gillespie, with his usual dash and gallantry, carried out the operation brilliantly. Badru'd-din fled into the interior, with the State treasure. His brother Najimu'd-din was installed in his place, and a treaty concluded whereby Bangka and Billiton were ceded to Great Britain.

The presence in the background of Badru'd-din who, apart from possessing the royal treasure, was a more forceful figure and more respected by the Malays than Najimu'd-din, created a difficult situation. In 1813 Robison, the British Resident, thought it expedient to re-instate Badru'd-din and Najimu'd-din agreed to abdicate. Badru'd-din sent ambassadors and 200,000 Spanish dollars to Batavia as evidence of his goodwill. Robison had acted without any authority and was suspected of having been bribed. Raffles rejected the arrangement. Najimu'd-din returned to the throne and Badru'd-din to the jungle.

After the Dutch had re-occupied Java, Muntinghe was sent to Palembang as Commissioner. He behaved in a very autocratic way and Najimu'd-din appealed to Raffles in Bencoolen. Salmond was sent to Palembang and was taken prisoner by Muntinghe. Badru'd-din was meantime intriguing to recover his throne and, it is alleged, was prepared to spend money to obtain his ends. He also sent to Batavia some letters which he had received from Raffles in 1811. These, he argued, showed that Raffles, and not he, was

morally responsible for the murder of the Dutch garrison. These letters came very opportunely for the Dutch. They wanted to get rid of Najimu'd-din, if only because he had been put on the throne by the British; but to replace him by the Sultan who had murdered their compatriots presented some difficulty. Now they felt their consciences clear. Najimu'd-din was exiled to Java and Badru'd-din put on the throne. To finish the story, Badru'd-din proved to be a very different Sultan from his brother. He declared his independence, and it cost the Dutch several expeditions before they finally succeeded in overcoming him.

The Narrative. This opens with the varying opinions which writers have expressed as to how far Raffles can be held accountable for the massacre. One writer ascribes the massacre to the attempts of the Dutch Resident to check the excesses of the Sultan. Temminck examines Raffles's alleged guilt and rejects it. de Sturler convicts Raffles. Veth claims that it is quite inconsistent with what is known of Raffles's character. "A fortuitous circumstance" says Baud, "places us in a position to clarify the point at issue". This was the copies of the letters which Badru'd-din sent to Batavia, in 1816. Then follows a prejudiced and inaccurate account of Raffles's career to date, and his responsibility for the attack on Java. The part of the article which concerns us here then begins:—

> "One of the native Princes whom Raffles approached was Mahmud Badru'd-din, Sultan of Palembang. The British Agent had formed an exaggerated picture of the importance of alliance with this Sultan: "The Sultan (thus we hear him say in a letter to Lord Minto) had for a long time owed large sums to the Government at Batavia. It was known that he was exceptionally rich and the possessor of considerable, long accumulated, treasure". He (Raffles) was nervous lest the Sultan might be afraid of Daendels's reactions and take steps to pay the amount owing, which at that moment would be of the greatest importance to the Marshal's resources. "I know (thus continues Raffles) that the Marshal had not only threatened the Sultan but was preparing measures to enforce payment. These circumstances urged me to open negotiations because, whether the Sultan accepts or rejects my proposals, at any rate they would cause him to stay his hand in regard to any settlement with Marshal Daendels, while fresh courage would be instilled into the peoples of Bantam and the Lampongs, disheartened as they were by their latest setbacks." (*Note.* Apparently Raffles here refers to the capture of Tji-bongor by the Dutch Troops despatched by Daendels in the year 1809. Tji-bongor lies in the Pepper Bay and was strengthened by the Bantam and Lampong peoples assisted by foreign pirates. From Raffles' words it appears moreover that

Raden Intang, who at that time was the ringleader of the Bantam insurgents, was in close collusion with the British). "If the Sultan had fallen in with my suggestion, we should have won a powerful ally, with whose help we could have made a serious demonstration on the side of Bantam without weakening our main attack. Moreover the Sultan's voluntary association with us would have removed from him the results of the course of the war in Europe, while we, without further trouble, would have found ourselves in possession of the tin monopoly." (Memoir,[3] p. 42).

"After thus having learned from Raffles himself why he had hastened to begin an exchange of notes with the Palembang Prince we will pass on to a consideration of the notes prefacing the remark that those who conveyed his notes and verbal messages were Raden Muhammad alias Tengku Shariff Muhammad, a Malay, and Sayid Abu-Bakar, an Arab, both residing at Pulau Pinang, who apparently to conceal their mission, disguised themselves as traders.

"The first note from Raffles to the Sultan is not known to us, but we have the second written five days later and dated the 17th of the month of Dzul-Kaidah of the year 1224 (11th December, 1809). In it Raffles made himself known to the Sultan as a great Ruler, representative of Gilbert Lord Minto, the Raja exalted above all Rulers in the country of Bengal, who bowed before the flag of the King of England.

"After having recalled that, at the command of the Governor-General of British India, he wished to enter into negotiations with all the Malay Rulers, Raffles said he was first addressing the Palembang Sultan for whom he entertained a special affection and with whom he wished to enter into friendship, to the exclusion of others, *above all* the Dutch." Of what use (he asked) is it for my friend to allow the Dutch to remain in Palembang? They are malicious and will travel with my friend along the road to evil." (See Supplement No. 1).[4]

"Apparently this letter was transmitted by three British warships, as stated in a communication of the same date addressed to the *heads of Sunsang*, a village at the mouth of the Palembang river, whose residents are reassured that the intention of the British ships was the expulsion of the Dutch: "for whom" so Raffles concludes "you people cannot entertain

3 Memoir of the Life & Public Services of Sir T. S. Raffles by his widow (London 1830).

friendship without becoming my enemies and those of all the British". (See Supplement No. 2)[4]

"In the next note written on the 8th day of the month Saafar 1225 (March 2nd 1811) Raffles expresses his satisfaction at the tenor and sincerity of one of the Sultan's replies; but at the same time is disappointed that no accredited representative has reached Malacca with whom everything could be discussed. Therefore Raffles now clearly states what he actually desires, for there is no time for longer deliberations; the matter must be settled without further postponement; further delay will not benefit the Sultan; *action must be taken*. To move the Sultan to speedy action, Raffles resorts to untruth, or at least to exaggeration, and endeavours to frighten the Sultan into throwing out the Dutch; "who" says he, "have recently and in secret brought arms into Palembang and have established a war centre (tempat-perang) at Tulang Bawang". (A village in the Lampongs not far from the Palembang boundaries). If this has taken place without your knowledge then you should exchange no further words with the Dutch, but cancel the existing treaty and ask for help from your real friends, the British."

"What is specially required of the Sultan is set out in three points. We will not dwell on the *first* which concerns relations with the British, or on the *third* touching the trade in tin and pepper; but will here furnish a literal translation of the *second* point, as the Sultan has referred to it in extenuation of the murder of the Dutch garrison. The passage reads as follows:—"In the second place you must throw out and destroy (*buang habiskan sa-kali-kali*) all the Dutch as well as their Resident, and those who reside in Palembang under Dutch rule. In future allow no (Dutchmen) to reside or enter. Dutch residents can do no good. No Dutchmen should be allowed to enter the country of Palembang nor any other white people except the British. Should the British desire to have a trading place (*loji*) they should be allowed to do so on conditions to be determined later."

"In another part of the letter is to be found an urgent warning to delay no longer:—'If the present moment is allowed to slip by, action will be useless.'

"Finally Raffles's letter contains some pointers and advice in the event of the Sultan not wishing to break with the Dutch then and there. A complete copy of the treaty he wants

4 Summarised in the Appendix.

concluded is, he says, in the possession of Raden Muhammad; it lacks nothing but the signature, stamps and dates; the Sultan can affix these and then hand the deed to Raden Muhammad, who will return it when Raffles also has ratified the instrument. This can all be done secretly; an *English* ambassador will be publicly appointed when the Sultan desires. (See Supplement No. 3).[5]

"Apparently the Sultan did not ratify the agreement sent him, and Raden Muhammad returned with an evasive answer. (See Memoir, p. 43.)

"The next letter in the collection is of the 11th day of the month Rabiu'l-akhir of the year 1226 (22nd April 1811) and presses the Sultan for a decision; at the same time warning him that the Government vessel which conveys the letter can not remain longer than 24 hours, as the time has arrived to assemble all the ships destined to leave for Java.

"Raffles continues: 'As the Dutch are still in Palembang, I am sending *four cases of Government rifles.* Each case contains *twenty rifles—thus there are eighty in the four cases. In addition there are ten sealed baskets (krepik) containing cartridges filled with powder and shot.* I hope that you will receive all these in good order. You should write me quickly in regard to anything else you need — ships, men, arms.'

"Finally he sends to the Sultan copies of former letters entrusted to Raden Muhammad, because, he says. I do not know whether they have been received or not. (See Supplement 4).[6]

"The last letter in our collection was written to the Sultan by Captain Macdonald, conveying an order concerning a warship anchored in the Palembang estuary. He mentions a letter to be handed to the Sultan by his own hand, but, as Raden Muhammad and Sayid Abu-Bakar have told him that the Sultan's residence is far from the anchorage, he sends Sayid Abu-Bakar in his place to deliver both the letters and *four cases of rifles and ten cases of gunpowder* and he expresses his desire that the Sultan send him someone of good standing: 'to whom he can confide the instructions received from a higher level in regard to the *Dutch*, and from whom he can learn what are the Sultan's orders about the *Dutch.*' (See Supplement No. 5).[6]

5 See Appendix.
6 See Appendix.

"The reply to this letter is not known to us, nor if further negotiations took place. From Raffles's notes one is led to think he drew his emissaries' attention to the island of Bangka when it appeared that the desired result at Palembang was not to be obtained as quickly as he wished. ('Suspecting from the procrastination of the Sultan of Palembang the turn which the negotiations were likely to take and being aware of the immense importance of the island of Bangka, I directed my agents to use every means in their power to obtain the most particular account of the island and its productions, as well as of the nature of the Government and the disposition of the inhabitants.' (Memoir, p. 43). Moreover we discover that the emissaries were at Muntok (Bangka) on July 22nd, 1811, under instructions from Raffles to await him there until further orders, or to follow him to Batavia if the Sultan did not grant them permission to remain at Muntok. It appears further that at the invitation of the Sultan, they had proceeded from Bangka to Palembang, where they were when the massacre took place. (See Supplement No. 6).[7]

"Properly to understand Raffles's orders quoted above and the rest of this narrative, it must be remembered that the British expedition of ninety sail left Malacca on June 18th, 1811 and dropped anchor off Batavia on August 4th; that after a series of engagements the strong fortified encampment at Meester-Cornelis was occupied by the British; that on the 11th September Lord Minto issued a proclamation at Batavia declaring that Java and dependencies had become one of the territories of the British East India Company, and that General Janssens capitulated on the 18th of the month, when that part of Java not yet in British possession, as well as the outer possessions, were surrendered to the British.

"We have seen that the Sultan was for a long time fruitlessly urged by Raffles to *act*. On September 14th, 1811, he decided to do so. The Dutch fort was overpowered by means of a trick and then sacked and, together with the adjoining buildings, was demolished; the officials and soldiers (24 European and 63 Javanese) were thrown into a boat, taken down stream and put to death. Unwillingly one observes in this bloody event the fulfilment of what was so urgently recommended to the Sultan—*throw out* and *destroy*.

"The details are related in some of the books referred to on the first page. Raffles's two emissaries who, as stated were in Palembang at the time of the massacre, and two persons

7 See Appendix.

who escaped the bloodbath, Willem van de Wetering Buys and his sister Louise wife of the second Resident, Haarvlegter, who was also murdered, have produced narratives less generally known. (see Supplements 6, 7 & 8).[8]

"At the beginning of November, 1811, the occurrence was not yet known in Batavia. Mr. Raffles, since September 11 vested with the dignity of Lieutenant-Governor, sent a Commission to Palembang to take over the factory in accordance with the capitulation of September 18th, to renew the old treaties (with some modifications) and to instal a British Resident, Lieutenant Jackson. The Sultan refused to adopt the Commission's proposals; he held its members in a state of captivity, so that they had no free intercourse with the residents, and he made it known that he had had the fort and buildings demolished after having sent away all the Dutch; that he had done all this at the desire of the British Government and before the conquest of Java was completed and considered himself restored to independence. The Commission returned to Java, not knowing of the massacre, but suspecting, that something had taken place which had been concealed from them.

"Soon after the return of the Commission, in December, 1811, the secret was out. Mr. Raffles received Raden Muhammad's and Sayid Abu-Bakar's declaration from Malacca. (See Supplement No. 6). It was then decided to send an expedition to Palembang, which, however, in view of the then prevailing west monsoon, could not leave till March 1812. Palembang was occupied, the Sultan Mahmud Badru'd-din who had fled to the interior was dethroned and his brother Ahmad Najimu'd-din installed in his place, in return for the cession of Bangka and Billiton.

"The public documents drawn up in this connection by Raffles are very remarkable. He ascribes the *causus belli* not to the massacre of 14th September, 1811, but to the commission of butchery *after the Dutch had invoked the protection of the British power already established in Java.*[10] ('Having taken into full and mature consideration all the circumstances connected with the conduct of the Sultan of Palembang; the barbarous and treacherous manner in which that Prince directed the murder of the European Resident and establishment, *after they had claimed the protection of the British power, already, paramount on Java*' and further 'the

8 Not reproduced.
9 Not reproduced.
10 Baud states that this protection was not claimed by the Dutch.

demolition of the fort and public buildings and the indiscriminate destruction of European property of every description, *after being aware of the success of the British arms on Java,* (Java Govt. Gazette extraordinary, 30th May, 1812).).

"Observe here what appears to us must be the conclusion of every well-informed neutral reader of the documents in question.

"The promotion of the success of the expedition against Java was the mainspring which motivated Raffles's actions; the idea of the expedition had no sooner arisen than he saw in it a means of satisfying his ambitions. It speaks for itself that anyone of his stamp, placed as he was, would not easily allow objections to restrain him and would not have been specially scrupulous in the choice of his methods. Open alliance with the Sultan of Palembang could, it appeared to him, powerfully contribute towards the conquest of Java; and so he continued his efforts to persuade the Monarch to be a party to this, so that he would have irrevocably broken with the Dutch Government and would have been obliged to seek his salvation in the friendship of Britain.

"That Raffles, by use of the expressions, 'throw out and destroy' (*buang habiskan sa-kali-kali*) would have expressly meant a massacre in cold blood, may be open to doubt. But he egged on the Sultan to overpower the fort, and sent him firearms, powder and shot for that purpose. Now one cannot well accept that, knowing as he did the mentality and character of the Malays, and knowing that the giving of quarter is rare in their methods of warfare, Raffles would have imagined that Sultan Mahmud Badru'd-din having overwhelmed the fort would treat with magnaminity prisoners repeatedly represented to him by Raffles as his bitterest enemies.

"If in addition there is taken into consideration, that in the documents published in 1812 Raffles considers the massacre punishable, not so much in the abstract as in connection with the time when it took place, then we shall not be accused of exaggeration when we suggest that even if it had occurred to him that his inflammatory letters might well cause the sacrifice of the Dutch at Palembang, he would not have been deflected from sending them, as long as he cherished the hope of thereby furthering the attainment of his ambitious objectives. The Netherlands Directors General have therefore said none to much, when in their well-known protest, of 5th October, 1818, about the machinations which led to the Palembang massacre they declared:—'it should have been foreseen that

this was bound to be the outcome of these underhand, manifesty imprudent and indelicate, if not criminal, activities—activities which as a form of policy must be condemned; which even in a state of war are morally indefensible; which could compromise the honour and interests of a nation, however high its standard of political honesty.' "

The latter part of the article does not really concern us. Briefly, Band produces an involved legalistic argument to prove that Raffles, in dealing with Palembang, juggled for his own discreditable purposes with the short period between the capture of Meester Cornelis when the English became *de facto* rulers of Java, and the capitulation of Janssens, when the became *de jure* masters of such parts of Java and its dependencies as they did not already control *de facto*. Baud then goes on to prove—to his own satisfaction—that the Sultan of Palembang very cleverly made his move after the victory of the British was assured, but before the sovereignty legally passed to the British by the official capitulation. Personally I question it Raffles ever appreciated the subtle point raised by Baud or would have thought much of it, if he had. That the Sultan was so versed in legal technicalities seems even less credible.

An abstract of the Malay letters referred to by Baud will be found in the Appendix.

Commentary. Baud makes great capital out of the Malay phrase *buang habiskan sa-kali-kali* which he interprets to mean "throw out and destroy". It is true that the Malay letters sent by Raffles are, according to Sir Richard Winstedt, in execrable Malay. (It is a pity that Raffles did not ask Farquhar to assist him. Farquhar's scribe wrote impeccable Malay). At the same time this phrase does not, in fact, mean what Baud says it does. It means "evict without exception" or "get completely rid of". It might have a sinister meaning, but not necessarily or even probably in this context. In any case it is not a direct incitement to murder, as Baud would have us believe.

It has been noted by Baud that the first letter of the series sent by the Sultan to Batavia, had a reference to an earlier letter, a copy of which was stated to be enclosed with it. The Sultan did not send this enclosure to Batavia, and I suggest he did not do so deliberately. A draft of it (in English) is to be found in the India Office Library (Raffles Collection Vol. IV). It is undated, but undoubtedly it is the letter in question.

After reporting his arrival at Malacca for the purpose of explaining the seizure of native craft by British naval vessels (this

was the ostensible object of Raffles's appointment as Agent to the Governor General—i.e. in modern parlance the "cover" story), Raffles refers to news he has received of a Dutch force proceeding to the Palembang River. In reference to this he writes:—

> "Since my arrival at Malacca I have heard with much concern of the approach of a Dutch Force to the mouth of the Palembang River and I lose no time in despatching this letter to put your Majesty on your guard against the evil machinations of the Dutch, a Nation that is desirous of enriching itself from the property of your Majesty, as it has done with that of every Prince of the East with whom it has had connection. . . . I would recommend your Majesty to drive them out of your country at once, but if your Majesty has reasons for not doing so and is desirous of the friendship and assistance of the English, let your Majesty inform me thereof in a letter, stating every particular and send a Confidential Agent of ability and discretion to negotiate with me at Malacca. For I have power over many ships of war and if I think proper to do it, I can drive the Dutch out even if they were 10,000 in number."

This at once puts a different interpretation on the letters. The arms and ammunition sent and the encouragement to "evict" the Dutch "without exception" do not refer just to the Resident and his tiny garrison, but to a threatened invasion of Palembang. Evidence exists to prove that Raffles really had received some news to warrant him writing thus to the Sultan, because in fact three Dutch cruisers of four guns each, four gun-boats and ten merchant vessels had left Java for, and did arrive at, Palembang. It is true that their object apparently was to obtain tin, which the Sultan refused to give them, except for hard cash, but Raffles could not be aware of their exact purpose till he subsequently received a despatch from Captain Bowen of the *Phoenix*, dated 23rd January, 1811, reporting why this expedition had come, and that it had now departed. Probably the original news of the fleet movement had reached Raffles from the same source.

Raffles had written to Minto on 15th December, 1810 (before he knew what the Dutch fleet was up to) as follows:[11]—

> "As the Sultan of Palembang is one of the richest of the Malay Chieftains and is literally said to have godowns stored with Dollars and Gold hoarded by his ancestors, I have considered it a point of some importance to prevent Daendels from availing himself of this extensive source of supply and in

11 India Office Library—Raffles Collection Vol. XIII.

consequence wrote to the Sultan immediately on my arrival here, urging him to be on his guard against Dutch operations and assuring him of the friendship of the English should he be desirous of getting rid of them. Having since heard that part of the Dutch vessels have been permitted to go up the River and that they are likely to succeed in whatever object they have in view, I have this day despatched a Second Letter entrusted to Tengku Muhammad, a relation of the Sultan's. . ."

In the India Office Library there are drafts or translations of further correspondence between Raffles and the Sultan. It is difficult to follow, as several of the letters are undated and their sequence cannot be determined with accuracy. But one thing emerges clearly from a Memorandum handed to Tengku Radin Muhammad (together with a draft treaty to be taken to the Sultan—this included a clause that he should dismiss the Dutch Resident) and that is that Raffles was trying to induce the Sultan to throw over his allegiance to the Dutch *before* the British invasion of Java. Raffles had his eyes firmly fixed on Bangka and Billiton. If Palembang asserted its independence before Java was captured, the British could then make a treaty with an independent sovereign for the cession of Bangka. This would remain a British possession, even if Java was restored later to the Dutch. The Memorandum explains this, without of course referring in any way to Bangka.

The Sultan naturally played for time. He wrote to Raffles that he had no wish to get mixed up in strife between the British and the Dutch, but he had asked Batavia to re-call the Resident forthwith. "If. . . . any fault should occur on the part of the Hollanders, we shall immediately accomplish our object by force, but if we were so to act without reason, we should undoubtedly be blamed by our friend for our conduct." (This reads curiously in the light of events).

In a subsequent letter the Sultan referred again to the recall of the Resident and the other Hollanders and added this rather sinister remark "If they (the authorities in Java) are not speedy in taking them off, some misfortune will befall them and the blame will not be mine."

Probably it was as a result of this letter that Captain MacDonald was particularly asked by Raffles to try to arrange for the evacuation of the Resident and party, to Malacca, as MacDonald records in his *Narrative*.[12] According to MacDonald the Sultan refused, for fear the Dutch might take reprisals on his relatives who were then in Batavia. One wonders whether the

12 "Narrative of early life and services of Captain D. Macdonald, I.N." (3rd Edition, Weymouth N.D.).

following message from the Sultan to Raffles refers to the request Raffles had made through MacDonald. The Sultan in acknowledging a letter received through MacDonald writes "With regard to the Hollanders in the kingdom of Palembang, we request our friend to entertain no doubts or displeasure."

Raffles left with Minto for Java without reaching any finality with Palembang. The Sultan waited till he was sure who was winning in Java and then proclaimed his independence and signalised it by butchering the Dutch.

> Raffles wrote to Minto on 12th January, 1812—"It appears that the Sultan, as was expected, allowed the Dutch Factory to remain until he heard of the fall of Java and then like a villain (most unexpectedly) ordered them away and Report, too true I fear, [says] allowed them to be cut off and murdered, for no soul of them has ever reached a European port. He has razed the Dutch Fort and Storehouses to the ground and declared his independence, covering himself as well as he can by his confidence in the known liberality of the E. I. Government....two Ambassadors are now here from Palembang....in his letters the Sultan informs me they (the Dutch) were sent away before the Expedition...."

While it can no doubt be argued that at that period to encourage the eviction of the Hollanders, inevitably exposed the Dutch Resident and party to the risk of being murdered. I cannot agree that this forces one to the conclusion that Raffles was morally guilty of that murder; still less that he deliberately incited the Sultan to commit the crime, as Baud asserts.

Britain was at war with the Dutch and was therefore perfectly entitled to try to detach Dutch subsidiaries from her and to arm them to expel the Dutch or resist any incursion by the Dutch. The arms and ammunition clearly were not sent to Palembang for the purpose of murdering the Resident. They were sent to assist the Sultan to expel or resist Dutch armed forces. The Sultan did not require them to murder the Dutch and did not, in fact, use them for that purpose. As far as the British were concerned, the negotiations with Palembang were abortive. The Sultan had no intention whatever of making any treaty with us. His plan was to sit on the fence. If the Dutch won, he did nothing. If they were beaten, he intended to proclaim his independence, counting on the pre-occupation of the English victors in Java to leave him alone, or confident that he could successfully withstand their attack if they did come against him. He would have murdered the Resident and his party just as he would have declared his independence, if he had never received a word from Raffles at Malacca. But for

the escape of Raffles's couriers, the Sultan would have persisted in his story that the garrison had sailed away, and must have been lost at sea.

When he found that his secret had come out, and still more when he realised he had gravely understimated the energy and the bravery of the British and had to flee, the Sultan never suggested that he had only been doing what Raffles had asked him to do. When Robison, acting on his own authority, put him back on the throne, the Sultan sent 200,000 Spanish Dollars to Batavia as a mark of goodwill; but again did not plead that he had only been acting on the advice of Raffles. Nor did he do so when Raffles repudiated Robison's treaty.

When the Dutch returned and were obviously trying to get rid of his brother because he had been put on the throne by the British, Badru'ddin was astute enough to see that if he could find some excuse for the Dutch to restore him to his throne, in spite of the murder of their compatriots, they would certainly reinstate him. The selection of letters he sent privately to Batavia provided the excuse. What the Dutch did not see, however, was the complete correspondence, particularly the first letter Raffles ever wrote to the Sultan, with its emphasis on the prospect of a Dutch invasion of Palembang. Nor could they foresee that the Sultan was still playing his own game. That they discovered only when they had put him back on the throne, and had to fight hard to get rid of him again.

I have gone to some trouble to examine Baud's case against Raffles, because in spite of his hatred of Raffles, it is sufficiently plausible to require an answer. But having done that I should add that, while in his political manoeuvres Raffles, like his Dutch adversaries, sailed at times pretty close to the wind, I entirely agree with Professor Veth that murder was not in keeping with his well-known character.

Appendix.

Correspondence contained in the Supplement to Baud's article, summarised in English by Sir Richard Winstedt.

First letter. Reports arrival at Malacca and goes on "I am very fond of you and beg you become my candid friend and not to be friendly hereafter with others. What is the use of letting the Dutch live in Palembang? They are very bad people and want to take a bad line with you. So I am very sorry you are not good friends with the English Company. If you want to be its friend, you must make up your mind and reply to this and my former letter and with (sic) all the negotiations with you I ask you to send a representative (*Wakil*) to me."

Second letter. "3 warships have arrived here and I hear that there are Dutch ships before Palembang and now I want to chase them and don't be afraid

33327

I shall do any harm to Malays, great and small. Do not fear and do not consort with the Dutch because I am ordering warships to chase the Dutch ships. But if you consort with the Dutch, you will become the enemy of me and all the English".

Third letter. Raffles acknowledges with pleasure the letter sent through Radin Mahomed, but regrets no envoy has come from Palembang. The Dutch are before Palembang."[13] So the Sultan should at once ask the help of the English as follows:—

(1) From now on you must make an agreement with the English that shall last as long as the sun and the moon.

(2) You must evict (buang) *all* the Dutch without exception and their Resident and all their dependents; do not let them live in Palembang. Henceforth let no Dutch or other foreigners live in Palembang but let the English open a lodge (*loge*) if they wish."

(3) You must give the English permission to buy tin, pepper, etc. and not sell to other ships without a British pass.

(4) You must send an envoy to Malacca and I will send one to Palembang to fix up an agreement. Meanwhile I send Radin Mahomed as my Agent.

Fourth letter. Deplores no answer from Palembang and now sends for a reply by a ship that can only wait 24 hours, because a naval fleet is leaving Malacca to attack Java. As the Dutch are at Palembang I send four cases of 80 muskets in all as well as 10 baskets of cartridges filled with powder and shot. I can send you whatever you want, ships, men or arms (22.4.1811).

Fifth letter. Captain MacDonald encloses a letter from the Governor General of Bengal who has ordered him to take it himself. But he sends Sayid Abubakar with two letters, one from the Governor General and one from himself, with four cases of muskets, 10 cases of gunpowder. "As for the Dutch, I am instructed by the Big Man to evict them but it will be as you wish."

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13 The Malay is very confused and it is not clear whether the Dutch have set up a secret store of arms or whether Raffles is proposing to do so. Sir Richard Winstedt believes the latter is the correct interpretation.

A Panji Tale from Kelantan

by Sir Richard Winstedt

(Received, February 1948)

At Kota Baharu in Kelantan there was published by Ahmad bin Muhammad Thaib one volume of the Javanese *wayang* tale, entitled *Kuda Sumirang Sri Panji Pandai Rupa*. It is in excellent Malay, has many Javanese but few Arabic and no Portuguese loan-words, though some copyist has inserted a Dutch word for "lamp". And it mentions writing on palm-leaves, an obsolete method of which modern Malays have never heard or seen examples.The MS. from which it was printed is described as of skin, not paper, and as being "at least 150 years" old, when the printed edition was published in 1931.

The contents, so far as they go, are identical with those of Codex 3242 at Leiden (Catalogus, H. H. Juynboll, Leiden, 1899, pp. 90-94; LXXXV) and of a MS. at Batavia (Cohen Stuart No. 125) XLI of van Ronkel's Catalogus, p. 51 (Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Deel LVII, 1909). The erroneous mention of Singasari, which flourished between 1222-1292, as contemporary with its predecessor Kadiri or Daha would date the story as hardly earlier than 1350, and it may be noted, the mention of titles like Misa and Kuda occurs in the Pararaton of 1328. The tale refers to Gegelang which dates it as earlier than other stories of the cycle that supplanted Gegelang by Urawan. And its preface with its reference to Arjuna and Samba is older than that of the *Hikayat Chekel Wanengpati* that drags in characters like Nayakesoma. The version is also older than the *Ken Tambuhan* which spoils the plot by making Marta Langu a princess of Daha, and has her murdered not by the Queen of Kuripan herself but by her order. It is also older than the version of the *Ken Tambuhan* in making not a *dewa* ravish Chandra Kirana but Batara Kala in the form of a tempest.

The creese (*kĕris*) which became a weapon with a separate hilt probably at the end of the 13th century is mentioned rarely in the MS. and it does not appear in any of the puppets printed in this edition, apparently after illustrations in the original MS.

In his preface the Kelantan publisher refers to many other "shadow-play" (*gĕdog*) tales, evidently extant in Kelantan MSS., viz. "Hikayat Chekel Waneng Pati, r-mpi Emas Radin Inu Kĕrta-pati bĕrnama Misa Gĕmitir Kĕsoma Lara Sri Panji Agong Asmara dan Radin Galoh Chandra Kirana mĕnjadi laki-laki bĕrnama Ratu

Enum Mĕrta-wangsa Kĕsoma Pĕrwira Puspa ning-rat Nila Kĕnchana Maring Kĕyangan, Charang Klinan Kalang Bungk,ng, Misa Kiamang, Idan wong gĕndis Sri Panji turut tangis, Misa Supan, Misa Jayeng Kĕsoma, Naga Bĕrsĕru, K.di Jayĕng Kĕsoma, Ariani Radin Galoh Chandra Kirana dua dan Radin Inu Kĕrtapati dua pĕrang tandingan, Chengkil Kĕrti Kĕsoma atau Panji tĕrgadai, kira m.ng Panji wiwahan, Chengkil Wanang Sari, Galoh di-tigas." Here is a field for the explorer of Javanese influence in Kelantan.

My printed copy of the text here reviewed I have presented to the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

Outline of the Text

When Sang Arjuna was lost in the story of the Pandawas, he mounted to heaven till Batara Guru bade him descend and become incarnate in Radin Kertapati, entitled (*jĕjolok*) Radin Kuda Rawisurangga (alias Radin Inu), so handsome that he infatuated all the women of Java and became the hero of songs and plays by all reciters, bachelors and romantics (*dalang dan bujangga dan mĕndam kula*).

Once Java had four rulers, descended (*titeh*) from Kesoma Gedang Dewa: (1) the eldest Pangeran Susunan entitled Sri Batara of Kuripan, Prabu Aji of Jenggala, Ratu of Kuripan; (2) Pangeran Utama Angkasa Dewa, entitled Batara Dewa Kesoma, Prabu Aji of Daha, Ratu of Daha; (3) Mesa Indra Kesoma, Ratu of Gegelang, and (4) Radin Kesoma Jaya, Prabu Enum Tronawangsa, Ratu of Singasari.

The Ratu (or Sang Nata) of Kuripan by his secondary wife Mahadewi had a son, Radin Brajadanta alias Prince of Almond-tree Pleasaunce, a boy of distinguished bearing (*jijak kĕagong-agongan*).

His principal wife or Parameswari also longed for a son, she and the Ratu praying to the gods (*dewata mulia raya*).

While the Ratus of Kuripan and Daha with their consorts were praying for children, Batara Guru, lord of heaven, Beranta Dewa was sitting enthroned before demigods, fairies, and sages (*maharisi dan muni*). Near him were Batara Narada, Batara Indra, Batara Brahma, Batara Bisnu, Batara Naya, Batara Durga and Batara Kala. He asked them what demigod was fittest to descend to earth to create a tale and a family that should rule Java. Narada replied that His Majesty (Sang Senuhun) knew best. Batara Guru willed (*chita-mita*) Krishna to his side and told him he would send down to Java Sang Rajuna and Dewi

Sabudra, Sang Sambah and Dewi Januwati. Krishna raised no objection (*tiada mĕlintang apa*[2]) but flew to the garden Indrasloka (*sic*), where in a kiosk lit by Dutch lamps (*sĕtĕlop*) the four nobles (*pĕriaï*) are informed, after which Krishna is lost to sight (*mĕngambah mĕngawang-awang*). Arjuna cast a spell (*mĕnilek*) on Dewi Januwati who became a lotus: Arjuna became its flower (*śara*) and fell into the lap of Sang Nata (alias Batara) Kuripan who with his wife fainted. Batara Guru orders Batara Kala to fetch his scarf (*sabok*) to serve as a standard (*tunggul ulang*) and his censer to become a gong (*gong gemus.h*). Batara Kala extracts one of his tusks for a creese of the type *kalamisani* and two hairs from his legs that become one a horse *singgaranggi* and one an elephant *s.p.rmida,* and he flies to Kuripan where invisible he revives the royal couple; and declaring he is an ancestor, Langlang Buana, he gives them standard, censer, horse and elephant and bids them both eat the lotus so as to get a child. Batara Guru, the One God, (*Sang Yang Tunggal*), bids Batara Bayu change into the young brother of the Batara of Kuripan, while the One God and Batara Wanang turn into humble officials (*rangga dan jaksa*).

Returning (*kĕjajar pĕrkataan*) to the Batara of Kuripan. He orders standard gong and creese to be put in the store (*mahaniti*). His wife conceives and after nine months and nine days the Hindu priesthood (*biku, Bĕrahmana, dan ajar-ajar pĕrbujangga*) says that the great storm then raging portends the birth of a prince. The child is named Radin Kertapati alias Radin Kuda Rawisurangga alias Radin Inu alias Radin Bagus. He is given five followers (*kĕdayan*) by the Patih, Demang, Temenggong and Rangga respectively, i.e. Jarodih, Punta, Kertala, Smar, Jemuras. His father gives him a pleasaunce (*pĕkarangan di-karang pĕrana jiwa*). The queen bears a second son almost as big (*agong arurah*) as the elder. He is named Radin Charang Tinangluh alias Pangiran Enum and given a pleasaunce *di-karang kĕĕnuman.*

The three brothers learn the arts of war and music and riding and archery.

The rulers (*Sang Nata*) of Daha, Gegelang and Singasari send officers to convey offerings and congratulations. They pay obeisance to *adinda nohun t.n sal.h pĕngandika kang sĕnohun.* The Sang Nata of Kuripan then leaves the audience-hall (*seba*) and enters the royal apartments (*ing-ratuan*), and the courtiers *bubur* (? scatter). But first the Sang Nata says that he would like any fair daughter born to the rulers of Daha Gegelang or Singasari for his daughter-in-law.

For 40 days and nights the Ratu of Daha and his consort neither sleep nor eat but pray before their idols in case Sang Yang Sokma grant them a child. When the queen has conceived, the Ratu enters the centre of the palace (*ganjapuri*) and vows to give alms to the religious and to loose 100 buffaloes with golden horns and 100 goats with golden horns at the temple of the holy (*bĕgawan*) Tukam on Mount Mergasakti for his queen's safe delivery. She bears a daughter Radin Galoh Puspaning-rat, alias (*jĕjolok*) Radin Chandra Kirana. The chiefs give her as servants Ken Bayan, Ken Sanggit, Ken Patalangu, Ken Abang, Ken Belura. The queen of Daha bears a second son, Radin Perbata Sari, who is given a mountain pleasaunce (*pĕkarangan di-karang pĕgunongan*). The chiefs give as attendants Tatak, Gimang, Turus, Rangga Togok and Tembelong.

The Sang Nata of Gegelang gets a daughter Radin Ratna Kemuda Agong (.g.ng) and a son Singa Mantri, ornament of his country (*pĕtam nĕgara*).

The Sang Nata of Singasari gets a fair daughter, Galoh Perwa Kesoma.

The Sang Nata of Kuripan has got a daughter Radin Ratna Wilis like the fairy Nila Utama for beauty. He wants to plight his son Radin Inu Kertapati with Radin Chandra Kirana of Daha On that day Radin Brajadanta and Radin Tinangluh ride to the pleasaunce Perana Jiwa and are escorted by Jerudeh into the *wanchek suchi* وانچيک سوچي Radin Inu gives the two *niak* نياک betel, and the three like flowers ride with daggers and swords (*bĕrsewah bĕrsinang*) and enters the hall of Sri Batara, father of Radin Inu, who asks the visitors as to the bride most fitting for his son. They reply, "The princess of Daha". Radin Inu is shy but his secret delight (*sĕmu suka-nya*) is clear. His father orders that 40 *p.rk.n* be got ready with 80 waggons for gifts of clothes and that the elephant Sipermida be harnessed with furnishings and a dagger *pĕtĕram pĕmbela* be chosen as a present for him to send to Daha. His messenger *bĕrchaus-lah* for the trip.

Meanwhile Radin Inu and his two visitors play the gamalan (*bĕrgamal*) in his garden. Sang Nata invites his queen to listen. She replies, *Kakang aji, ini suatu sa-bagai pula, masakan tĕbong di-tanam, aur yang tumboh? Sapĕrti kachang, masakan ia tiada mĕmanjat turus-nya?* meaning "It's in order. If sugar-cane is planted, will it be bamboo that sprouts? And will not the bean climb its pole?"

Radin Aria proceeds to Daha where His Majesty (*Sang Nata*) sends out his household (*warga dalam*) to discover why there

is tumult in the streets. Radin presents his bridal gifts (*pĕtiban sampir*) which are accepted. The ruler of Daha now decides to ask the hand of Ratna Wilis for his son Perbata Sari and sends an envoy Patih to Kuripan along with Radin Aria. The ruler of Kuripan accepts his suit. But Batara Kala notices that the rulers of Kuripan and Daha no longer pay offerings to the gods, and he vows to turn their joy to sorrow. Batara Guru too knows of their omission, and also that the flowers in heaven have faded and fallen. He orders Narada to tell Batara Indra to enquire the reason. Indra finds that the Bidadari Anggar Mayang has been the mistress of Dewa Jaya Sokma and orders her to become a mortal destined to be killed by the Parameswari of Kuripan before she can return to heaven; and he orders Dewa Jaya Sokma to go to earth as a Bhuta whose curse can be removed (*mĕruatkan bala pustaka-mu*) only by Radin Charang Tinangluh. The Dewa becomes a Bhuta of the form Gumbakernuma and lives in Mertapura under the name of Bhuta Nala Prajangga in the cave Sila Mengilang, devouring animals, destroying districts and imprisoning human beings in his cave, where they plant and acquire property, dying and being reincarnated (*satu mara satu mati; jĕlma mara, jĕlma mati*).

Meanwhile the offending Bidadari enters the womb of the wife of the Petinggi Singa Benggala of Kuripan and is born a beautiful girl Ken Merta Langu.

Now daily Radin Inu of Kuripan goes snaring fowl, deer (*kijang mĕnjangan*) and peacocks, and sends them as presents to his betrothed.

Radin Brajadanta alias Radin Banjar Ketapang goes to the pleasaunce of Radin Charang Tinangluh and finds him playing *fub.h* (also *fuih* and *kub.h*). Together they visit Radin Inu Kertapati, outside whose pleasaunce is Smar playing (*bĕrmain kich.k*) and wrestling with his children. Indoors the Radin is weaving baskets for the animals he sends his betrothed at Daha. The three princes and their followers play the gamalan, Inu fiddling the tune Asmara ing-gulingan. Princess Ratna Wilis comes and is given a young peacock and jungle-fowl. Two days later the three princes go hunting, setting snares (*jaring dan bebir.*) Smar has a tumble with a rhinosceros, and Jemuras with a pig (*tĕrk.ching-k.ching di-sungkor*). Jemuras mounts the pig and twists its ears till it charges Smar and knocks him over. Smar cracks Jemuras' head with his opium bowl (*chupak madat*). Radin Inu with Smar and Jemuras stumbling and falling behind him chases a stag (*kijang ul.ng*) into the garden (*desa*) of the chief (*pĕtinggi*) of Pengapirana, where he falls in love with the headman's daughter, Ken Merta Langu, his humble slave (*'abdi titiang*). Till nightfall

(*mala-lah langsir hari*), he makes love. His brothers return and ask Smar where Radin Inu is. "Hunting a deer indoors", says Smar. Radin Inu takes Ken Merta Langu away in a cart to his pleasaunce. The next morning the door-keeper (*perkan jaba*) announces his brothers with the game they have snared and captured. Radin Inu pretends he is too sick to go to Daha, but his mother has heard of his adventure and vows vengeance on the "Harlot" (*si-lamis lanji*). "Will a bean leave its pole?" (*Masakan kachang měninggalkan lanjaran-nya*).

Meanwhile Radin Inu makes love and sends for his brother to hold a cock-fight (*měnjajal ayam pupoh*). His father sends for him but he postpones the visit till the morning and returns to Ken Merta Langu. He dresses: *bĕrlanchingan gĕrengseng wayang lĕlakun Rajuna Tapa bĕrkampoh mega antara bĕrsabok chindai natar ungu, bĕrkĕris Kalamisani lĕndayan kĕnchana, bĕrsubang lintar muda di-bapang dĕngan ĕmas, bĕrchinchin pĕrmata Sailun, bĕrgĕlang-kana bĕntala bĕrsifat alit bĕrchĕlak sĕni bĕrurap-urap khĕlambak masak, gigi-nya kĕmĕndasuli, tĕrlalu manis sikap-nya sapĕrti Sang Rajuna.* He is like Sang Bimanyu embracing Siti Sendari. His brothers are also royally attired (p. 52). They go to the palace, but Raja Inu after greeting his parents pleads sickness and withdraws.

His mother pretends she is with child and must have the heart of a tiger to eat. Radin Inu sets out to find it. Ken Merta Langu writes him a message with a knife on palm-leaf that she must return to fairyland, and she begs him to care for her earthly parents. As she sleeps, the Parameswari of Kuripan stabs her, but when she dies, her blood and wounds disappear and she vanishes. The Parameswari seeing her beauty repents. When the sun straddles the mountains (*tunggang gunong*), Radin Inu returns, having failed in his quest. He faints when he hears of his loss, but recovering stands at the door, when a messenger from his father arrives to ask if he has got the tiger's heart. He threatens to run amuck. Having heard of his mother's crime, he lives in deep seclusion.

Batara Kala sends a great storm on Daha because its king has neglected the gods, and swooping down carries off Radin Galoh (*Chandra Kirana*) and her attendants, Ken Bayan and Ken Sanggit to Mt. Marga Jambangan. Radin Galoh suggests they practise austerities (*bĕrtapa ĕngbakti*) to please the god. Her attendants reply *Mana s.k.r.s.j.ng tuanku*. Radin Galoh changes her name to a nun (*endang*) Sangu Lara, Ken Bayan becomes a nun, Maya Larah, and Ken Sanggit a nun, Maya Berangti. They sit under an *ursiki* tree.

The ruler of Daha sends a messenger to inform Kuripan that Sokma Gelentara has ravished away his daughter. When Inu hears he says they must pray to the gods for help, *kalau ada pĕrtolongannya sapĕrti kĕsumba bĕrchahaya di-bĕlakang*. He tells his parents that he has recovered and asks leave to depart (*Kartapati lungatan pamit*). His followers mount their steeds (*jaran kabih*) and escort him. They ride through the night and see the "moon astride the mountains like a lover glimpsing his mistress walk and wanting to enter her chamber." They reach Mt. Danau Raja near Matawan where is a hermit Chakchasina doomed by Vishnu to stay there four hundred years till Radin Inu climbs the mountain. Chakchasina is a son of Maharaja Chakchakuacha and grandson of Hanuman. To test Radin Inu first he shakes the mountain and then produces fire, that is extinguished by the appearance of Sang Yang Tunggal besides the hero. He meets the hermit who tells the whole story of his first love (which makes him forget her) and promises that Chandra Kirana will reappear.

There is confusion and grief when it is learnt Radin Inu has vanished. Radin Charang Tinangluh goes to find him, crossing (*mengiti sapara-para nang suka*) to Mt. Lawi the Green near the wood Martapura, where he changes his name to Wirapati a hermit. He stays under an *ĕmbulu* tree. Radin Brajadanta also goes in search of his brother Radin Inu and reaches a wood near Madiun, where he halts under a *kanigara* tree. Both brothers leave letters with the mountain folk vowing they will not return to Kuripan without Radin Bagus (=Inu).

Having got magic arms and magic arrows from Chakchasina, Radin Inu changes his name to Misa Anggulati Sira Panji Sangu Lara. Jerudeh becomes Kuda Wirachita; Punta, Kuda Narachita; Kertala, Kuda Nara Gepita; Smar, Wangsa-wita, Jemuras, Suta-Wangsa.

Sira Panji and his five followers burn and ravage Metawan, whose ruler has a daughter Radin Puspa Wati beautiful as a green *sĕmĕndĕrasa* flower on a golden plate, and a male child Radin Kuda Naragang. There are fencing bouts (p. 80) and fighting. Sira Panji spurs his horse (*ĕngm.b.t. watang tĕnulis*), looking like Indra Kama Jaya. He kills the ruler of Metawani, and the queen commits suicide; both are cremated. Radin Inu is kind to the dead ruler's son and seduces his daughter. He stays in Metawan, sending expeditions in search of Chandra Kirana of Daha.

Radin Brajadanta on the confines of Madiun changes his name to Misa Yuda Panji Kesoma Indra; Astra Jangga becomes Jaranasari; Astra Jaya, Jarana Urida; Diapak, Jarana Kenigara, Turas,

Naha Wangsa; Togok, Wangsa Nala. The prince bids them ravage Madiun, whose ruler has a fair daughter Radin Anglang Arsa (alias Resmi). The ruler is told an arrogant soldier of fortune (*kĕlana tambong laku*) has driven the people of the hills into the town and the shop-keepers are storing their goods against attack. The king orders that the marauder be driven away (*t.npa-pidek sa-kali*). Misa Yuda Panji Kesoma Indra and his five followers charge the city's defenders, swarming like flies over the ramparts (*sapĕrti benteng kĕlalatan*). When their chiefs fall, the defenders retreat "like a falling tide". The king sits his elephant like an island in a sea. When he sees his opponent, he thinks he is a god incarnate (*dewa kĕmanusan*). He falls. His women kill themselves. All are cremated and their ashes put in a golden vessel. The victor promotes all the sons of the fallen to their fathers' offices and marries Radin Anglang Resmi.

Now Buta Datia Nala Perjangga was living in the cave Sila M.ngling in the forest of Mertapura, capturing or slaying all who went near. Hearing that Radin Tinangluh is away, he goes towering to the clouds to Kuripan and carries off princess Radin Ratna Wilis, bed and all. He treats her kindly but keeps her in his cave.

Radin Perbanta Sari hearing of the rape is inconsolable. He leaves Daha in search of Chandra Kirana and Radin Inu. He changes his name to Kuda Nestafa Panji Astra Wijaya; Tatak becomes Charang Gimang; Kimang, Charang Sari; Bangbang Herga Nata, Charang Perapa Turas Nala Kĕrti; Tembilong, Kerti Nala. They attack the land of Pachang, whose ruler has a daughter Radin Lesmi ning-rat and a son Radin Wangsa Trona. Hearing of the attack the king dons *batek* trousers with scenes from the Ramayana (*bĕrlanchingan gĕrengseng wayang lĕlakun Ramayana*) and other royal garb, till he looks (p. 100) like Maharaja Bala-dewa, and then goes out to fight.

(End of volume I)

The Siamese Wars with Malacca During the Reign of Muzaffar Shah

by G. E. MARRISON

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The object of this paper is to collate the information on two Siamese campaigns against Malacca during the reign of Sultan Muzaffar Shah, who ruled from about 1445 to 1458 A.D., from the accounts given in the Siamese chronicle, the Pongsawadan of Luang Prasoet and the Malay annals, the Sějarah Mělayu. It should be read in conjunction with pp. 12-13 of Dr. Linehan's History of Pahang (1).

The Pongsawadan of Luang Prasoet was compiled in 1680 and has been shown by W. A. R. Wood (2) to be reliable in its chronology. It should therefore help to fix some of the dates in Malayan history. Its era, the Chulasakaraj, begins from 640 A.D. approximately.

First Campaign (1445)

The Pongsawadan of Luang Prasoet (3) states:

> "In 806, the year of the rat, the king suppressed the contending factions, and erected a camp at Pathai Khasem, and after having made 120,000 prisoners of wars, the army returned."

Commenting on the above translations, Wood remarks in (2):

> "The original version reads: สมเด็จพระพุทธเจ้าหลวง พฤฒมาขนฤพาน".
>
> The whole meaning is obscure. I suggested that เหม่ม does not mean "contending factions", but is the corruption of the name of a place. If the reference is to internal disputes, how could 120,000 prisoners be taken? On the other hand, the histories of neighbouring countries supply no clue.... This is the most obscure passage in the whole document."

The same writer on page 83 of (4) says:

> "In 1444, King Boromaraja II was engaged in an expedition, concerning which the true facts are not known. The earliest history, Luang Prasoet's, written in 1680, says—'In that year, the king went to Prab P'ak and made his camp at Pat'ai K'asem. At that time he took 120,000 prisoners. The royal army then returned.'

> "The later editors have assumed that this was another war with Chiengmai, and have inserted "Chiengmai" instead of "Prab P'ak". Chiengmai history is silent about any such expedition.....
>
> "Prab P'ak" may mean "to subdue the confederates", but this seems a meaningless phrase. Probably "Prab P'ak" is the corruption of the name of some place which cannot now be identified."

In the Sĕjarah Mĕlayu, the first event recorded for the reign of Muzaffar Shah was a Siamese attack on Malacca overland by way of Pahang. The accepted date for Muzaffar Shah's accession is 1445 or 1446 A.D., sufficiently near the date given in the Pongsawadan of Luang Prasoet for the Siamese expedition to Prab P'ak. (806 Chula era = 1445 A.D.). I therefore suggest that Prab P'ak is the base, perhaps in Pahang from which the Siamese launched their invasion on Malacca, and that Pathai Khasem is the scene of the principle engagement. Perhaps "Prab P'ak" stands for "Pura Pahang" or else for "Paka" in Trengganu. "Pathai Khasem" appears to be a Malay name (= Pantai Kasim?). Its association with "Prab P'ak" strengthens the probability that the latter place is also in a Malay-speaking area.

The account of the campaign as given in the Sĕjarah Mĕlayu (5, page 93) is as follows:

> "From former times, the kingdom of Siam was known as Shahru'n-nuwi (= Ayuthia), and all the kings of the east were subject to him. The king's name was Bubunnya (? = Boromaraja II). When it became known in Siam that Malacca was an important state, but not subject to him, King Bubunnya sent an embassy to Malacca to demand letters of submission. But Sultan Muzaffar Shah would not submit; the king of Siam was very angry and prepared to attack Malacca. His general, Okya Chakra[1], headed a great army. It was reported to Sultan Muzaffar Shah that the king of Siam was sending his general, Okya Chakra with a very large force, moving overland to the hinterland of Pahang."

Here follows a description of Malacca's preparations, and of Tun Perak's justification of the Klang levies' bringing their womenfolk to the wars. The narrative then continues:

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1 اوى usually transliterated "awi". may be better rendered "oya", which is nearer the Siamese form "okya". "Okya Chakra" is an official title and not a proper name. "Okya" is the designation for ministers of highest rank; "cakri" one of the ministerial offices. See H. G. Quatrich Wales, (6, page 22).

"The forces of Siam came and fought against those of Malacca. After a long struggle, many of the king of Siam's troops were killed, but Malacca was not defeated by Siam. The Siamese retreated; and while they were on the march, all the rotans they had used for tying up their baggage, they abandoned up-river from Muar; and the rotans took root and are still there, so the place is called Rotan Siam. The embers of the wooden fittings sprouted and are still to be seen in the Muar valley; and all the Siamese tripods, relics of their cooking, sprouted and are still there. After the Siamese had left, the defence force was dispersed."

It remains to identify the "Pathai Khasem" of the Siamese account. From the Sĕjarah Mĕlayu, it appears that the main engagement took place near Muar. Two miles to the south-east of Muar, there is a stream known as Parit Kasim. Perhaps this is the "Khasem" referred to and "Pathai" = Malay "pantai"[2]. I have not been able to locate Rotan Siam.

Second Campaign (1456)

The Ponsawadan of Luang Prasoet tells us:

"In 817, the year of the pig, the king prepared an army to conquer Malacca."

Wood, in (3), p. 88 adds:

"The town was captured, but subsequent events go to show that Siamese control was not effective for long."

This attack was launched during the reign of the Siamese king Boroma Trailokanat. The account in the Sĕjarah Mĕlayu is as follows, (5, p. 96):

"Some time later, the Siamese came to attack Malacca. The name of their general was Okya Tejo.[3] The news reached Malacca and Sultan Muzaffar Shah ordered the Bĕndahara Paduka Raja to prepare to expel the Siamese, so Sri Bijadiraja and all the captains were put under the command of the Bĕndahara Paduka Raja.... When they were prepared, the Bĕndahara Paduka Raja went out to expel the Siamese with Sri Bijadiraja and many warriors.

2 Sir Richard Winstedt remarks: "perhaps Parit Kasim is a corruption of some older name, as Kasim is a Muslim name, unlikely to have been used in 1446 A.D." [But it may be of interest to note that before his accession, Muzaffar Shah was was known as Raja Kasim (5, page 92) (G.E.M.)]

3 (5) has "Awi Dichu". For the rendering "Okya Tejo" cf. Gerini (7, page 645) where another Siamese commander of that title is mentioned. "Okya Tejo" seems to mean "Army Commander". See H. G. Quaritch Wales (8. pages 141-2).

"Now Sri Bijadiraja had a son, named Tun Omar, who was very brave, but eccentric in his behaviour. Tun Omar was sent out by the Bĕndahara Paduka Raja to scout; he took a small boat, which bobbed about in the sea. When he came upon the Siamese fleet, he forthwith attacked and two or three of the Siamese vessels were worsted. He sailed right through their fleet and attacked other of their vessels, and again worsted two or three of them; then Tun Omar returned.

"After it had got dark, Okya Tejo advanced. The Bĕndahara Paduka Raja then attached burning torches to the mangroves and other sea-shore trees. When the Siamese saw these innumerable fires, their captains said: "The Malays have so many war vessels you can't count them; if they attack, what is it going to be like for us? We didn't even defeat that one boat of theirs this afternoon." So Okya Tejo said: "Yes, it's just as you say; we had better retire." So the Siamese retreated.

"It was the Siamese who built the well at Batu Pahat[4]. The Bĕndahara Paduka Raja pursued them to the Singapore border.....

"When they returned to Siam, the Okya Tejo reported to king Bubunnya (? = Boroma Trailokanat) and gave an account of the campaign to him. It was the king's son, Chau Pandan, who had suggested to his father attacking Malacca."

Here follows a verse ridiculing Chau Pandan and an account of how his death was procured by black magic performed by a Malacca holy man.

Subsequent Malaccan Foreign Policy

The History of the Ming Dynastry, book 325 (9, page 131) states that in 1456, Muzaffar Shah sent tribute to the emperor of China and asked to be invested as king. If the synchronism between the Chinese and Siamese chronicles is correct, the inference would be that Muzaffar Shah having refrained from seeking recognition from China during the previous decade on account of his embroilment with Siam, or perhaps because of a guilty conscience for the murder of his brother (5, page 92), now sought Chinese recognition to strengthen his position. The fact that a second embassy from Malacca went to China soon after the first, because the first set of royal vestments were burned, may perhaps reflect the troubled times that Malacca was then experiencing from Siam.

4 Dr. Linehan informs me that a correspondent in the Kuala Lumpur Malay paper "Majlis" of recent date published a photograph of this "well" (a basin hollowed out of stone) but wrongly attributed its construction to the Portuguese.

Though the Sĕjarah Mĕlayu acredits Malacca with routing the Siamese, it scarcely disguises Muzaffar Shah's anxiety to keep on friendly terms with his warlike neighbour there-after. To his assembled court he said: (5, page 96):

"What do you all think? Hadn't we better send envoys to Siam? What is the good of our quarrelling with her?"

Then, after some difference over the compliments, the Bĕndahara Paduka Raja began the letter:

"If we are to be attacked, we fear for the loss of life: for king Bubunnya is indeed greatly to be feared in the attack; but inasmuch as we sincerely hope for your mercy and favour, we are sending Tun Tĕlanai and Mantri Jana Putra to you".

The superscription of the Siamese reply was:

"This letter is from Pra Chau Wadi to the Okya of Malacca." Thus it was not sent from the king, but from a prince of the rank of Phra Ong Chao, that is the son of the king by a commoner mother. Muzaffar Shah is not accorded royal compliments, but is addressed as "Okya" which may be taken here as Viceroy of the Siamese king in a vassal province—a pretensious claim re-echoed in later Malayo-Siamese history.

While the Malay delegation was in Siam, they assisted Siam in an attack on a neighbouring state (5 page 99). Perhaps this was the Siamese campaign of 1457 against Muang Lisobthin (unidentified) mentioned in Luang Prasoet's chronicle. But Shellabear's version of the Sĕjarah Mĕlayu places the Malay embassy to Siam during the reign of Mansur Shah. In this case, the campaign in which the Malays helped the Siamese may be that of 1460 against Chiengmai.

In Shellabear's Sĕjarah Mĕlayu (10, chapter 13), Muzaffar Shah dies after the second Siamese invasion, and is succeeded by Mansur Shah, whose first act is to invade and subdue Pahang. In Winstedt's edition, this campaign is related after Mansur Shah's visit to Majapahit. If the latter is chronologically correct, the former is certainly clearer, and in this case the 1612 editor is to be thanked for an "improvement" which indicates the sequence of policy more logically, for the subjugation of Pahang was Malacca's final move in consolidating her position against the encroachments of Siam. Dr. Linehan (1, page 12) dates this campaign about 1454 A.D., but the Siamese chronicles show that it must have taken place somewhat later, perhaps 1458 or 1459.

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The Early History of Christmas Island, in the Indian Ocean

by C. A. Gibson-Hill, *M.A.*

(*Received, April 1948*)

Plates 1—2.

This Christmas Island, a dependancy of the colony of Singapore, lies in the eastern portion of the Indian Ocean, between latitudes 10° 25′ and 10° 34′ south, and longitudes 105° 34′ and 105° 46′ east. It is approximately 194 miles south of Java Head and 530 miles east of the Cocos-Keeling Islands. Its existence was first reported by a homeward bound merchantman of the East India Company, which sighted it on Christmas Day, 1643. The epithet is not distinctive, and it is frequently referred to in published works as "Christmas Island (Indian Ocean)". There is also a Christmas Island in the tropical section of the Pacific, between Fanning and Jarvis Islands, in the Line group. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th edition, indexes a third, said to lie off the Malay Peninsula, but in reality this is an erroneous localisation of the one under discussion.

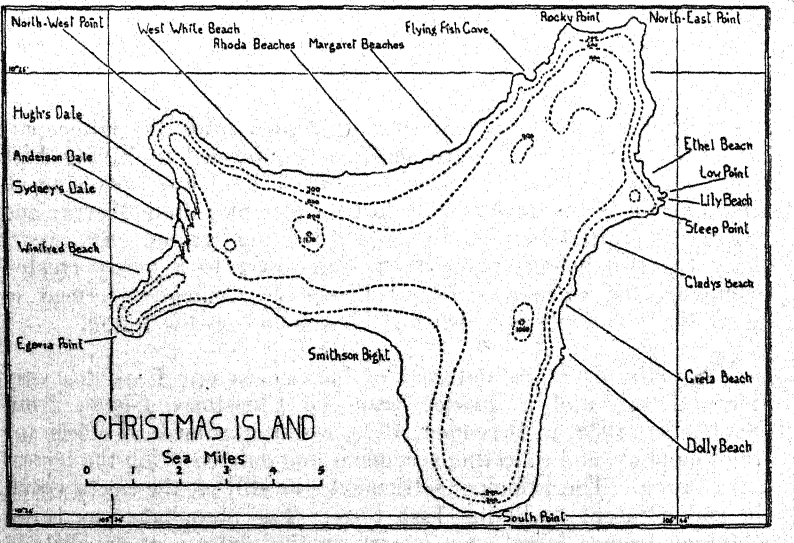
Christmas Island remained uninhabited until the latter part of 1888, when a small settlement was established in Flying Fish Cove, on the north coast. Early in 1891 a joint lease, covering all rights in the island, was granted to Dr (later Sir) John Murray and George Clunies-Ross, of the Cocos-Keeling group. Six years later the two holders made their leases over to a newly created company, the Christmas Island Phosphate Company, formed to work the rich deposits which had been found on the island.

Shortly before the outbreak of the eastern war I spent a very pleasant two and a quarter years on Christmas Island, from September, 1938, to December, 1940, working as medical officer for the Company, and collecting specimens and data covering the terrestrial fauna. The principal settlement was still on the north coast, in and adjacent to Flying Fish Cove. The phosphate was being obtained from a large, open quarry on the plateau, at an altitude of about 700 feet, at the south end of the island. Truck-loads were carried across to the vicinity of the Cove by a full-gauge railway, and then lowered down a steep incline to the level of the settlement. Three stout metal piers had been built at the end of a short, squat point to the east of the Cove, one for loading and unloading from the Company's supply ship, the T. S. S. *Islander*, and the other two for loading bulk phosphate into the holds of chartered vessels.

The total population of the island in 1940 was about 1,400 persons. These included a District Officer, who lived on the headland known as Smith Point, to the west of the Cove, and about 24 Sikh police and their wives and children. All the remaining men on the island were direct employees of the Phosphate Company: they comprised about 24 Europeans, including wives; some 1,200 Chinese, the majority of whom were employed as quarry hands, loading coolies or woodcutters, and were unattended; a kampong of a little over 100 Boanese, the men of whom worked mostly as boatmen and painters; and several Sikh watchmen, with their families.

Physical Background

Christmas Island has an area of about 64 square miles, with a maximum length from east to west of 13 miles, and from north to south of 11½ miles. The greater part is occupied by a central plateau, 600 to 700 hundred feet above sea level, rising in three places to low hills with maximum altitudes of 970, 1,060 and 1,170 feet. Round the edge it descends to the sea in a succession of



Sketch map of Christmas Island (Indian Ocean), based in part on the survey made by Sir John Murray in 1908. The interior of the island is divided by contour lines drawn at intervals of 300 feet.

terraces, separated by steep slopes, or sheer cliffs. The most frequent arrangement, from above downwards, is a steep, rock-strewn slope, a broad terrace, another slope, and then a second terrace, followed by a cliff, 200 to 300 feet high, which drops to the shore terrace. The latter runs round the greater part of the island. It

is usually between one and two furlongs wide, and slopes gently to the final cliff, which drops to the sea from a height of 30 to 50 feet. This arrangement is not constant, however, and in some parts the intermediate terraces are subdivided, while in others the plateau falls to the shore terrace in a single, rugged cliff. Initially, except for these latter portions, the whole surface of the island was densely wooded. Even at the present time the only important cleared areas are the quarry at the southern end, a narrow belt along the railway leading northward from it, and a strip of the shore terrace behind and east of Flying Fish Cove.

At infrequent intervals the line of the shore is broken by narrow beaches of coral shingle or, in places, coarse coral sand. In most cases, however, the sea cliff is continued behind the beach, and only six can be reached easily from the landward side. The sea bottom slopes steeply away from the island, dropping irregularly at an angle varying from 20° to 40° with the horizontal. Ultimately it flattens, but in parts the water reaches a depth of 2,400 fathoms within 20 miles of the shore. Round the greater part of the island there is a narrow irregular fringing reef, which remains submerged even at low water. In some areas, particularly along the south side, it is absent, while in front of the majority of the beaches its landwards portion is exposed at low water.

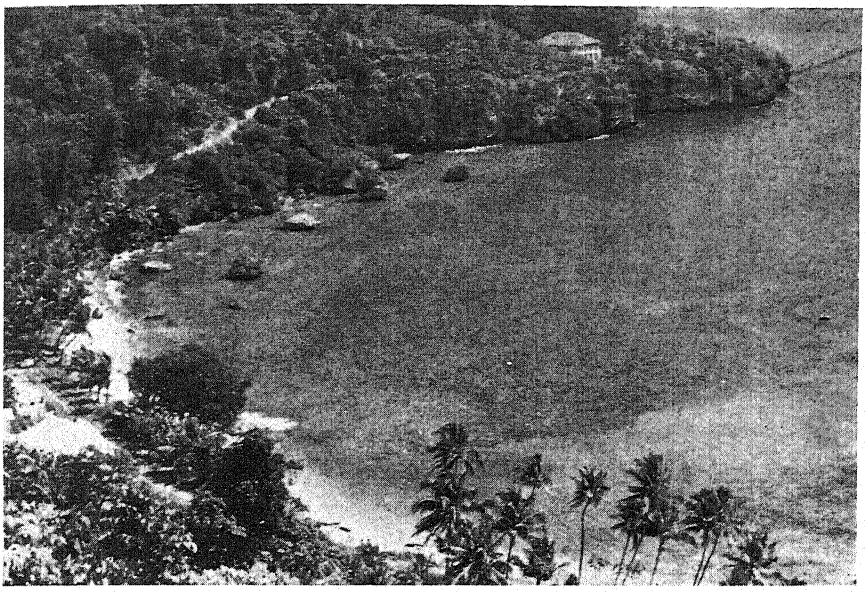
The island is composed entirely of a limestone covering, the oldest portions of which date from the Eocene period, lying on a basis of basalt. Patches of the latter are visible at several points, particularly near the sea on the north and west coasts. It would seem to have been formed on the shattered cone of a long-extinct volcano. Originally this must have been completely submerged but with its highest portions, represented now by the three hill areas, sufficiently near to the surface for coral to grow and cover them. Subsequently it rose from the sea in a series of jerks, each separated by a pause long enough to allow the sections still in shallow water to acquire a fresh fringing reef. The last land to emerge is still developing its frill, and should there at any time be another jerk upwards the latter, the present fringing reef, will form the shore terrace of the new, slightly enlarged island.

Much of the coral must have grown in irregular ridges, as it always does on the seaward side of a fringing reef. Long exposure to the air weathered it into a hard, brittle limestone, and turned the summits of the ridges into sharp, jagged, cockscomb crests, giving the effect, on a much larger scale, of the broken glass on the top of an orchard wall. True soil is absent, but the hollows between the ridges have filled in most places with a dark, richly coloured mixture of fine rock dust and decayed vegetable fibres. In many of the more level areas this now covers even the crests,

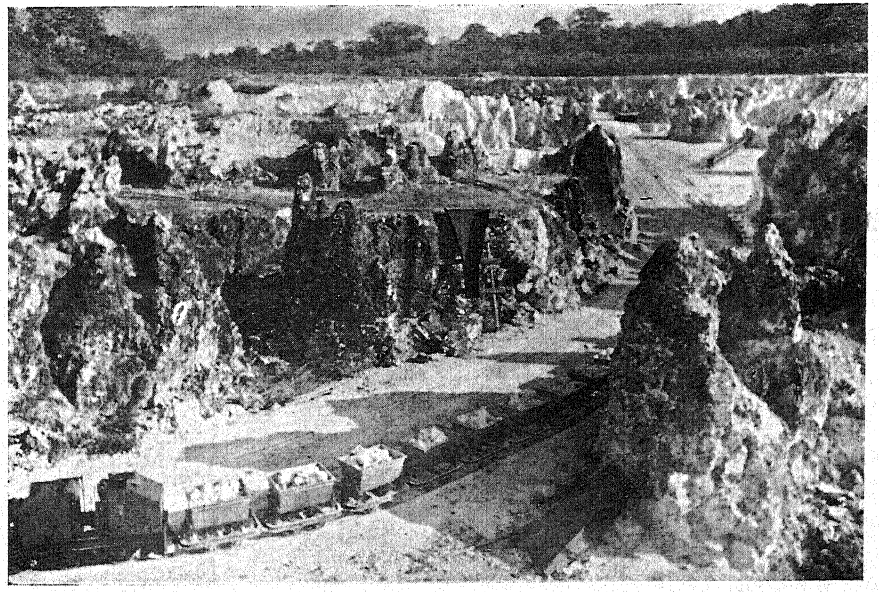
though they are frequently less than a foot beneath the surface. In others, distributed capriciously over the island, they are still exposed. As a result, though the undergrowth is not dense, and in dry weather thins even further, it is not easy to make one's way through the jungle. Progress over belts of exposed rock may be as slow as two furlongs an hour, and the majority of the accredited blazed tracks across the plateau twist and turn to make their way round them. Walking is fairly easy so long as one remains on the path, but once one loses it, it is extremely difficult to keep to a direct compass line.

The calcinated fibre covering appears to favour a rapid growth of vegetation, but certain elements essential for the sustained development of many plants are inadequately represented. Freshly cleared areas generally produce good crops for two or three years. Then the plants run to leaf, and finally grow with difficulty. It would certainly seem to have had a marked selective action in the formation of the indigenous flora. A number of species whose seeds or spores must have reached the island repeatedly by natural means are not represented. In the same way the mangosteen, nutmeg and cocoa plants, which have been introduced, have all failed to maintain themselves. Several others of economic importance grow poorly, and are still represented by less than half a dozen examples. On the other hand, the papaya, chilli and a *Passiflora* sp. have found it so much to their liking that they have spread as weeds over suitable open areas. One ornamental tree, the Persian Lilac, *Melia azedarach*, has had a curious history. At the time of Ridley's visit in 1904 (1905, p. 169) it was found all over Flying Fish Cove and as far as Phosphate Hill, forming a large part of the secondary scrub. In 1940 it was distinctly scarce, and represented by only a few trees on the site of the abandoned quarry.

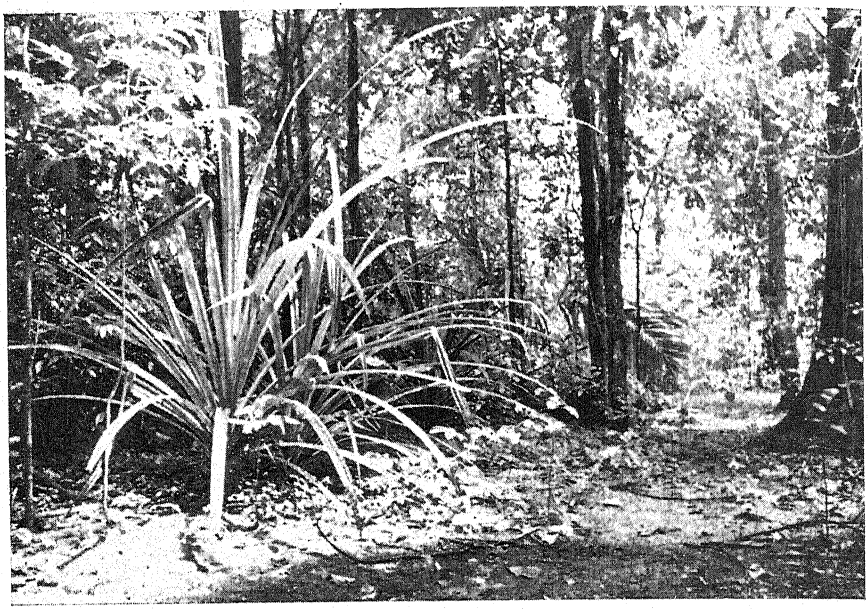
The structure of the island has a further effect in moulding the vegetation. The average annual precipitation is about 75-80 inches (77.77 inches during the period 1930-39), but the fall is not spread evenly over the whole year. Conditions vary a little from year to year, but normally the wet season begins towards the end of November, with December drier, and runs on to about the middle of July. From then until November the weather is very dry: on an average the total precipitation for the four months from August to November inclusive is less than eight inches. There is ample water in the ground during the periods of heavy rains, and from a distance the island seems like a bank of dark emerald rising from the sea. The porous limestone, however, fails to retain it, and the soil in the jungle becomes extremely dry soon after the wet season finishes. The native plants are therefore



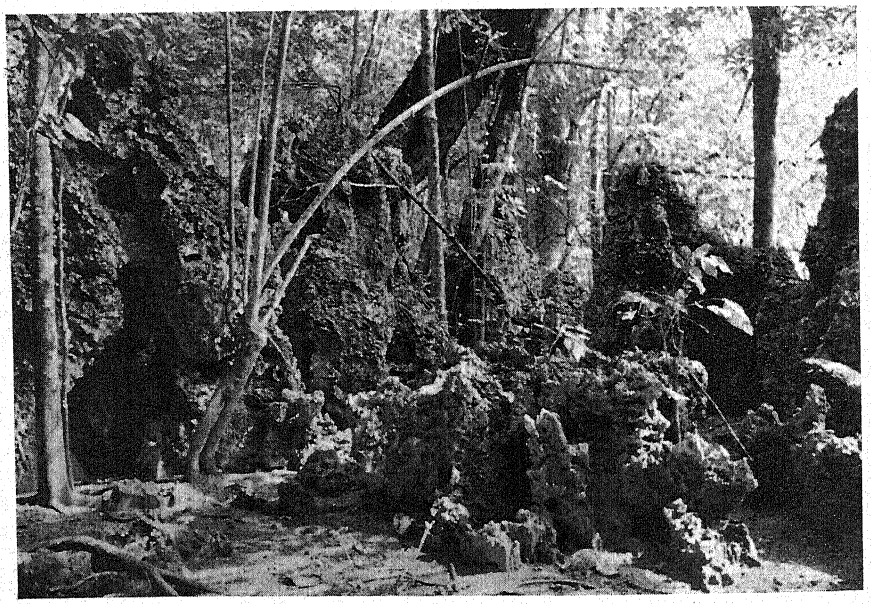
Smith Point and the west side of Flying Fish Cove, Christmas Island. The light area in the water in the right foreground is the channel through the fringing coral reef, along which boats can be brought to the shore. All the earlier landings in this area must have been made on the beach adjacent to it.



A portion of the quarries at South Point, Christmas Island, taken in 1940.



An open pathway through the jungle on the inland plateau, Christmas Island.



A limestone outcrop on the north coast shore terrace, Christmas Island.

faced with a considerable variation in the humidity of the soil in addition to its chemical deficiencies.

As a general rule the water finds its way down through the limestone until it reaches a bed of basalt. No doubt this lies fairly near to the surface in a number of places. There were several areas on the shore terrace where I found the ground damp in November, 1940 after nearly three months of almost complete drought, but there are only three points where there are constant surface streams throughout the year. One of these is at Dolly Beach, half way down the east coast, the second behind Panchoran Beach, six miles from the settlement and the source of its water supply, and the third on the west coast, in the region known locally as the Dales. In the last area four appreciable streams, arising from the first terrace, have at some time cut narrow, gorge-like channels through the lip of the shore terrace on their way to the sea. One must subsequently have found a passage at a lower level, and the bed is now dry, two are nearly so for the greater part of the year, but the fourth, Anderson's Dale, is always available as a good, constant source of water.

The deposit of mixed phosphates, to which the island owes its economic importance, are of considerable antiquity. They occur in three areas, each adjacent to one of those where the plateau rises above the 900 foot level, and they may well have been established at a time when only the higher parts of the present island were above the sea. They must have been laid down initially in the form of guano, under conditions similar to those still occurring off the coasts of Peru and Chili—a scanty rainfall, and a great abundance of gregarious sea birds, far exceeding the interesting but modest numbers now present on the island. A very low rainfall, or a perpetual drought, are essential for the building up of large deposits of guano, as the substance is soluble in water: the total precipitation over the Peruvian guano islands only amounts to a few inches in a period of ten years. The number of birds required to make an appreciable annual deposit is considerable. In 1913 Dr H. O. Forbes estimated that Central Chincha, one of the smaller Peruvian islands and less than a mile long, had a total population of over 5,000,000 adult and young birds. Such numbers require a great many more fish than are now present in the waters round Christmas Island, and it seems likely that when the guano was being laid down the island was at the terminus of a cold current running up the west coast of Australia, comparable to the Humboldt Current still extant off the west coast of South America.

At this period the island must have lacked its present scanty covering of "soil" and have been almost devoid of vegetation. The guano accordingly filled in the valleys between the irregular lime-

stone ridges, and it is in this position, under a layer of six to ten feet of earth, that the rich deposits are found. The subsequent increase in rainfall has failed to wash it away, but in the presence of moisture it has entered into combination with the rock dust permeating it, forming a mixture of phosphates, mostly with calcium as the base, in place of the original crude guano. Initially the deposits were worked by removing the covering layer, and digging them out from among the pinnacles by hand, blasting the limestone away where necessary to facilitate the work. More recently it has been found profitable to extract the varying amount of material occurring in addition in the covering earth, and to lift the concentrated deposits by mechanical excavators in the place of direct human labour.

The Early History

Christmas Island was discovered by Captain Williams Mynors, of the *Royal Mary*, who sighted it on Christmas Day, 1643. The *Royal Mary*, homeward bound from the East Indies, sailed from Bantam early in December, and reached England in June the following year. Captain Mynors records the discovery of the island in a journal of his voyage which he kept from December 22, 1643, onwards, where he explains the obvious basis for the name that he gave to it, and again in a letter to his employees, the East India Company. Not unnaturally he failed to find an anchorage at a reasonable distance from the shore, and he therefore made no attempt to land (see appendix B).

Christmas Island must have been sighted by a Dutch boat very shortly afterwards. It appears marked by the name "Moni" on a map by Pieter Goos, published in Holland in 1666. In subsequent maps this name and Christmas Island, including the variants Isle de Noel and Natividad, appear indifferently, until the latter part of the eighteenth century, when the Dutch abandoned the use of Moni.

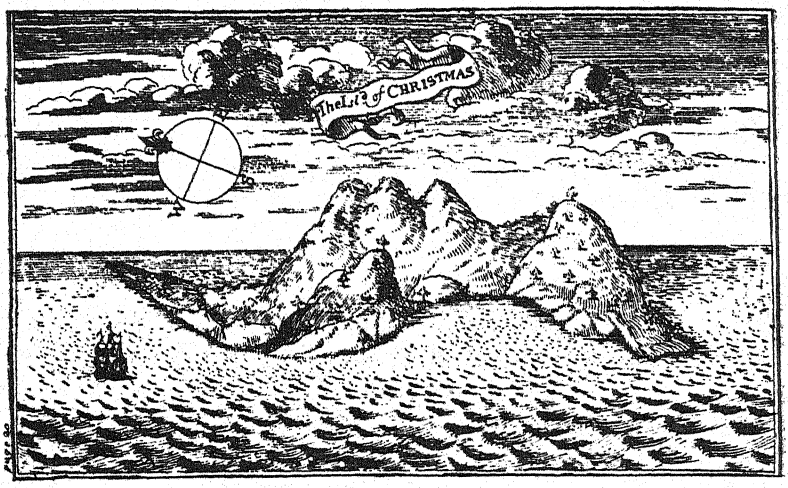
The first recorded landing is that of a party sent ashore by William Dampier, on his way home from Sumatra in 1688. Dampier was attempting to put in at the Cocos-Keeling Islands, but he was carried by contrary winds east of his intended landfall. He gives no name to it in his account of the voyage, and does not mark it on the accompanying map, though he both places and names the Island Cocos. It would seem that it was less well known to English sailors at this period. Dampier's account of the island, which he places in latitude 10° 30′ south, is straightforward and fairly accurate. Owing to the absence of a suitable anchorage he was not able to do more than send two canoes ashore, "one of them with the Carpenters, to cut a Tree to make another Pump; the other Canoa went to search for fresh water, and found a fine small Brook near the S.W. point of the Island; but there

the Sea fell in on the Shore so high, that they could not get it off. At noon both our Canoas returned aboards; and the Carpenters brought aboard a good Tree, which they afterwards made a Pump with, such a one as they made at Mindanao. The other Canoa brought aboard as many Boobies, and Men of War Birds, as sufficed all the Ships Company, when they were boiled. They got also a sort of Land-Animal, somewhat resembling a large Craw-fish, without its great Claws....They were very good sweet Meat, and so large that two of them were more than a Man could eat; being almost as thick as ones Leg. Their shells were of a dark brown; but red when boiled" (Dampier 1717, chap. 17).

It would seem from Dampier's report that his men must have landed on the west side of the island, in the region of the four "Dales". He also noted the sandy bay now known as Flying Fish Cove, but did not attempt to put anyone ashore there. On the whole he probably considered his visit a success though he failed to obtain the two items for which he was searching—water and coconuts. The latter, which were certainly not growing on the island at that time, were much sought by early voyagers in the East Indies. One finds their narratives liberally sprinkled with appreciative references to the islands where they were able to obtain them. The animal somewhat resembling a large crayfish is the Robber Crab, *Birgus latro* Linn., which is still plentiful. It makes, as many persons have found, very good eating when well treated, and for this reason is now scarce over the greater part of its range (See Reyne, 1939, pp. 283-320).

The next published reference to Christmas Island appears to be that of Captain Daniel Beeckman, of the *Eagle,* who passed it in 1714, on a voyage from England to Borneo.

> "....On the 5th day of April we made Christmas Island (so called from its being first discovered on that day). It lies in the latitude of 10° 31′ south, and is four thousand six hundred and eighty miles to the east of the cape. I found my own reckoning very good, because I fell in with the said island exactly to an hour's account.
>
> This island looks exceedingly pleasant, being covered with lofty trees, and may easily be known by the following directions:—Coming from the north westward it appears pretty high, with a saddle in the middle; the westermost land is the highest, trenching away to the northward to a low flat point; the eastermost point is low, but bluff. I sounded within eight miles of the low point, but had no ground, though with one hundred fathom of line out: the island is about seven leagues from east to west". (Beeckman, 1718: reprint 1812, pp. 103-104).



The engraving of Christmas Island printed in Capt. Daniel Beeckman's "A Voyage to and from the Island of Borneo in the East Indies, etc." (1718, p. 20). It is presumably meant to represent the view from the south-west, looking into Smithson Bight, with South Point on the right of the picture. This plate was not included in the reprint in Pinkerton's Voyages (Vol. 11, 1812); it is reproduced here from a copy of the first edition in the library of Christchurch College, Oxford, by permission of the librarian.

Peculiarly enough, though Beeckman claims to have calculated his landfall on the long voyage from the Cape with considerable accuracy, he assesses the length of the island at nearly double the correct figure, as Captain Mynors did before him, and in the drawing which he gives of it exaggerates the hills grossly.

Several ships would seem to have passed the island during the next fifty years. Some at least supplied accounts of it which were not wholely correct. In December, 1771, it was visited by the *Pigot,* commanded by Captain George Richardson, who spent three days searching unsuccessfully for an anchorage. On the last of these, December 29, he sent a cutter ashore. The men probably landed on what is now known as Ethel Beach. They collected a great number of "land crabs" and boobies, and erroneously claimed to have seen wild hogs, coconut palms and lime trees, but they failed to find any fresh water.[1]

1 Captain Richardson gives the reason for his pertinacity in an entry in his Journal for Thursday, December 26th, the day on which he sighted the island,

> "Having this day near 20 of our people unfitt for duty most of whom have the scurvy which daily increasing. And thinking the island according to the account in the directory affords proper refreshments, stood in keeping our boats between us and the shore."

I have not been able to trace the directory to which he refers. It cannot be Horsburgh's famous work, as the first edition of this did not appear until 1805. Nor, without the directory, can one determine with certainty whose observations it quotes, but it would seem most likely that it is those of Dampier, given above. His works were certainly well known to eighteenth century sailors.

The *Pigot* was followed by a number of other vessels belonging to the East India Company, several of which made fairly accurate estimates of the island's position. The best of these would seem to be the readings taken by William Stone of the *Asia* in 1805. He calculated that it extended from latitude 10° 27′ to 10° 35′ south, and from longitude 105° 29′ to 105° 39′ east.

The island must certainly have been well known to sailors by the first quarter of the nineteenth century in spite of the few recorded landings. Both John Clunies-Ross and Alexander Hare independently considered establishing themselves on Christmas Island between 1820 and 1827, when they finally settled on the Cocos-Keeling Islands. Hare has apparently left no written memorials, and his reasons for thinking of the island as a future home are not clear. Clunies-Ross toyed with the idea of establishing a spice plantation, but decided against the venture because of the relative proximity of the island to the Netherlands Indies. According to a letter which he wrote to Rear-Admiral Sir T. Baden Capel, in 1837 or 1838, outlining the early part of his life, he was afraid that the British Government, which had "very nearly sacrificed" Singapore, would not support him against "Dutch clamour."[1] It was no doubt its position which also kept Alexander Hare away from Christmas Island. His relations with the Batavian government were involved, and have no place here, but it would seem that in the early eighteen-twenties his actions were motivated by a desire to keep as far as possible from all governments.

At about this time, or slightly later, a landing party must almost certainly have collected a specimen of the local golden-yellow race of the Whitetailed Tropic-bird. This bird, *Phaëthon lepturus fulvus*, which is peculiar to the island, was described by Brandt in 1840 from an example in the St. Petersburg collection. He does not seem to have been aware of the locality in which it was taken, but it would seem unlikely that it was shot and recovered at sea. Possibly a Russian ship put in at Christmas Island. Certainly there was sufficient Russian activity in these waters round the middle of the last century to cause the British Government some anxiety.

The first attempt at an exploration of Christmas Island was made by Captain Grenfell of the frigate *Amethyst* in 1857, the year in which the neighbouring Cocos-Keeling Islands were formally incorporated in the British Dominions. A boat's crew

1 This extremely interesting document has never been published. I saw a typed transcription of it in 1941, when on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, but subsequently lost the notes that I had made from it. Recently Mr A. Hardy Bentley, of Druces & Attlee, one of the co-executors of the late J. S. Clunies-Ross, has kindly allowed me to make a copy of a transcription in his possession.

was landed, with the object of trying to reach the summit of the plateau, but the men failed to find a way up the inland cliff, and the ascent was abandoned. Nearly thirty years later a second attempt was made by H. M. Surveying Vessel *Flying Fish*, commanded by Captain J. P. Maclear. He reached the island in January, 1887, and after sailing round the greater part of it, succeeded in finding an anchorage in 22 fathoms in the cove now known by the name of his vessel, securing her stern to a tree growing on the beach. A landing party was put ashore, but they also were defeated by the denseness of the vegetation and the steepness of the inland cliff. As his time was limited, and the island apparently of no value as a naval base or coaling station, Captain Maclear contented himself with making a plan of the bay, and collecting specimens of such animals as were immediately to hand. Most numerous of these would seem to have been the Robber Crab, and a rat subsequently named *Mus macleari* by Oldfield Thomas, which swarmed everywhere. The Island's Imperial Pigeon was also seen in great numbers. A report on the zoological material taken appears in the Proc. Zool. Soc., 1887, pp. 507-526.

In October of the same year H.M.S. *Egeria*, commanded by Captain Pelham Aldrich, spent about ten days at Christmas Island. Captain Aldrich anchored in Flying Fish Cove in the same manner as Captain Maclear, but before doing so he landed a small party on the beach now known as Isabel Beach, with instructions to make every endeavour to reach the summit of the plateau. They found the route extremely difficult, but starting from this point were able to do so. The leaders of the party collected a number of geological specimens, and J. J. Lister, who accompanied the expedition as naturalist, made extensive collections of the flora and fauna in the immediate vicinity of Flying Fish Cove. The rock specimens enabled a fairly accurate estimate to be made of the structure of the island, while the biological ones included a number of new species peculiar to it. The zoological material obtained is reported on by J. J. Lister and others in the Proc. Zool. Soc., 1888, pp. 512-564, the botanical by W. Botting Hemsley in the Journ. Linn. Soc., 1890, pp. 351 *et seq.*, and a summary of the structure of the island as then known given by Rear-Admiral Sir W. J. L. Wharton in the Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc., 1888, pp. 613-624. The latter's general comment on the island is:

> "Man has never lived on Christmas Island, nor would it be a pleasant residence, as, apart from the fact that there is no water—the rain sinking into the limestone rock—the extreme discomfort of locomotion, and the absence of any harbour whence the produce that might possibly be raised could be conveniently shipped, will deter any settlers from seeking a

home there until other more favourable spots are occupied". (ibid, p. 622).

Nevertheless, in spite of this unfavourable summary, the British Government decided to annex the island, as the result of representations made to it by Dr (later Sir) John Murray,[1] who had detected almost pure samples of phosphate of lime among some of the specimens brought back by H.M.S. *Egeria*. In June, 1888, Captain Henry William May, of H.M.S. *Imperieuse*, landed at Flying Fish Cove, and formerlly declared it to be part of the British dominions, under the immediate jurisdiction of the Government of the Straits Settlements (see appendix C). At the same same time Dr Murray, who was convinced that still further investigations were desirable, arranged for Dr H. B. Guppy to visit the island at his expense.

Christmas Island lies fairly close to the normal sailing course from the southern entrance of the Sunda Straits to the Cocos-Keeling Islands. It is not clear when men from the latter first made a landing on it, but from a comment by H. O. Forbes it must have been before 1878. There is no doubt that it had certain natural attractions for the Cocos-Keeling Malays. There were, as Dr Wood-Jones puts it (1912, p. 41), the "vast flocks of absolutely unsuspecting birds" to form a valuable addition to their diet. It was also a useful source of timber for boat building and other purposes. They seem in particular to have availed themselves of a red-wood, *Berria ammonilla* Roxb., to which they gave the name of teak. This is still used in the construction of the small fishing canoes built on the island. Wood-Jones (ibid, p. 42) even suggests that George Clunies-Ross, who inherited the Cocos-Keeling Islands in 1871, often took parties of his men to camp on Christmas Island, but there is no other evidence for this statement.

Dr Guppy's only chance of reaching Christmas Island was to be put ashore there by one of the Cocos-Keeling schooners returning from Batavia. He reached Java in July, 1888, and was granted the required passage. At the same time he was warned that if the conditions were unfavourable when they passed Christmas Island, he would have to go on to the Cocos-Keeling Islands, and try to make another attempt from there. The weather was bad and unfortunately Dr Guppy's time was limited, as he had to be back in Britain to deliver a course of lectures early the following year. He remained on the Cocos-Keeling Islands for

1 Dr Murray (1841-1914) was knighted in 1898. He was appointed one of the naturalists to the "Challenger" expedition in 1872, and became editor of the reports of the expedition in 1882. From 1880 to the time of his death he was the prime mover in a number of important biological investigations in Scottish waters and the neighbouring portions of the North Atlantic.

about ten weeks, during which he collected the data for a summary of their structure (Guppy, 1889), and in October returned to Batavia, without reaching Christmas Island. The following month, Andrew, one of George Clunies-Ross's younger brothers, made a successful landing, and established a small colony of Malays in Flying Fish Cove. It seems probable that he was on a voyage from Java to the Cocos-Keeling Islands at the time, and he may have been returning after taking Dr Guppy to Batavia.

Members of the Straits Settlements Government, or naval commanders seconded for the purpose, paid official visits to the Cocos-Keeling Islands almost annually from 1885 to 1904. From 1889 onwards the majority of them also put in at Christmas Island, and included a brief account of the settlement in their reports (see appendix A3). In addition one of these officials, Arthur Keyser, who visited the island in 1896, later wrote a popular account of it (1922, pp. 195-202) and there is a short reference to it in Andrew's Monograph (1900, pp. 19-21). The party which settled in Flying Fish Cove in 1888 would seem to have consisted of fourteen persons. Five Malays returned to the Cocos-Keeling Islands shortly afterwards. Lt. Maitland Dougall gives the total present in August, 1889, as Andrew F. C. Ross (in command), Mrs A. F. C. Ross (wife), Kenneth Ross (son), Alexander C. Ross (brother), Sadi, Rivers, Gondoot, Duncan Lindsay (brother-in-law), and Marline (nurse). The number varied from year to year, but it always remained small. The maximum would seem to have been reached in 1896, when there was a total population, including women and children, of 22 people, with an effective labour force of 14 men (3 Bantamese, and 11 Cocos-Keeling Malays). Andrew Clunies Ross remained in charge almost continuously until August, 1898. For at least the greater part of the time he had his family with him. The working men were usually unattended. This, and a shortage of clothes, seem to have been their principal objections to life on the island; they are the same complaints that one meets with in the reports on Cocos itself.

The shore in Flying Fish Cove is protected by a fringing reef, except in one section near the south-west corner, where there is a narrow channel leading to the beach. This is the only point at which a boat can be landed easily and safely at all states of the tide, and Ross accordingly established his settlement close to it. About five houses or huts were built. Initially these consisted of a timber frame, with atap sides and roofs. Later his own was reconstructed entirely in wood over a cement floor. Several wells were dug, and a small quantity of fresh water obtained at a depth of about 25 feet. Coconut palms, some of which are still standing, were planted in the coral shingle along the crest of the beach. The

early settlers also introduced a number of fruit trees, vegetables and spices, including the lime, orange, soursoup, mango, guava, papaya, banana, pumpkin, tomato, radish, egg-plant, sweet potato, tamarind and chilli (*lombok rawit*).[1]

Later in 1892, half an acre of ground at the base of the point between the Cove and Isabel Beach was planted with Liberian coffee, and tea. In spite of all this relatively little was done, as the small labour force shows. Egerton, in the report on his visit in 1891, describes the coconut palms as choked with weeds, in many cases much overshadowed by trees, and growing slowly while the fruits and vegetables planted in the vicinity of the huts appeared to be left almost untended (par. 14-15). Venning two years later writes of the few hundred Liberian coffee trees as uneven in growth, due to the fact that other trees of various kinds were still standing amongst them (par. 12).

It would seem equally that no real effort was made to explore the island. In August, 1891, nearly three years after the establishment of the settlement, Egerton found that there was nothing away from it except for a single path, blazed but not opened up, which lead to the summit of the plateau. There a small area, about 50 yards square in extent, had been cleared, and a hut built in the centre of it. The only exploration of the plateau of which he heard was a one day's walk by Andrew Ross, who had begun from the settlement, and returned there the same evening (par. 4-9). It was not until 1896 that Ross discovered free surface water, in the form of one of the streams that fall into the sea at the west end of the island. This was detected from a boat, and not located from the land. Even at that date he had only once penetrated to the further side of the island, in a journey that took three days (Keyser, Col. Rep., par. 7). This was presumably made over the top of the plateau. If he had attempted to find a way round by the terrace he must have come upon the streams at the Dales to the west, or those at Panchoran or Dolly Beaches to the east. It is, in fact, most surprising that the Panchoran Beach streams was

1 This list is based on the data given in the earlier Colonial Reports. Andrews (1900, p. 20) adds a number of others that he saw in 1896-7, and Ridley (1905, pp. 167-8) gives a still longer list for the year 1904. There is no doubt that as soon as a large coolie population was established on the island, and easy contact obtained with the outside world, individual attempts were made to grow nearly all the fruits and vegetables normally cultivated in Malaysia. The majority could certainly be found there in 1938-40, though a number of the fruit trees were still represented by only about half a dozen specimens, and in several cases the yield was poor: the most obvious absentees were the nutmeg, durian, rambutan and mangosteen. In addition the Phosphate Company also planted the oil-palm, bamboo, cotton-bush and about an acre of rubber experimentally. The rubber trees are still standing on the slope of Ross Hill, though the surrounding vegetation has invaded the area, and cotton of poor quality is growing wild round the quarries at South Point.

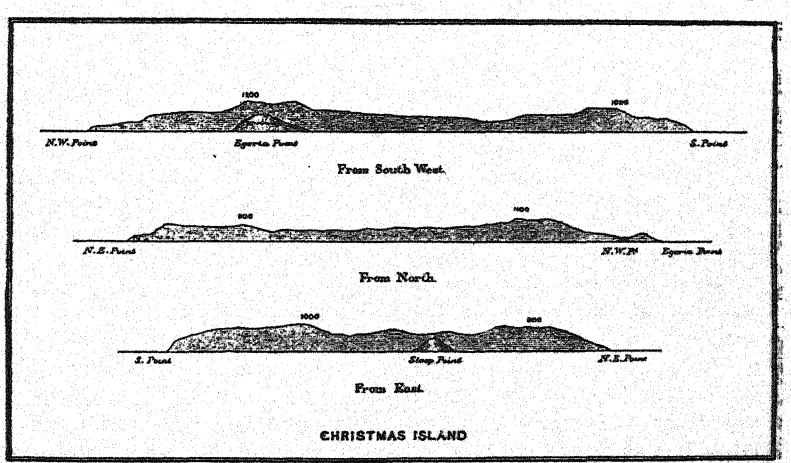
not located. The terrace in this direction is relatively free of limestone outcrops and belts of pandannus, and could have been negotiated fairly easily.

The general impression that is given is that the island was neither exploited nor investigated as fully as it might have been. It would seem that the small community settled down close to their landing place, and there, placed on a soil in which papayas and other edible plants grew for a time like weeds, cultivated largely only for their immediate needs. The half acre of Liberian coffee, and the adjacent area of tea bushes, would appear to have been the sole attempts at raising a crop for sale. Even in this, as with the coconuts on the shore, no effort was made to clear the ground of other vegetation, and the produce suffered accordingly. At different points in the Colonial Report George Clunies-Ross gives two reasons for their failure to develop the land. In 1891 he told Egerton that he had intended doing so, and had gone to Batavia to recruit a gang of coolies to work on the plantations. While in Java he learnt that his agents there had gone bankrupt, following the failure of a London firm with which they were connected. As a result he suddenly found that he had lost the whole of his 1890 output of copra which was in their hands, as well as a considerable sum held in credit for him. Under the circumstances he did not consider himself to be in a position to take on the additional labour. At the same time, the population figures show that he then had over 150 adult male Cocos-Malays and Bantamese on the Cocos-Keeling Islands (pars 87-88). The other reason, given elsewhere, is that he did not feel justified in doing much on Christmas Island as there was considerable doubt as to who really owned it.

Dr Murray had applied to the British government for a lease of the island in April 1888, when he was urging its annexation, but no decision was reached in the matter. Later George Clunies-Ross addressed a formal petition to the Governor of the Straits Settlements, based on the fact that members of his family had established themselves there. The question was not settled until February, 1891, when the British government granted the two parties a joint lease. By then, presumably, Clunies-Ross was aware of the presence of phosphate of lime in quantities sufficient to be of commercial value (references to it occur in the Colonial Reports as early as July, 1892, where Commander Bell notes that the experts in England had already reported very favourably on the samples sent to them), and felt that the export of this and possibly the island red-wood, *Berria ammonilla,* would be the best use to which it could be put. In addition, of course, the grant of a joint lease was not a complete solution to the problem of ownership. George Clunies-Ross and John Murray had no personal knowledge of each other, and

no clear comprehension of each other's intentions in regard to the island. Initially the idea seems to have been to divide it, but naturally agreement on the line of demarcation could not be reached by postal communications. Finally in August, 1896, George Clunies-Ross went to London. Following discussions there it was arrange that both leaseholders should make their leases over to a Company, to be formed and registered in London under the name of "The Christmas Island Phosphate Company, Limited." The shares were restricted to 1,500, of which each took 750 (Leach, Col. Rep., 1897, pars 4-5).

With the formation of the Phosphate Company the history of the island passes beyond the scope of this paper, and becomes the record of the development of the company itself. A few points are, however, of interest here. The first area to be worked was on Phosphate Hill, at the north-east corner of the island. Paths were cut to it early in 1897, and in July of the same year W. A. Wilkinson arrived from England to supervise the opening up of roads and the construction of a railway to the phosphate deposits. Wilkinson was an engineer employed by the Phosphate Company. With him was C. W. Andrews, a member of the staff of the British Museum of Natural History, who had been granted permission by the trustees to proceed to the island, at the invitation and expense of Dr Murray, to make a thorough scientific examination of it before its biota was altered materially by its commercial development. Andrews spent ten and a half months collecting specimens and data. The product of his labours. *A Monograph*



Three outlines of Christmas Island as seen from the sea; published in C. W. Andrews's Monograph of Christmas Island (British Museum (Natural History), 1900, p. 4), and reprinted by permission of the Director. The first outline, from the south-west, covers approximately the same field as the engraving in Capt. Beeckman's work reproduced here on page 74, *antea*.

of Christmas Island, published by the trustees of the British Museum (Natural History) in 1900, still stand as one of the finest studies yet produced on the flora and fauna of an oceanic island.

Shortly after Andrew's arrival a number of Malays were brought down from Java to make roads through the jungle to the east and south coasts. In consequence of these a full exploration was relatively easy, and the free surface water was found at the Dales and Panchoran Beach. Before C. W. Andrews left, in May 1897, 200 Chinese coolies had also arrived to clear the ground above the future quarries. In August, two years later, Andrew Ross left the island, taking with him the last of the Cocos-Keeling Malays. From then onwards the labour force consisted only of men, mostly Chinese, brought down from or through Singapore. Early the following year (1900) the first consignment of phosphate was put on board ship, by means of lighters. About the same time L. H. Clayton, the first district officer, assumed duty on the island, and in consequence no reports on it were issued by later officers making the annual visit of inspection of the Cocos-Keeling Islands, except for Commander Wake, in 1904. In that year the population consisted of 18 Europeans and 946 Asiatics, including 870 Chinese, of whom 720 were employed as coolies. By then one loading pier, with a capacity output of about 120,000 tons per year, was in operation, and a second, larger one under construction.

Changes in the Fauna

From the foregoing sections it will be seen that the history of Christmas Island can be divided into three fairly distinct phases. From its discovery in 1643 to 1888 it was seldom visited, and owing to the absence of a suitable anchorage, relatively few attempts were made to land on it. It may be taken that an insignificant number of edible crabs and birds were killed for food, and that no species of importance arrived by human agency. From November, 1888, to the middle of 1897 it was inhabited by a small colony of Cocos-Keeling Malays settled, and virtually confined, in Flying Fish Cove on the north coast. Owing to the difficulties of fishing in any but good weather they were largely dependent on the birds for the flesh element of their diet. In addition, large numbers of carcases were sent down to Cocos. The contacts with the outside world were with the latter island and Java. The schooners bringing supplies were forced to lie off the shore, but there can be no doubt that a certain number of terrestrial arthropods and insects, at least, reached the island during this period, carried in building material or imported fruit and vegetables. Finally, from 1897 the settlement began to expand, paths were cut to the further parts of the island, and Singapore became the principal outside contact. The growing population

inevitably made further inroads on the edible animals, while the greater traffic increased the chances of the introduction of new species.

Andrew's magnificent survey was made at the time when the second phase was passing into the third. The earlier reports by Capt. Aldrich, Capt. Maclear and J. J. Lister were of necessity incomplete, but in some points they afford a comparison, showing at least a few changes during the years from 1888 to 1897. Andrews himself paid a second visit to the island in 1908, and found some important modifications that had arisen during the first ten years of commercial development. Previously, in 1904, Dr Hanitsch of the Raffles Museum had spent five weeks there, but unfortunately no general account of his observations was ever published. In August-September, 1932, M. W. F. Tweedie, also of the Raffles Museum, was on the island for 36 days, and made a number of most important collections, the majority of which are recorded in the Museum's Bulletin, Nos. 8-10. Finally, I collected fairly extensively during a stay here of over two years, from September, 1938 to December, 1940. Unfortunately the greater part of the material obtained, covering the majority of the insects groups, was destroyed unidentified when the Kuala Lumpur Museum was bombed in 1945, but again, taking all the post-1900 data together, it is possible to make some comparisons with the fauna as recorded in the Monograph.

Possible modifications in the fauna can be assessed with greatest certainty in the case of the terrestrial vertebrates. It is unlikely that there were any major changes in this section before Andrew's visit to the island, or that he failed to collect representatives of any of the species present in his day. The Monograph lists five mammals, all indigenous, four of which had been taken, and the fifth seen, by J. J. Lister in 1887. Only two of these, a fruit bat and a small insectivorous bat, would seem to have survived. Both are probably about as numerous as they were before the establishment of the settlement. The fruit bat, *Pteropus melanotus natalis* Thos., is taken in small numbers mostly in the neighbourhood of Flying Fish Cove, but this would seem to do no more than account for the natural increase which might have accrued from the greater amount of food that has become available for it. Certainly in 1940 it was still plentiful round the papayas in the immediate vicinity of the settlement, as well as in the crowns of the native fruiting trees in the further parts of the jungle. Unfortunately, apart from the fact that it is good eating when skinned and cooked properly, it is not a particularly attractive animal.

The remaining three indigenous mammals, a shrew, *Crocidura trichura* Dobs., and two rats *Rattus macleari* (Thos.) and M.

nativitatis (Thos) would seem to have disappeared between 1897 and Andrews's second visit in 1908. Certainly he found no trace of them on the latter occasion, and there is no authentic record of their being taken since. In their place is a varied horde of ship rats which are now abundant in the more open parts of the jungle all over the island, and, together with the mouse *Mus musculus rama* Cantor, in the settlements. The change is interesting. It was inevitable that these would reach the island once free communication was established with the outside world, and they would appear to have done so just before the turn of the century. On the other hand they cannot have been in direct competition with the native animals. Both R. *macleari* and R. *nativitatis* were primarily fruit and shoot eaters. The latter, also, was extremely plentiful on the plateau in 1897, and the former apparently abundant over the whole island. Further Andrews found that in 1908 they had disappeared from the distant corners, though the introduced rats did not appear then to have penetrated to them. The most probable explanation is, as he suggests (1909, p. 102), that they were exterminated by a disease or infection carried by the newcomers. In support of this he quotes a statement by Dr McDougal, the resident medical officer, that about 1903 or 1904 he frequently saw individuals of the native species crawling about the paths in the daytime, apparently in a dying condition.

The domestic cat had not been taken to the island by the time that Andrews left in May, 1897. He urges that it should not be introduced, as it might well destroy the sea birds if it increased to any great extent. Certainly it is clear that the cats, dogs and rabbits abandoned by sealers on Macquarie Island, south of New Zealand, seriously affected the numbers of some of the native birds, but in the case of Christmas Island Andrew's fears would seem to have been unjustified. Ridley saw feral cats there as early as 1904, and notes quite soundly that the majority of the resident sea birds nest in places not easily accessible to them. He also found, as I observed again in 1938-40, that they do not move far from human habitations, and that they still derive the greater part of their food from man, either in the form of stolen refuse, or by taking young chickens. Neither do they seem to exist in any great numbers, in spite of the fact that the Boanese, unwilling to drown unwanted kittens, habitually take them a short distance into the jungle and there abandon them. Possibly the shortage of water in the dry saeson kills of all except those that still remain round the houses. During the wet weather there is sufficient for them in the little puddles retained in the pock-marks on the limestone outcrops, but these generally disappear after a few weeks without rain.

In 1940 it seemed that the settlement of the island had had little general effect on the native birds, except for the Imperial Pigeon, *Ducula rosacea whartoni* (Sharpe), whose case will be discussed later. There is no doubt that nearly all were much less plentiful in the immediate neighbourhood of Flying Fish Cove than they were when Capt. Maclear and Capt. Aldrich landed there in 1887: they were also less tame, but apart from this local change, their numbers over the island as a whole were probably unaltered. The possible exceptions to this so far as the Cove is concerned are the little White-eye, *Zosterops natalis* Lister, which, liking fruit and the edge of the jungle, had become very numerous round the fringe of the settlement, and the Island Goshawk, *Accipiter fasciatus natalis* (Lister). The immature birds of the latter obviously found chicken-runs easy and pleasant hunting grounds, and they were therefore being attracted down from their normal home on the wooded plateau.

In the opinion of the human population present in 1940 only one bird, the Imperial Pigeon, was edible, and its excellent flavour was fully appreciated. The thrush and the little Emerald Dove were also taken occasionally, but people were by no means short of food, and in general these birds yield too little flesh to be worth the trouble of catching and preparing them in any numbers. There is no doubt, of course, that during the period of the Clunies-Ross settlement, and to a lesser extent during the early years of the Phosphate Company, a very different outlook prevailed. The Cocos-Malays eat most sea birds, and in particular regard the boobies as moderate, and the frigate birds as excellent, eating. There must have been considerable slaughter amongst these families during the period before 1900. At that time, however, little attempt was made to move far beyond the vicinity of the Cove, and so the greater part of the stock remained uneffected. It would seem certain that any damage that had been done had been righted long before my visit, and that the numbers present then represented approximately the natural equilibrium for the island. In 1938-40 the populations, in breeding pairs, of the various species were roughly as follows:

Sula leucogaster plotus, 5,000-6,500 pairs
Sula sula rubripes, 4,5000-6,500 pairs
Anous stolidus pileatus, 4,000-5,500 pairs
Fregata m.minor, 2,000-3,000 pairs
Fregata andrewsi, 1,000-1,500 pairs
Sula abbotti, 500-750 pairs
Phaëthon rubricauda westralis, 4,00-600 pairs
Phaëthon lepturus fulvus, 300-450 pairs

During the Japanese occupation of the island, the inhabitants were again very short of meat, and large numbers of frigate-birds (*Fregata* spp.) were killed for food. It would seem that the slaughter was largely restricted to these two species as it was found that they were easily the best eating, and by no means difficult to catch at their roosting places. As they themselves obtain a great amount of their food from the other sea birds, this reduction in their numbers should have resulted in an increase in the latter, particularly the boobies (*Sula* spp.). Unfortunately I have not been able to visit the island again since the war, but the point is worth recording; the effect, if significant, should remain apparent until about 1950.

The Imperial Pigeon is the one bird whose numbers have been effected seriously by the colonisation of the island. It has been afforded partial protection since the beginning of the century, and there is no doubt that but for this assistance it would now be very scarce. It is a foolish, rather lethargic bird, with a good, rich flesh. The latter is the only meat readily acceptable to all members of the community, and is even of such quality that an easy market was found for it in Singapore in the early days, before its export was prohibited. It is probable that the numbers had already been reduced appreciably by the time of Andrews's first visit, and there has certainly been a considerable diminution since then. It is no longer by any means common, as he found it, along the north coast, and it has virtually disappeared from the immediate neighbourhood of the settlement. There must, of course, be a large stock still present in the further parts of the island, but the danger lies in the fact that it is worth penetrating to them in search of it.

Three land birds, the Java Sparrow, the Javan Jungle Mynah and the Grackle, have been liberated, accidentally, at different times. Escapes of the Javan Jungle Mynah must have occurred on several occasions at least, but the only species that has established itself in the Sparrow, *Padda o. oryzivora* (Linn). It was free before 1923, when native collectors from the Raffles Museum obtained feral specimens. It had certainly established itself satisfactorily by 1938, and was then plentiful in the neighbourhood of the settlement. An interesting point would seem to be its lack of enterprise. It had not spread further than the full length of the north coast road, a distance of about six miles, and some two miles along the railway line over the plateau. It also appeared to be feeding to a large extent on the cooked rice put down for domestic chickens, though it was taking a few wild seeds, such as the *Passiflora* sp. It is possible that it is still largely dependant on man's activities for its food, and that it would die out if the settlement were to be abandoned. Certainly it cannot be said to be competing with any of the native species.

The reptiles, the remaining group of terrestrial vertebrates represented on the island, have not unnaturally been effected even less than the birds. It is now clear that six species, five lizards and a small snake, were present as early as 1887, though certain of them were not recognised until much later (see Gibson-Hill 1947, p. 81). Since then, as might be expected, the common Malayan House-Gecko, *Hemidactylus frenatus* Dum & Bibr., has arrived. In 1938 it was very plentiful in buildings on both sides of the island, and has spread into the adjacent areas of the jungle. It may be added that nothing further has been heard of the four-foot Monitor Lizard which one of Captain Maclear's sailors thought that he saw climbing a tree in Flying Fish Cove (1887, p. 510).

The changes among the terrestrial invertebrates are in many respects more interesting than those known to have occurred among the vertebrates, but unfortunately the data is far less complete. We can now assess with certainty the vertebrates present on the island in 1887, and in important cases make a fair estimate of changes in their numbers since then. It is much more difficult to collect invertebrates exhaustively, and the fauna of the neighbouring parts of the East Indies is known less thoroughly. To this must be added the loss of the 1938-40 collections. A preliminary estimate suggested that they contained representatives of between two and two and a half times more species of insects than are recorded in the Monograph. The late H. M. Pendlebury had produced more precise figures in the case of the moths: here the Monograph gives 74 species, while the 1938-40 collection included about 174, though it did not contain 10 listed in the Monograph. Unfortunately, in the absence of full identifications, one does not know how many of the 110 due to be added to the list are likely to have been overlooked by Andrews, or are not really resident on the island. Possibly the figure for the former should be as high as 35%. Conditions were more difficult in 1896-7. Andrews had only 10½ months in which to complete his survey, and he also covered the geology and botany in it. As a rough estimate one might say that he found about 270 different insects (no report was ever issued on the Diptera), and that in 1938 there were some 500, of which about 150 were not present at the time of his visit.

Unfortunately we are without a formal review of the Diptera collected by Andrews. A preliminary estimate put the total at between 30 and 40 species, including 2 Culicidae and 7 or 8 Muscidae (1900, p. 88). The only previous collection, that of Lister, reported on by Kirby (1888, p. 555), contained no more than 2, including one Muscidae, *Stilbomyia jucunda* nov. sp., but it was obviously incomplete. It is significant, however, that Capt. Maclear says that there were sandflies, but not mosquitos there in

January, 1887 (1887, p. 510), and Lister makes no reference to mosquitos. Neither could have overlooked them if they had been present as they were in January, 1939, when one, a *Stegomyia* (*Aëdes*) sp., was so plentiful throughout the rainy season that one could not remain still for long in the jungle at any hour of the day. It would, in fact, seem probable that both the mosquitos, *Culex pipiens* and the *Stegomyia* sp., were introduced from the Cocos-Keeling Islands, where they are also present, during the early years of the Clunies-Ross settlement. Probably, too, the greater number of flesh and fruit flies, of which there must be about 10 species, and the cockroaches, including *Periplaneta americana* (Linn.), arrived through the same agency.

It is extremely probable that the termites on the island have also been introduced. Andrews records only one, a *Termes* sp. allied to *T. sarawakensis* Havil. He found it abundant everywhere, but it was not recorded by the earlier visitors. The dark brown nests are so conspicuous throughout the jungle that it is unlikely that they could have missed seeing them. Most probably it arrived between 1887 and 1897. Two others have certainly reached the island since, but they also remained unidentified. In 1938 one, a *Coptotermes* sp., was still largely confined to the shore terrace in the neighbourhood of the settlement.

Andrews himself noted the arrival of two or three examples of the large centipede, *Scolopendra subspinipes* Leach, in 1897, carried in atap imported from the Cocos-Keeling Islands (1900, p. 21). At the present time it is widespread and fairly plentiful in the jungle. Oddly enough few other members of this and allied groups appear to have reached the island, and the total for the Chilopoda and Diplopoda in 1938 was about the same as in 1897. There is also still only one scorpion, the widely spread *Hormurus australasiae* Fab. of the Monograph, but the total number of spiders has increased from about 12 to at least 31. One of the species on the recent list, *Filistata gibsonhilli* Sav., is endemic and must have been overlooked in the earlier collecting, but it seems probable that the great majority have been introduced since 1900. Many of the additions appeared to be confined to houses or gardens in Flying Fish Cove. Finally, of course, a buffalo tick which readily attaches itself to dogs was plentiful in certain areas in 1938-40, but had not been recorded earlier.

In conclusion it might be said that although the faunal changes may well include to a total increase of about 50% in the number of species, the damage done has been much less than on many other islands.

Acknowledgements

The original observations in this paper were made during a residence of 2¼ years on Christmas Island. They represent the leisure of a medical officer, and were only made possible by the permission and co-operation of the Christmas Island Phosphate Company, for whom I was working throughout this period. In addition I am most grateful to Miss C. Foster Barham, of the Balfour Library Cambridge, for confirming much of the data in the earlier portion, and to Mr J. R. Lloyd, Superintendent of Records at the Commonwealth Relation Office, for providing copies of the texts relating to Capt. Mynors's report of his discovery of the island. Finally I am much indebted to Miss M. Nagle for retyping the drafts of this paper.

Appendix

(A) Selected Bibliography

(1) *Early History & Descriptive Accounts.*

The following publications provide short descriptive accounts of Christmas Island in general, or the settlement in Flying Fish Cove. To a large extent the list is confined to original observations, or competent summaries, and some items of little importance have been omitted deliberately.

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Maclear, Capt. J. P.	"Report on Christmas Island". Proc. Zool. Soc., 1887, pp. 508-510.
Ridley, H. N.	"A Day at Christmas Island". Journ. Straits Branch Royal Asiat. Soc., No. 23, 1891 pp. 123-129.
Ridley, H. N.	"An expedition to Christmas Island" *ibid* No. 45, 1905, pp. 121-155.
Wharton, Sir W. J. L.	"Account of Christmas Island (Indian Ocean)" Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc., Vol. 10 (N. S.), 1888 pp. 613-624.
Wood-Jones, F. W.	Coral and Atolls. London. 2nd ed. 1912.

The above references are all to printed sources. Several unpublished logs of voyages made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also mention Christmas Island. The most important of these are the following:

Mynors, Capt. William, of the *Royal Mary*. Journal of a voyage from Bantam to England (1643-44), and a letter to the Hon'ble East India Company, recording the discovery of Christmas Island. Both MSS in the Library of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

Richardson, Capt. George, of the *Pigot*. Log of a voyage from St. Helena towards Bencoolen. MS in the India Office Library, Ref. No. 503 D & 503 L.

(2) *Official Reports, 1889-1904*

The following official reports were published on the tours of inspection by government officers and naval commanders between 1889 and 1904 inclusive. The lists below give only the name of the recording officer, and the date of his visit. In all cases a visit was also made to the Cocos-Keeling Islands.

(i) Republished in *Papers relating to the Cocos-Keeling and Christmas Islands*, March, 1897.

Maitland Dougall, Lt W. (H.M.S. *Rattler*)	1889 (August)
Ridley, H. N.	1890 (July)
Egerton, Walter	1891 (August)
Bell, Commander L. M. (H.M.S. *Plover*)	1892 (June)
Venning, A. R.	1893 (June)
Keyser, Arthur	1896 (June)

(ii) *Colonial Reports* subsequent to 1896, issued separately.

Leach, A. J.	1897 (July)
Farrer, R. J.	1898 (September)
Baxendale, A. S.	1899 (August)
Wake, Commander D. St. A. (H.M.S. *Rinaldo*)	1904 (June)

(3) *Papers relating to the Fauna & Flora*

The following are the principal papers relating to the fauna and flora of Christmas Island, published before the end of 1947. As later papers in any subject generally contain a revision of the material obtained in the earlier collections they are arranged in chronological order.

1887 Gunther Dr A. "Report on a Zoological Collection made by the Officers of H.M.S. "Flying Fish" at Christmas Island, Indian Ocean". Proc. Zool. Soc., 1887, pp. 507-526. Contains contributions by Oldfield Thomas (Mammalia), R. B. Sharpe (Birds), G. A. Boulenger (Reptiles), E. A. Smith (Mollusks), R. I. Pocock (Crustacea), C. O. Waterhouse (Coleoptera), A. G. Butler (Lepidoptera), F. J. Bell (Echinodermata), and A. Dendy (Porifera).

1888 Lister, J. J. "On the Natural History of Christmas Island, in the Indian Ocean". Proc. Zool. Soc., 1888, pp. 512-531. Accompanied by reports from Oldfield Thomas (Mammals), G. A. Boulenger (Reptiles), E. A. Smith Mollusks), C. J. Gahan (Coleoptera), A. G. Butler (Lepidoptera), W. F. Kirby (Insects except Orth. & Col), and R. I. Pocock (Arachnida, Myriapoda & Land Crustacea).

1890 Hemsley, W. Botting. "Report on the Botanical Collections from Christmas Island, made by....H.M.S. *Egeria*" Journ. Linn. Soc. (Botany), Vol. 25, 1890, p. 351.

1891 Ridley, H. N. "A Day at Christmas Island". Journ. Straits Branch Royal Asiat. Soc., No. 23, 1891, pp. 123-140. Includes a list of the animals and plants known from the island at that date.

1899 Shipley, A. E. "Notes on a Collection of Gephyrean Worms found at Christmas Island....by Mr C. W. Andrews". Proc. Zool. Soc., 1899, p. 54.

1900 Andrews, C. W. A Monograph of Christmas Island (Indian Ocean). British Museum, 1900. Contains papers by a number of other specialists, and provides a complete survey of all that was known of the geology and terrestrial fauna and flora at that date.

1900 Andrews, C. W. "On the Marine Fauna of Christmas Island (Indian Ocean). Proc. Zool. Soc., 1900, pp. 115-141. Contains contributions by E. A. Smith (Marine Mollusca), H. M. Bernard (Madreporaria), R. Kirkpatrick (Sponges), and F. C. Chapman (Foraminifera).

1904 Hanitsch, Dr R. "Report on the Large Fruit Pigeon (*Carpophaga Whartoni*) of Christmas Island". S. S. Government, 1904.

1905 Ridley, H. N. "The Botany of Christmas Island". Journ. Straits Branch Royal Asiat. Soc., No. 45, 1905, 156-271.

1905 De Man, J. G. "On Species of Crustacea of the Genera *Ptychognathus* Stimps. and *Palaemon* Fabr. from Christmas Island". Proc. Zool. Soc., 1905, pp. 537-550.

1909 Andrews, C. W. "An account of a Visit to Christmas Island in 1908" Proc. Zool. Soc., 1909, pp. 101-103

1909 Regan, C. Tate. "A Collection of Fishes made by Dr. C. W. Andrews, F.R.S., at Christmas Island". *tom. cit.*, pp. 403-406.

1909 Calman, W. T. "On Decapod Crustacea from Christmas Island". *tom. cit.*, pp. 703-713.

1909 Andrews, C. W. "A Note on the Habits of the Robber Crab, *Birgus latro*". tom. cit., pp. 887-889.

1924 Chasen, F. N., and Kloss, C. B. "Some Birds of Christmas Island (Indian Ocean)". Journ. Malay. Branch Royal Asiat. Soc., Vol. 2, 1924, p. 65-68.

1926 Nuttal, W. L. F. "A Revision of the Orbitoides of Christmas Island". Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc., Vol. 82, 1926, pp. 22-42.

1929 Smith, Malcolm A. "Description of a New Skink from Christmas Island..." Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist., (10) 3, 1929, pp. 294-7.

1933 Chasen, F. N. "Notes on the Fauna of Christmas Island, Indian Ocean". Bull. Raff. Mus., No. 8, 1933, pp. 51-101. Contains contributions by F. N. Chasen (Birds), L. B. Prout (Geometride), H. M. Pendlebury Butterflies), K. G. Blair (a new Longicorn), and a list of the insects collected by M. W. F. Tweedie.

1934 Balss, H. "Die Krabben der Raise J. W. Harms 'nach der Christmas Insel und dem Malaiischen Archipel". Zool. Anzeiger, 106, 1934, p. 225-232.

1934 Ward, Melbourne. "Notes on a Collection of Crabs from Christmas Island, Indian Ocean". Bull. Raff. Mus., No. 9, 1934, pp. 5-27.

1934 Fisher, W. K. "Note on a Starfish from Christmas Island, Indian Ocean". *tom. cit.*, pp. 28-32.

1934 Tomlin, J. R. Le B. "The Marine Mollusca of Christmas Island, Indian Ocean". *tom. cit.*, pp. 74-84.

1935 Gates, G. E. "On some Earthworms from East Perak and Christmas Island". Bull. Raff. Mus., No. 10, 1935, pp. 80-94.

1935 Laidlaw, F. F. "Notes on a Collection of Terrestrial Mollusca from Christmas Island". *tom. cit.*, pp. 95-100.

1943 Savory, Theodore H. "On a Collection of Arachnida from Christmas Island", Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist., Ser. 11, Vol. 10, 1943, pp. 355-360.

1947 Gibson-Hill, C. A. "Papers relating to the Fauna of Christmas Island (Indian Ocean)". Bull. Raff. Mus., No. 18, 1947, pp. 6-169, with index. Covers Echinodermata, terrestrial crabs, Isoptera, Rhopalocera, Reptiles, Birds and Mammals, with contributions by M. W. F. Tweedie (Brachyura), T. H. Savory (Arachnida) and H. M. Pendlebury (Heterocera, in part).

1949 Gibson-Hill, C. A. "Notes on the nesting habits of seven representative tropical sea birds." Journ. Bombay Nat. His. Soc., April 1949, in the press.

1949 Gibson-Hill, C. A. "Birds of the Cocos-Keeling Islands." Ibis, April 1949, in the press. Contains a comparison with the avifauna of Christmas Island.

(B) The Discovery of Christmas Island

The actual passages in Captain William Mynors's MSS are quoted below. In the Journal of the voyage of the *Royal Mary* the entry for December 24, 1643, contains the following reference,

> "....at 3 howers more had sight of an Island bearing ye body of it swbn about 7 leag and because it was Christmas Day we called it by ye name of Christmas Island...."

In his letter to the owners he wrote.

> "The 25th ditto in the morning I saw an Island of wch I cannot find any mention of them in Engsh Dutch or Portugal platts it lyes in Latty 10d 27'S from ye head of Java distance 75 leaugs, and longitud fro ye sd head 00d 31': to see tis a fine smooth Island of 7 leaugs long I came not nearer it then 6 leaugs but caus'd the lead to be hove but found not ground there I lay becalm'd two dayes wch heartyly did greeve me, in regard of ye many sicke men I had aboard being noe less then 20."

The apparent inconsistency of the dates in the two accounts is due to the practice at that period of reckoning days at sea from noon to noon, not from midnight to midnight, as on shore. The morning of Christmas Day was thus December 24th by sea reckoning, and December 25th by shore reckoning.

William Mynors made a total of seven voyages to Surat or Bantam on behalf of the East India Company between 1637 and 1651, commanding successively the *Speedwell, Reformation, Discovery, Royal Mary* and *Royal William*. The voyage of 1643/4 was his first command of the *Royal Mary*, which carried a complement of about 160-180 men. Shortly before sailing he was made a freeman of the Company, partly in recognition of his long service with it.

(C) The Formal Annexation of the Island

Captain (later Admiral of the Fleet, Sir) William Henry May took formal possession of Christmas Island on June 6th, 1888. Two records of the event were left on the island. One was a short written statement, of which a copy is given below. This was sealed in a tin and placed in a cairn of stones on the crest of the beach to the right of the landing place. The cairn was not very substantially built, and would seem to have disappeared before L. H. Clayton assumed duty as first district officer in 1900. The statement read,

> "This is to certify that this Island, known as Christmas Island, was this day taken possession of in the name of Her Most Gracious Majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India—
>
> Given under my hand on board Her Britannic Majesty's Ship "Imperieuse" at Christmas Island, the sixth day of June 1888.
>
> (Signed) William H. May,
> Captain.

Witnessed by us

(Signed) F. P. Trench, Commander.

(Signed) T. D. Brownlow, Fleet Surgeon."

The other record was in the form of a wooden board, prepared on the *Imperieuse*, on which was incised,

> "This Island, known as Christmas Island, was taken possession of in the name of Her most Gracious Majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, by Captain William Henry May, Commanding Her Britannic Majesty's Ship "Imperieuse", on the 6th day of June 1888. A record will be found in the Cairn."

In the years before the recent war it was displayed over the entrance to the district office. It disappeared during the Japanese occupation of the island, but has since been replaced by a new one carrying the same inscription. The present writer still has a photograph of the old board, from which the wording quoted above was copied.

Malay Festivals: and some aspects of Malay Religious Life

by ZAINAL-'ABIDIN BIN AHMAD

(Received, October 1948)

Festivals:

There are actually only two festivals regarded and observed as such in the course of the year by Malays in common with the rest of Islamic peoples in other parts of the world. These festivals are called among the Malays of Malaya *Hari Raya,* meaning "grand day of rejoicing"—one, the *Hari Raya Puasa* or Fast-Ending festival, and the other *Hari Raya Haji* or Pilgrimage festival. Among the Arab and Indian (now Pakistan) Muslims in Malaya these two festivals are known as *Eid* which means "happy return celebration" because they recur every year on the same date, and each time are the occasion of much rejoicing.

The first festival, the *Hari Raya Puasa,* is celebrated on the 1st day of the tenth Muslim month, and marks the conclusion of the great religious Fast which is observed every year throughout the whole of the ninth month preceding it. The second festival or *Hari Raya Haji* is celebrated on the 10th day of the twelfth Muslim month, which is the day when the great religious rites of Pilgrimage and Sacrifice are being performed at Mecca. But as the Muslim year follows the lunar calendar which is about 11 days behind the solar calendar every year, the actual dates on which these festivals recur from year to year do not fall on the same date of the solar calendar.

Both these *Hari Rayas* are observed in the same manner and style by Muslims of every community or nationality in Malaya as far as the religious parts are concerned. Only in the social customs and usages connected with the celebration do there exist certain slight differences according to the various racial groups of Muslims, which in the bigger cities of Malaya are either Malays, Arabs, or Muslims of Pakistan. With the Malays, for example, the Fast-Ending Festival is celebrated with much greater zest and jubilation than the Pilgrimage Festival, the festive spirit and gala-day feeling being very much more in evidence everywhere among both young and old, adults and children. But with the Arab and Pakistan Muslims both the festivals are accorded equal importance, while in Mecca itself naturally it is the Pilgrimage Festival that is made the occasion of more fervent celebrations.

However, in Malaya, on both Hari Rayas, all Muslims and Malays in particular, make it a point to visit their parents and religious teachers early in the morning, asking for their blessings and forgiveness. Earlier still that morning the more pious of them had washed themselves ceremonially—an act intended to symbolise the washing away of all past sins. Returning from the early morning visit to parents and religious teachers, they put on their best clothes, and after feasting themselves with the cakes and special dishes prepared for the occasion the previous evening and night and sometimes even during the previous three or four days, the male members of the family hurry to the mosque for the *Hari Raya* service. (The women, however, do not go to mosque for worship on any occasion).

At the mosque, they all sit in rows on the carpeted floor and chant both individually and in chorus, again and again, special thanksgiving hymns in the Arabic language prescribed for the occasion in praise of God. These are not accompanied by any music. After this, they perform a special *Hari Raya* prayer in congregation, on the conclusion of which the Imam or Prayer Leader ascends the pulpit and delivers his sermons—always two separate ones with a brief interval between them. In these he exhorts the congregation to a more careful attention to their moral and religious duties during the ensuing year, and to do good and shun evil as taught by Islam and other religions.

As soon as the sermons are concluded, every one goes to greet the Imam, shaking (or rather joining) hands with him and congratulating him with the appropriate expression of good wishes. Then follows a general greeting and hand-joining (equivalent to shaking-hands) among the assembled crowd between one person and another, every one offering congratulations to the other, and at the same time asking forgiveness for all past wrongs as well as for any eating or drinking of each other's substance that may have been done during the past without honest and sincere consent. In short, the whole atmosphere for Muslims at that moment, and in fact throughout the day, is full of peace and brotherhood. The very air itself is felt, as it were, to breathe complete harmony and friendliness.

Following this general greeting, the gathering disperses; some go home directly to receive visitors, others go to pay *Hari Raya* visits to friends and relatives. As a rule, Malays keep an open house during the *Hari Raya* for visitors. In prosperous times they usually make special *Hari Raya* cakes and sweet-meats to offer all friends and visitors that drop in.

The children, of course, put on their best and newest dress and go out to their friends' house and elsewhere to enjoy themselves. Naturally, to them the occasion bears no significance except that of enjoyment: they enjoy the food, the cakes, the new clothes and the cheerful company, and also until a few years ago, in imitation of the Chinese, the firing of crackers.

The older people take the occasion more seriously. Wherever friends meet on the streets and in the shops they greet each other enthusiastically with the words *"Sĕlamat Hari Raya!"* meaning "Blissful Hari Raya to you!" or with the Arabic formula *Mina'l-'ā'idīn*! i.e., "May you be one of those who enjoy this happy return perfectly!" or "May you have many happy returns of this day again and again." The Pakistan Muslims, on the other hand, say *"Ēīd mubārak!"* which is also Arabic, meaning "May the *'Ēīd* be a blessed one for you!" But whoever it may be, while they utter these greetings they seize each other's hands (and sometimes even embrace each other), of if at a distance they simply raise their hands to the forehead and cry out their greetings. In reply, the same formula is repeated by the friends to whom the good wishes have been directed in the first instance.

Such are some of the customs surrounding the celebration of these two festivals in Malaya, and such are the ways these celebrations are inter-related among the various Muslim communities in the country.

The Fasting Month:

The Fasting Month which immediately precedes the *Hari Raya Puasa* is another occasion, and a long one, during which the more devout Malays, in towns and in villages, hold religious meetings regularly every evening until midnight throughout the whole month. In the evening at sundown they gather at the mosque (or at any recognised prayer house in the village) to break the day's fast. They bring for the purpose any cake or sweetmeat or fruit ready at hand. After prayer which follows the "break-fasting", they go home for a little while to have the proper meal which is usually as substantial as the means of each person can provide. Then they return to the mosque for more religious exercises and devotions, which consist of a series of special supererogatory prayers called the *Tarāwīh* occupying about an hour, and then the reading of the Qur'ān by relays of readers. At about midnight the final light refreshments are served, and then the meeting breaks up as every one goes home to rest. Then somewhere between 2 a.m. and 4 a.m. there comes the *makan sahur* or last meal of the night (in preparation for the next day's fast) before every one finally retires, to wake up again for the early prayers.

This proceeding is repeated every evening and night throughout the month of fasting. The meetings have an entirely religious and devotional character. Occasionally, meetings to break the fast and to partake of the substantial feed that follow the sunset prayers are held at some individual's house, where the neighbours are invited as guests for the evening. During the day there is no meeting of any kind. Everybody keeping the fast stays at home, and does as little physical work as possible.

Incidentally, it should be mentioned that this fasting which Malays as Muslims observe during the day for the whole of the ninth month is one of the five main "Pillars" of Islam ordained in the Qur'ān on all Muslims, for the discipline, purification and uplift of their spiritual self. One of its purposes is to make the Muslims taste of what hunger means, which hundreds or even thousands of their poorer and less fortunate brethren among mankind suffer from time to time. As is well-known, the fasting prescribed is very rigorous. From the moment the first rays of dawn are seen in the Eastern sky to the last flickering light of sundown, they are not allowed to eat or drink or even smoke, nor to enjoy any sensual pleasure. Not only that: they must all the time try not to do or say anything evil, nor think of anything evil in their heart. They must restrain themselves, their desires, their angers, their tongues, their eyes, their ears, etc., whenever they are confronted with any temptation towards evil.

They are, moreover, enjoined to practise charity more than ever during the Fasting Month, and to help or feed the poor as much and as often as it is possible within their means throughout the period. In addition, every Muslim who can afford it has to give away to the poor, immediately before the actual *Hari Raya Puasa*, one *gantang* of rice or its equivalent in any other staple food-stuff of the country, or in money value, to serve as a finishing touch to perfect his or her one month of fasting. This last act of charity which is called (*zakat*) *fitrah* is not an optional giving, but an obligatory religious duty laid upon every Muslim who is able to give it— a *gantang* for himself and a *gantang* each for every single member of his dependent family, even a new born baby. Malays are always very particular about this, that he or she must give *fitrah* without fail.

Further, all Muslims are expected to give themselves up as much as possible to special religious exercises and devotions during the nights throughout the whole of the Fasting Month. In this matter the Malays, as we have seen, have made these special exercises a regular feature of their nights all through the month when it comes round every year. It is the same throughout the country—in court and in kampong, in towns and in remote country

districts without distinction. Indeed, these nightly foregatherings for religious exercises during the Fasting Month have grown to be, among Malays, a thing somewhat in the nature of greatly enjoyed social events for one month each year in their otherwise monotonous life. In the Malay kampongs, the Fasting Month with the customary night meetings of devotees which it occasions while it lasts, has become part and parcel of the people's social and religious life. They always look forward to it each year with pleasant anticipations, and a kind of spiritual longings.

A Muslim who has completed his fasting during the month, in obedience to the Divine command, has in a sense achieved a victory over himself, if he has fulfilled all the rigorous requirements. It is this spiritual victory of having accomplished the Divine command, and of having successfully undergone the severe discipline, that is so joyously celebrated on the *Hari Raya Puasa* or Fast-ending Festival already described. For all Muslims that festival has the double significance of a celebration and a thanksgiving. As a celebration it marks the day of rejoicing when they, as Muslims, have successfully accomplished the carrying out of the command in Islam that they should observe a rigorous fasting during day-time throughout the ninth month. As a thanksgiving it is an occasion for boundless gratitude to God for having granted them the strength to carry out that command and to achieve that success. But generally, even Muslims who never observe the fast also celebrate the *Hari Raya Puasa*, just for the mere rejoicing that it occasions!

The 27th Night:

The 27th night (*Malam Tujoh Likor*) of the Fasting Month has a special significance, as it is believed that what is known as the "Night of Grandeur" (*Laylatu'l-Qadar*) usually occurs on that night. This night of Grandeur is one of the most blessed and auspicious nights in the whole Muslim calendar. The complete Qur'ān in its spiritual shape was brought down to this world that night by angels from heaven before it was revealed piece-meal to the Prophet Muhammad in the physical shape of words and language. Moreover, there is a certain brief moment during that night when any prayer from the faithful is heard and any request made to God is literally granted. That blessed moment, it is said, is marked by miraculous occurences in the surrounding world of nature: trees are seen to prostrate to earth in homage to God, and water in the wells and rivers becomes ice with no connection whatever with winter. The spectacle may be a spiritual illusion, but it has indeed been seen by many blessed souls, and prayers made during this brief moment are known to have been literally answered and granted. The writer's great-great grandfather, Haji 'Amil of

Linggi, was one of such fortunate people who claimed to have been blessed with seeing this strange sight most unexpectedly. His prayer to have all his five sons become *Hajis*—the only prayer he could think of making at that brief moment for which he was not in the least prepared, and over which he was so excited—was later fulfilled.

The Prophet said that the Night of Grandeur may occur on any one of the last ten nights of the Fasting Month, and that more often it is on one of the old-numbered nights, that is, the 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th and 29th. However, people who have been blessed with meeting and experiencing this spiritual phenomenon have, in the majority of cases, met it on the 27th night. Accordingly, Muslims of all communities and persuasions, and Malays in particular, keep special vigils during the last ten nights of the month, but especially during the 27th night, by extra devotions and religious exercises in the hope of coming upon this blessed moment. In the *kampongs* they usually keep rows of lights burning throughout the night all around the house and along the approaches. But there is no special gathering for the purpose during this night or during any of the other nine nights apart from the usual night meetings of the Fasting Month we have already seen.

The weekly Friday Service:

The weekly Friday service is another regular occasion for religious meetings, observed by Malays as by other Muslims, in Malaya. It is the Muslim Sabbath, and as ordained by religion, the service must be held in congregation at the mosque established for the district.

Among Malays, who follow what is known as the *Shafi'i* school of thought, it is necessary to have a congregation of not less than 40 adult males of sound health and mind who are settled as permanent residents of any given place to make a weekly Friday service obligatory for that particular locality. So it is among most Arab Muslims in the country. But the Pakistan Muslims who are mostly followers of the *Hanafi* persuasion (which is another of the four great schools of thought in Islam in the matter of canon law) have probably different regulations as to the number and other conditions necessary to hold the Friday service in any given locality.

The essential rituals of the Friday service and prayers are the same as those of the service and prayers on the two annual festivals. The only difference is that in the festival service the prayers are *followed* by two sermons, but in the Friday service the prayers are *preceded* by two sermons. As might be expected, the gist of the

sermons in both cases are of the same character, apart from necessary changes to suit the difference in occasions. The Friday sermons review the failings and negligences of the past week just as the Festival Day sermons review the failings and negligences of the past year; and with that the preacher presents the religious outlook and resolution for the coming week, with an exhortation to the people to lead better lives.

Usually after the Friday service, if there is any special matter which the religious leaders or mosque authorities wish to communicate to the people, it is proclaimed and explained then and there.

The Five Daily Prayers:

The five daily prayers which are performed as regularly as possible by all religiously-minded Muslims are not necessarily the occasion for assembling together at the mosque or at any particular place. They may be performed alone anywhere, provided the place is quite clean—at home, in the field, or even on the roadside—though it is considered more meritorious if performed in congregation and in a mosque. Malays who live near a mosque, especially in towns, naturally go to perform it at the mosque whenever possible, in company with other fellow Muslims who keep coming and going there at all prayer hours. Not infrequently the prayers are performed in congregation at the house of some religious teacher where disciples meet, usually in the evenings, to attend some religious class or hear some religious lecture. But more often it is performed privately at home by oneself, or if in company at all the congregation is made up only of members of one's family.

It might be mentioned that these five daily prayers are the second of the five fundamental "Pillars" of Islam in regard to action or practical worship as distinct from mere articles of faith or principles of belief and doctrine. They are ordained as the most imperative religious duty upon all Muslims, to serve as an aid to a constant remembering of God and an outward token of complete submission to His will, and hence as a means to keep away from evil. The other four "Pillars" are, first the affirming of absolute divine unity and the messengership of Muhammad, third the observance of fasting during the ninth month, fourth the paying of a regulated poor-rate called *zakat*, and last of all the performing of pilgrimage to Mecca—with all its rites and the rituals to be observed there—at least once in a life-time for those able to undertake the journey. But the five daily prayers are the one "Pillar" on which the Prophet laid the greatest stress after the affirmation of divine unity; and the duty is laid equally strictly on all Muslims whatever their conditions and circumstances.

However, with the younger Muslims nowadays, and more particularly the Malays, this is the particular "Pillar" that is most often neglected. The inconvenience as to time and other requirements entailed by its performance may account in part for this neglect, especially in the day-time for office workers under modern conditions, where no special arrangements or provisions are made for it. The time set for the prayers are, first very early in the morning just before sunrise; second a short time after mid-day; third in the late afternoon; fourth at sunset; and fifth before retiring at night.

The contents of the prayers and the mode of performing them are the same as in all regulated Muslim prayers. In fact, all other prayer observances of the Muslim religion, such as the Friday prayers and the special prayers on the two Festivals, are on the model of these five daily prayers. The same formulas are recited, the same postures of the body adopted, and the same mental concentration on the supreme idea of God exercised. The essence is asking God for guidance to keep on the straight path of right and virtue, and the idea of complete submission to the Divine will is expressed outwardly by reverential standing, bowing, genuflecting and prostrating in the "Divine presence"—and all the while the worshipper faces in the direction of the Sacred *Ka'bah* in the "House of God" at Mecca, an ancient sanctuary which serves as a symbol of the Divine presence and the unity of all Muslims. These daily prayers, even when performed in congregation, are not accompanied by any sermons.

Other Religious and Semi-Religious occasions observed by Malays:

Other observances kept up by the Malays are of less religious importance, some being merely of the character of social gatherings with a religious flavour added, while others are of the nature of historical commemoration. These may be briefly examined here in the order of the Muslim months.

(1) First there is the *Muslim New Year*. Non-Muslim people have often thought, as we sometimes see it said in the newspapers, that the *Hari Raya* is a festival marking the commencement of the Muslim or Malay new year. This is a mistake. The Muslim New Year, like the new years of all other peoples, falls on the first day of their first month—that is, of the first (Muslim) month of the Muslim year, which follows the lunar calculation. The *Hari Rayas*, as we have seen, fall on the 1st day of the tenth month and on the 10th day of the twelfth month respectively.

However, the Muslim new year is not celebrated with any great excitement, equivalent to that on both the *Hari Rayas* which are

sacred days of religion. The New Year is not considered sacred or even religious; it has only a chronological or calendar significance. In the *kampongs* there is no celebration at all of any kind. Even the schools until a few years ago were not closed for that day, and it had never been the practice to observe any official holiday on the Muslim new year, except perhaps in Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu under the old régime as the Muslim tradition was always strong there. But in the towns and cities where there are Muslim religious schools, it appears to have been made a practice since recent years to have such schools closed for that day and sometimes to mark the day by arranging sports meetings for the school children. Apart from this, no gathering of any kind is usually held.

In general, it may be said that the Muslim dates and chronology are usually used in Malaya only when the question concerns Malay or Muslim religious observances and celebrations. Where other things are concerned every literate Malay, as every one else, is familiar with the solar calendar and uses it accordingly in dating all his affairs.

(2) *The 'Ashūra Day*: There is, however, another day in the first Muslim month which carries with it a religious observance. It is the 10th day of the month and is called the *'Ashūra* day. Historically, it is a black day of mourning in memory of the tragic death of Husain the favourite grandson of the Prophet, who was barbarously killed in battle at Kerbala at the beginning of the Shi'ite schism, and thus aggravating and perpetuating the first big split within the camp of Islam. The more devout Muslims commemorate the day by fasting; and a kind of rough broth called *bubor 'Ashūra* is specially prepared and eaten to break the fast in the evening.

Apocryphal traditions, however—some derived from Jewish converts in early Islam—have added that the *'Ashūra* day was also the day when the Great Deluge, in the time of the Biblical prophet Noah, began to engulf the world, leaving only him and those who went with him in the Ark safe from the overwhelming flood to provide the seeds for future generations. It was also on that date, these traditions assert, that Abraham, the great Biblical patriarch and prophet, was cast into the fire by the cruel hunter-King Nimrod for preaching divine unity; and finally, it was on that date too the great Pharaoh Rameses II of ancient Egypt, hotly pursuing the Prophet Moses, was drowned in the Red Sea.

But the real and authentic historical basis that gave rise to this *Ashūra* observance was none other than the great tragedy of Kerbala. Usually, apart from a small party of close friends who are some-

times invited to join in the breaking of the fast, there is no meeting of any sort held to mark the day. But in Penang, where probably the Shi'ite elements were strong in the early days of the Settlement, it has become an established practice for parties of local amateurs to put up a form of dramatic show and song contests called *Boria*, visiting uninvited the houses of the well-to-do for many nights around this date. The plays presented re-enact the Kerbala tragedy in all its poignant pain and pathos.

(3) *The Mandi Safar*: In the second Muslim month (which is called *Safar*) there is what is called the *Mandi Safar* celebration, commonly observed by Malays in many parts of Malaya. It is done on the last Wednesday of the month, and the day is one of much rejoicing. People come out in parties on picnics to the river banks and the sea-side, and bathe themselves in the water after immersing a special written prayer in it. Those unable to bathe in the "charmed" water should at least drink it. Usually they both drink and bathe in it. The idea is to wash themselves clean of every spiritual taint and uncleanness that may draw misfortunes and accidents during the coming year. At the same time they rejoice at having been granted safety and escape from harm, accidents and misfortunes generally, during the past year.

However, this is not a genuine part of Islam and has nothing to do with its original teachings or the practice of early Muslims. Nowhere is it prescribed in the Qur'ān, nor ever taught by the Prophet. It is merely based on certain pious reports ascribed to some unknown holy man of the past to the effect that God collects on that day all the misfortunes, accidents and unlucky influences that He is going to bring down into the world during the coming year. The bathing or drinking is supposed to ward off these misfortunes.

The celebration is usually carried out with particular zest and on an elaborate scale in Malacca, where the picnic campings on the sea-side or on the neighbouring islands of Pulau Bĕsar often last a whole day and night. During this time each group enlivens itself at intervals with songs and music, as well as occasional dancing by girls of marriageable age or by *ronggeng* girls, while sight-seers flock from all over the country to see and sometimes to join in the merriment.

For parents or guardians of young marriageable girls, the occasion of these *Mandi Safar* outings is the time, as it were, to put their charges up on show. Young girls normally kept in seclusion at most other times are there free to display their charms, to see and be seen. It must, of course, be all done within reasonable limits of decorous propriety, so as to keep Mrs. Grundy from

wagging her tongue. It is not unusual that after these outings and sea-side campings match-makers begin to get busy arranging proposals of marriage and bethrothals, as many a young man after seeing the girls in the various camps and parties makes his choice, and goes home with Cupid's arrow in his heart, to set the machinery in operation leading to marriage.

(4) *The Prophet's Birthday*: This occurs in the third Muslim month, the actual birthday celebration being on the 12th. The celebration either takes the character of an entirely social meeting, such as the holding of school sports and school processions for children of the religious (Arabic) schools, or it assumes the form of a semi-social and semi-religious function, such as the chanting in chorus and in rotation of panegyric verses in Arabic in praise of the Prophet.

Among the less educated section of Malays, particularly in the *kampongs*, it is the reading and chanting of Arabic panegyrics that is usually more favoured. The gathering is held at night, sometimes nightly, commencing from the 1st of the month to the night preceding the 12th which is the more generally accepted date on which the Prophet was born. It is done by holding parties after the night prayers from about 9 or 10 p.m. either at the mosque or at the village prayer-house (*surau*), or at some individual villager's house. The choral chanting is carried on up to about midnight, varied at intervals by individual reading of the anecdotal portions in a sing-song tone of voice. Every now and then the proceeding is interrupted by the serving up of refreshments or "throat-washers" (*pĕmbasah tĕkak*) consisting of various forms of cakes, sweet-meats, syrups, cool drinks, tea, etc., to regale the company whose throats naturally get dry with the continual chanting.

This chanting which is done by everybody at the top of his voice, is without the accompaniment of any instrument, and should be distinguished from another but similar chanting, also at night, which is done to the accompaniment of rythmic tambourine beating and carried on into the early hours of the morning. The birthday chanting is called *bĕrdikir maulud*, i.e. Prophet's birthday chanting; while the other is *bĕrdikir rĕbana*, i.e. tambourine-accompanied chanting, and is not done to celebrate the Prophet's birthday, nor ever in a mosque, but always at the private house of some one in the village to celebrate a different kind of happy occasion such as that of a big wedding or the erection of a new house.

In towns and cities where there are many non-Malay Muslims it is they that take the initiative. They are generally more utilitarian in their outlook and also more en-

lightened than Malays, so that they usually adopt other and better ways of celebrating the Prophet's birthday. These consist of social and cultural meetings, including the arranging of sports events and processions for students of religious schools, public lectures in the various Muslim languages on the life and teachings of the Prophet, and the providing of food and refreshments to all poor Muslims who care to come as guests between night-fall and mid-night on that day. Mosques and shops fronts are illuminated, and the green and white flags of the Crescent are hoisted at all Muslim shops, clubs and public places. As for the Malays, though most of the educated among them also join in this form of celebration, those of the old school, who form the majority in the suburban areas, still prefer to do their celebrating in the way already described.

There is no meeting or celebration of any kind, religious or semi-religious, during the fourth, fifth and sixth Muslim months.

(5) *The Mi'rāj Night*: In the seventh Muslim month there is always a meeting held by Malays on the night preceding the 27th day of the month, to commemorate what is known as the night of *mi'rāj* (Ascension). It is the date when the Prophet was vouch-safed the spiritual experience of a night journey from the Mecca Mosque to the Great Mosque at Jerusalem and thence ascension to heaven itself. The journey was performed in company with the Angel Gabriel, as guide, and in the earthly part of it riding on a wonderful heavenly animal called the *Burāq* or 'Lightning'. The whole journey occupied only a brief space of time, perhaps 10-15 minutes, and yet it was crowded with instructive incidents seen, felt, and experienced by the Prophet in a most vivid and effective manner. Most Muslims believe it was not merely a spiri-tual experience but bodily as well.

The night is commemorated by reading to the assembled listeners an account of the journey and of all the wonderful things the Prophet saw and met on the way, up to the time of his return to his bed. The reading begins after the last evening prayers (*'Ishā*) and ends at about midnight with the usual round of light refreshments and cakes.

(6) *The Nisfu Night*: Another religious meeting commonly observed by Malays in Malaya, as by many Muslims in other parts of the world, is on the 15th night of the eight Muslim month. It is called the *Nisfu Night* or *Malam Nisfu Sha'ban*, i.e., "Middle of-the-eighth-month night". It is popularly supposed that during this month, and especially on this night, souls of the dead come and visit the house. The occasion is celebrated by a gathering at the mosque or in the house between the sunset and the late night

prayers (*antara maghrib dĕngan 'ishā*), and the company reading a prescribed portion of the Qur'ān three times, each time followed by reciting a special prayer and mentally asking God for personal and general welfare during the coming year, as well as for the welfare of the dead and the living at all times and places.

Conclusion:

These are all the special religious or semi-religious occasions observed by Malays in Malaya more or less regularly from year to year. The observances connected with each occasion may differ in some details and in the importance attached thereto from the way they are observed by the other (non-Malay) Muslim communities. But the fact remains that the various dates and occasions are those that are usually kept alive by the Malays and by these other Muslim communities in Malaya as they occur. As we have seen, some of these observances are performed at home, others at the mosque.

Of the other months after the eighth, we have seen the ninth is wholly occupied by the great annual Fast, the tenth month has the *Hari Raya Puasa,* the eleventh has no particular observance day, and the twelfth month has the *Hari Raya Haji* or Pilgrimage Festival.

There are, of course, occasions of purely social meetings and special ceremonies which the Malays hold or celebrate from time to time, such as those connected with birth, the shaving of infants, ear-boring, circumcision, conclusion of Qur'ānic study, betrothal, marriage, death, funeral, the various prayer-receptions or parties given in remembrance of the dead (*kĕnduri arwāh*), etc. But these have no fixed dates in the course of the year. They are not included here, as they belong to a different category and so, require a separate treatment.

Geological and Geographical Evidence for Changes in Sea-Level During Ancient Malayan History and Late Pre-History[1]

by J. B. SCRIVENOR

(Received, March 1948)

I have been asked to contribute to this Journal some notes on the geological evidence of changes in sea-level during ancient Malayan history and late pre-history. The invitation is gladly accepted because I feel that in the past geologists on the one hand and biologists on the other have been inclined to rely on each other more than they should do for support of such changes; but in attempting to present the geological evidence I must include that of physical geography, which is inseparable from physical geology.

Study of the rocks all over the earth shows that, although there is reason to believe that the Pacific Ocean has been an ocean from very early times, there have been many great changes in the distribution of land and the shallower seas, one cause being movements of the earth's crust. That was recognized long ago; but comparatively recently it was realized that the great Pleistocene glacial epoch must have resulted in a lowering of the sea-level because a portion of the total water on the earth accumulated as ice at and near the poles and on the high mountain ranges. This does not mean that the sea-level fell exactly the same number of feet all over the globe. Removal of water to the poles as ice would upset the "isostatic" equilibrium of the crust and the weight of the ice might cause ocean beds to rise as a readjustment of that equilibrium. Such isostatic adjustments are known to have taken place in some areas; moreover, simultaneously with the lowering of sea-level there might have been crustal movements in progress; but there is good reason to believe that when the Pleistocene glaciation was at its maximum the general sea-level was lower than it is now. Dr. F. E. Zeuner (1945: all references are given in full at the end of this paper) has discussed the climate, chronology and faunal successions of the Pleistocene Period, which in the European Alps is generally accepted as showing divisions into glacial and interglacial phases, shown in the table on p. . It should be added, however, that in 1939 R. G. Carruthers queried the evidence for interglacial phases in the north of England and that he hinted at scepticism about other regions. In a long discussion he found some weighty support for his views, but at present there

1 With an appendix by J. B. Fitch, of the Geological Survey, Federation of Malaya. *Vide infra, pp.* .

is an overwhelming opinion that comparatively warmer interglacial periods did occur.

Indications of former extensive Pleistocene glaciation exist in the southern Andes, where I have seen them; in East Africa, New Zealand, Australia and New Guinea. Pleistocene stratigraphy in southern and eastern Asia has been summarized by H. L. Movius (1944), who correlated it in North-west India, Upper Burma, Northern China and Java. He also gives a supplementary note on the discovery by H. D. Collings of palaeolithic implements, believed to be of Middle Pleistocene age, at Kota Tampan Rubber Estate in Upper Perak. The present table is compiled from Movius' paper with an addition from Zeuner and a column for Malaya for which I am responsible. This, I hope, will serve to give in a small space sufficient information for present purposes.

In the second column of the table is a classification of Alpine glaciation in Europe with figures for "years ago" before 1800 A.D. given by Zeuner, and also, from the same author, figures in metres for sea-levels higher than the present during the three interglacial periods and for late Pliocene times. In the third column is the history of glaciation in the Himalayas of Kashmir. It is believed that the second glaciation was the most severe. The fourth column shows the Pleistocene history of the Potwar Region of the Punjab, where contemporaneously with variations in glaciation and temperature in the Himalayas there were variations in rainfall and temperature on the lower land. The fifth column, for Upper Burma, is included to show the supposed age of the Uru Boulder Conglomerate; and the sixth shows when the Trinil Beds of Java were deposited, the Bone-bed being the source of *Pithecanthropus*. The average temperature in Java is believed to have been then 6° to 8° Centigrade lower than now.

This table has the appearance of a satisfactory objective correlation, but unfortunately it is very much subjective, based on interpretations of facts that cannot be accepted as final. R. H. Rastall (1941) wrote regarding the Pleistocene Ice Age (pp. 455 and 457). "But as to the details of the (Pleistocene) history there exists a strange want of unanimity among geologists. It is a curious fact that there is more controversy as to what actually happened during the latest stages of geological history than in any earlier period.....It is now commonly accepted by European geologists that there were four main stages of maximum extension of the ice with intervening periods of much milder climate.....In the present state of the question it is impossible to say anything dogmatic on the subject." The value of the figures for "years ago" before 1800 A.D. may be gauged from the fact that one authority

	EUROPEAN ALPS	KASHMIR HIMALAYAS	PUNJAB (POTWAR)	UPPER BURMA	JAVA	MALAYA
POST-PLEISTOCENE	Post-Glacial	Post Glacial	Present Climate	Silt Aeolian deposits	Vulcanism	Sea-level about 50 ft. higher than now.
UPPER PLEISTOCENE	4th or Wurm Glaciation	4th Glaciation	Pluvial Heavy rainfall	Red gravel and sand	Vulcanism. Continued uplift in part of Java	Volcanic-ash blown from Toba, N. Sumatra. Late Stone-Age Implements.
	3rd Interglacial 150,000 yrs. before 1800 A.D. + 18 m.	3rd Interglacial	Interpluvial	Erosion		
	3rd. or Riss Glaciation	3rd Glaciation	Pluvial	Red gravel and lateritic soil		
MIDDLE PLEISTOCENE	2nd Interglacial Long & mild 270,000 yrs. before 1800 A.D. + 32 m.	2nd Interglacial	Interpluvial Long & dry	Erosion of lateritic gravel	Formtaion of Java as an island. Vulcanism. Trinil Plant & Bone Beds. Pluvial. 6° to 8° cooler than now	Palaeolithic Part of Sunda-land? Batu Arang Conglomerate Gopeng Beds. High level alluvium. Sea-level 100 m. lower
	2nd or Mindel Glaciation	2nd Glaciation maximum?	Pluvial Torrential rainfall cool & temperate. Boulder Conglomerate	Lateritic gravel Uru Boulder Conglomerate in in N. Burma		
LOWER PLEISTOCENE	1st Interglacial 500,000 yrs. before 1800 A.D. + 60 m.	1st Interglacial	Interpluvial warm & temperate Silt & Sandstone	Fluvial Sand & Silt		
	1st or Gunz Glaciation 660,000 yrs.	1st Glaciation maximum?	Pluvial cool & temperate		Emergence of Java	Part of Sundaland?
UPPER PLIOCENE	before 1800 A.D. + 80 to 100 m.		Sub-tropical			A group of islands

thought that in Iowa, U.S.A. the second interglacial period (Mindel-Riss) lasted for 300,000 years.

The object of compiling this table is to see if we can connect with it any signs of changes in sea-level in Malaya. There is a regrettable absence of Tertiary rocks in the Peninsula, though they are widespread in the Archipelago. If Java began to emerge from the sea in late Pliocene times it is probable that the Peninsula was then at most a group of small islands, now our mountains; but in connection with Pleistocene times R. A. Daly (1910, 1915) propounded his novel and interesting theory of the glacial control of coral-reefs, which is that when the maximum glaciation supervened the level of the Pacific was greatly lowered and that platforms were eroded on which corals spread when the sea-level rose again, and continued growing upwards as the water rose farther; also that they responded to any fluctuations of level. The theory differs from that of Charles Darwin in that it implies an "eustatic" rise of the sea instead of a sinking of land or sea-bottom while sea-level remained constant.

The Malay Peninsula, East Sumatra, and islands to the south, lie on what is known as the Sunda Shelf, covered by a shallow sea. On this submerged shelf extensions of the existing rivers can be traced which suggest that it was once dry land connecting the Peninsula, Sumatra, Java and Borneo with the mainland of Asia. The decrease in sea-level required to restore that connection would be, according to J. H. F. Umbgrove (1929) about 100 m. (328 ft.). Moreover, in Province Wellesley, Perak and Selangor the following bore holes have been recorded showing thick alluvium below the present sea-level:

LOCALITY	DEPTH	TOP OF BORE ABOVE PRESENT SEA-LEVEL	REMARKS
Prai,	280 ft.	about 30 ft.	Decayed wood at 128 ft.
Eric Estate, Bernam River,	380 ft.	about 50 ft.	ended in alluvium.
„	240 ft.	about 50 ft.	ended in alluvium.
Westelholz Estate, Bernam River,	546 ft.	about 50 ft., on old beach	quartzite & shale at 445 ft.
Bagan Datoh,	275 ft.	about 50 ft.	ended in alluvium.
Dindings,	over 100 ft.	not known.	ended on quartzite.

„	200 ft.	not known.	ended in alluvium.
Lapan Utan Estate, Selangor,	220 ft.	about 50 ft.	ended in alluvium.

As far as I am aware the height of none of these bores above sea-level has been accurately measured. The figures are approximate.

Supplementing this evidence of a lower sea-level in the past are "drowned" river valleys off Bangka and Singkep where tin-ore was being worked in 1926 and later below present sea-level. R. E. Dickerson (1941) has described a drowned Pleistocene stream and other evidence of lower sea-level during the Ice-Age.

We can then feel confident that at the maximum glaciation the sea-level was considerably lower than now, probably about 100 metres, and that Sumatra, the Peninsula, Java and Borneo were connected to form "Sundaland". The East Indies consist of a stable portion, i.e. the Sunda Shelf, where no folding of strata is in progress now, and an unstable portion lying between the Sunda Shelf and the Sahul Shelf that fringes Australia and New Guinea. In this unstable portion folding is now in progress. This means that it is improbable that changes in sea-level in the Peninsula have been complicated by earth-movements or are caused by earth-movements.

Before continuing it is interesting to note that in a recent paper P. C. Spink (1947) says that on Ruwenzori, a volcanic mountain on the equator in East Africa, there is evidence that Quarternary (Pleistocene) glaciers descended as low as 6600 ft. and that their terminal moraines are now buried in luxuriant forests. The highest mountains in the Peninsula are over 7000 ft. but I have not seen any glacial deposits or glaciated rocks on them. They should be visible, if they exist, on Gunong Tahan.

Whether the maximum glaciation was the first or second in the Himalayas is not known with certainty. Movius says that the third and fourth were less severe than the earlier ones, therefore the lowering of the sea-level would not be so great. If the interglacial periods really occurred in the Himalayas as indicated in the table there should have been corresponding oscillations of sea-level. Assuming that the second glaciation was the maximum, producing the fall of 100 metres, then there should have been a rise in the second interglacial, other falls for the third interglacial period and post-glacial times. So far the only proof of oscillation of sea-level in Malaya is afforded by old sea-beaches inland in

Kedah and Perak. In Kedah there is an old beach with coral and shells lying against the limestone hill, Gunong Geriang. This is six miles from the sea. Two are on either side of the Bernam River in Perak, one being eleven miles inland. Another is on the road from Telok Anson to Bagan Datoh. It consists of partly dissolved marine shells cemented together by calcareous matter. I do not know exactly how high these old beaches are above present sea-level, but it cannot greatly exceed 50 ft.: it may be less. Near the east coast are sandy ridges called by Malays *"pematang"* that may be old beaches. Newbold (1839) quoted Captain Low as having traced the gradual retirement of the sea by successive ridges in Kedah (pp. 51, 52). I saw examples of the *pematang* on the coast of Pahang but have no notes on their height above sea-level or the presence of marine organisms. The shell-beaches on the west coast, however, do indicate a former sea-level about 50 ft. higher than the present one, and some miles inland. The condition of the shells on the Bagan Datoh road shows that calcareous bodies cannot be expected to survive for long in the hot, wet climate, and those at Gunong Geriang and near the Bernam River therefore suggest that those beaches cannot be of great antiquity, probably not older than "post glacial" (see table). If higher beaches dating back to the second and third interglacial periods exist it will be difficult to detect them on account of the solubility of calcareous marine organisms such as the tests of radiolaria.

In columns 4 and 5 of the table a "boulder-conglomerate" in the Punjab and the Uru Boulder Conglomerate of North Burma are shown as being of Middle Pleistocene age. They are terrestial deposits and give no indication directly of sea-level. The Uru Boulder Conglomerate is well known because it is worked for jadeite. Conglomerates in Lower Burma which H. L. Chhibber (1943, chapters xxv, xxvi) thinks are late Tertiary or Pleistocene; boulder-beds at Batu Arang in Selangor and Gopeng in Perak; also high level alluvium on Singapore Island may prove on further investigation to be contemporaneous and to belong to the second glaciation.

That concludes the best evidence for changes in sea-level in Malaya. There is much supposition about it and the result only amounts to a decrease of about 328 ft. in the maximum glaciation and an increase of about 50 ft. in post glacial times, both relative to the present sea-level. The physical geography of the country as we know it today, however, gives another line of approach.

A striking feature of the Peninsula is the way mountain-ranges, the two highest exceeding 7000 ft., rise abruptly from comparatively

low ground. For instance Raub township is only about 460 ft. above sea-level though far inland, while on either side are Gunong Ulu Semangko, 4596 ft., and Gunong Benom, 6916 ft. In many parts of the country isolated mountains and hills rise from very low land, for instance Kedah Peak, Mt. Ophir and the hill at Jugra, Selangor. This subject was discussed at length in 1931 (J.B.S., pp. 12-13 and 117-123). Unfortunately my argument at that time has been considerably upset by one of the comedies in scientific work that occasionally enliven it. Before I retired in 1931 I found in volcanic ash on the Tanjong Perak Estate, Kuala Plus, Perak, numerous microscopic bodies of doubtful nature with fresh-water diatoms and some undoubted sponge-spicules. The doubtful bodies were submitted to an authority in London whom I will here call "A". He pronounced them to be marine sponge-spicules. This encouraged me to assume that once an arm of the sea extended up the Perak River Valley as far as Kuala Plus. After I had retired, however, the specimens were submitted to another authority in London, "B", who said there were no sponge-spicules in them, marine or freshwater, and persuaded A to agree with him. When I was able to do so I spent much of my time working on the specimens myself and published the results (1943). I convinced B that sponge-spicules were present. I thought them freshwater spicules, but A thought them marine. The story of this comedy can be read in the paper quoted; but my opinion now, after still further work, is that there is no evidence of marine organisms in this volcanic ash, which came from the Toba volcano in North Sumatra (R. W. van Memmelen, 1939); therefore the bodies preserved in it are not evidence of a former sea-level about 150 ft. higher than now. I would add that my study of the literature of sponges, greatly aided by the Linnaean Society, convinced me that we have much to learn about freshwater sponges in Malaya and other tropical countries.

The Kledang Range is familiar to the inhabitants of Kinta. To the south it falls gently into low-lying land: to the north it ends more abruptly against a gap through which the railway runs. Salak North Station is 191 ft. above sea-level, and two and a half miles to the south is Gunong Sayong, 2603 ft. On the west of the Kledang Range is the Perak River Valley. On the east is a low watershed between the Plus and Kinta tributaries, about 280 ft. above sea-level. Farther to the east is the Main Range and many limestone hills with precipitous cliffs flanking it. It is not difficult to imagine that the Kledang Range was once an island like Pulau Pangkor. A rise of 300 ft. would make it one. Again, it is easy to imagine that the hills in the Dindings (Bukit Sigari, 1616 ft.) were once an island with sea extending from the Bruas River to Sitiawan; but proof of these things is another matter. It may be established sometime by careful search in

surface deponits for siliceous marine organisms. In Kinta, however, there is a noteworthy feature that must be mentioned here. Anyone motoring along the road between Ipoh and Gopeng will see that the limestone cliffs are in places scored by numerous horizontal grooves. It is an attractive hypothesis that these were cut by the sea long ago at various levels, but they might equally well be the result of solution by running fresh water or stagnant swamp-water (see Geology of Malaya, p. 123). Critical study may reveal the significance of these grooves, but at present their marine origin seems to be entirely negatived by the absence of similar grooves in the limestone cliffs of the Langkawi Islands. In the great harbour of that group I remember one islet that is strongly undercut by the sea at its present level, but shows no signs of higher grooves.

The Langkawi Islands and the adjacent mainland of Perlis, only fourteen miles distant, afford a good study in physical geography. In Perlis the railway rises gently to a low watershed at Padang Besar, between Perlis and Siamese territory, only 305 ft. above sea-level, with hill-ranges on either side. On the low land in Perlis isolated limestone hills with precipitous cliffs rise with astonishing abruptness, Chuping and Jerneh being the most conspicuous. The resemblance of these limestone hills to the limestone islands of the Langkawi group strongly suggests that the former were once also islands in the sea. I feel convinced that they were and that once the sea stretched from the Langkawis to the China Sea; but as proof marine organisms are wanted and may, I hope, yet be found. It must also be remembered that even if these Perlis limestone hills were once islands, it by no means follows that all the limestone hills with precipitous cliffs in Malaya were also islands.

It cannot be said that the evidence for changes in sea-level as set out in this paper is impressive but it is not negligible. Support from zoological and botanical information, and from folklore, will be welcome.

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Evidence for Recent Emergence of the Land in East Pahang

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The writer has been asked to enlarge upon Mr. Scrivenor's statement that there is evidence for recent emergence of the land on the East Coast of Malaya. (Emergence of the land does not necessarily imply actual rise of the land—it may equally well be due to a fall in sea level.) Evidence obtained in the course of a geological investigation of part of the State of Pahang, near Kuantan, takes the following forms:

a. Raised beaches south of Chukai, Trengganu.
b. High level alluvium west of Kuantan, Pahang.
c. Caves in limestone hills northwest of Kuantan.
d. River terraces near Kuantan.
e. Rapids on Sungei Karang, six miles north of Kuantan.

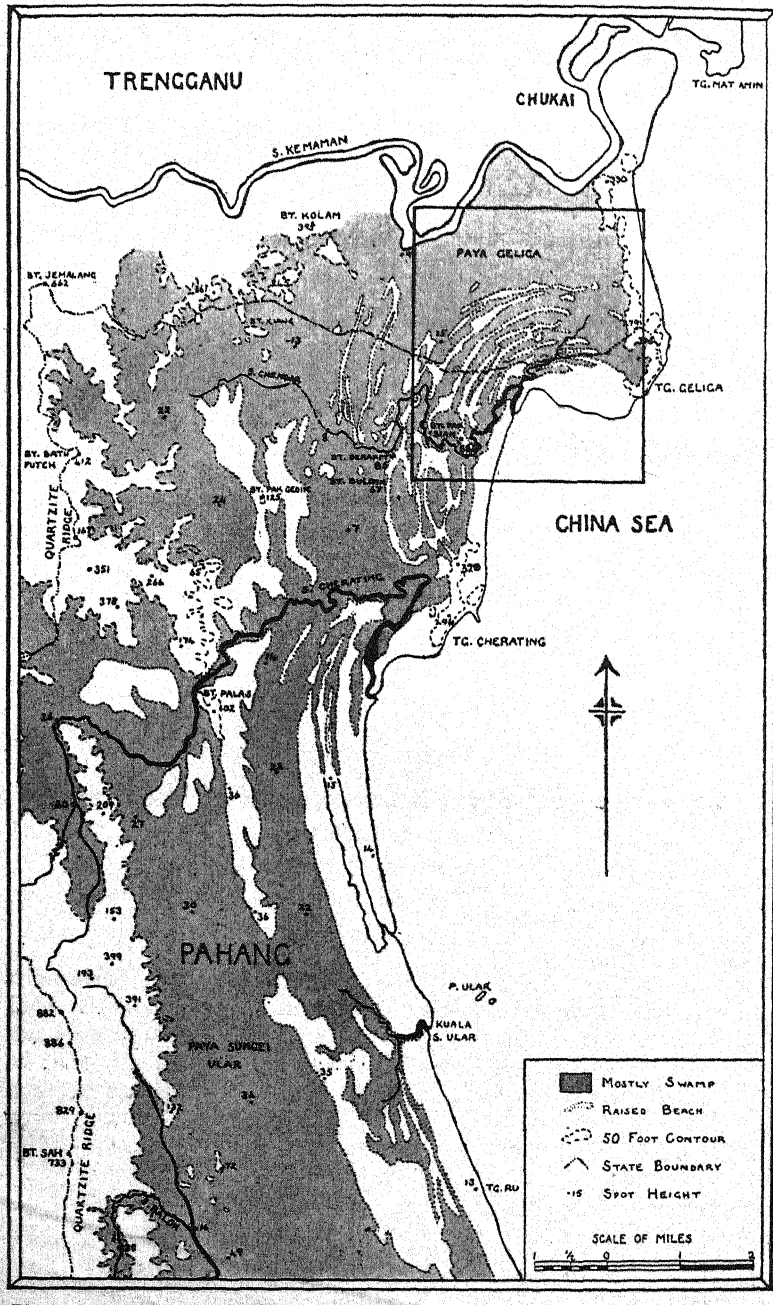
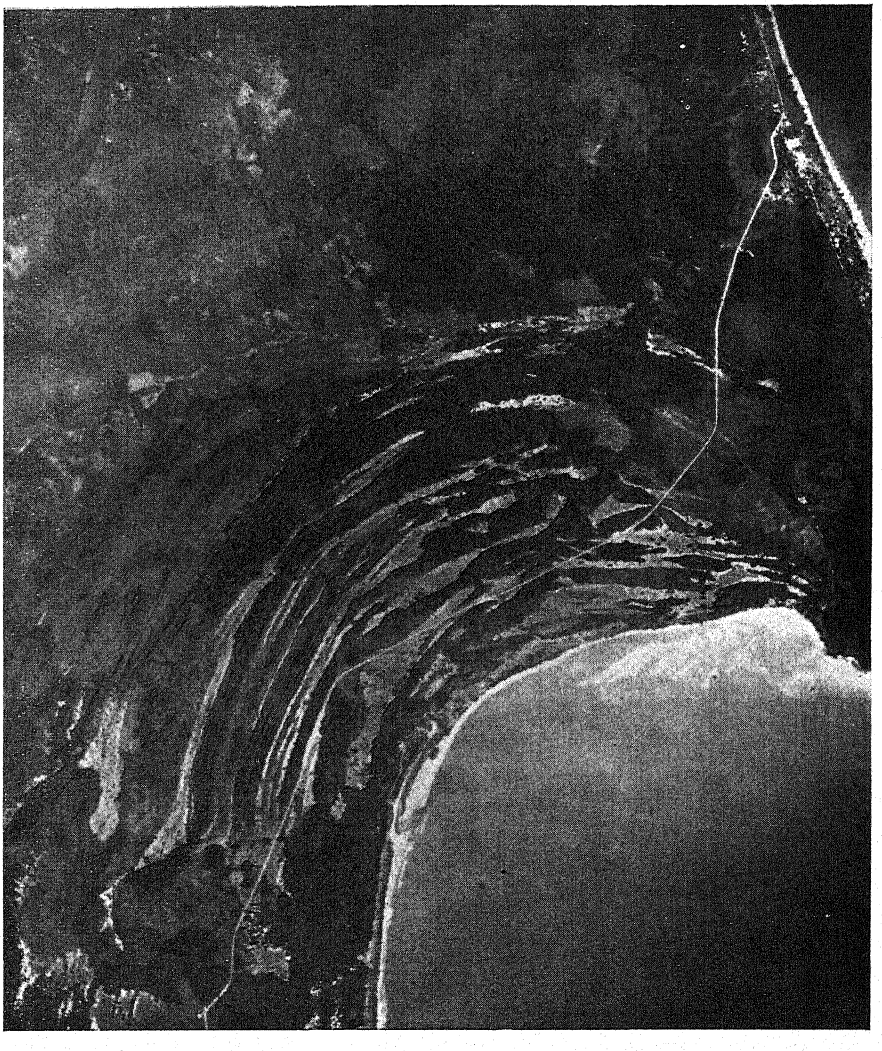


Fig. 1. Map showing the distribution and height above sea level of raised beaches in an area south of Chukai, Trengganu, on the East Coast of Malaya. (The data for this map were extracted from the Third Reprinted Edition of Topographical Survey Sheet 2 P/14, scale One Inch to One Mile. It is published with the permission of the Surveyor General, Federation of Malaya.)



Aerial photograph showing raised beaches south of Kemaman on the east coast of Malaya. Note the deflection of waves by the headland, Tanjong Geliga, leading to the formation of curved beaches and the presence of shoals where the headland is affording protection from sea currents from the north. A long sand spit is forming at the mouth of Sungei Chendar, west of Tanjong Geliga. Meanderings of Sungei Chendar have cut away parts of some of the older raised beaches west of the white line which is the East Coast Road. Trees are abundant in the swampy lagoonal areas between the raised beaches, while the latter bear only a few trees. The large river in the north-west corner of the photograph is Sungei Kemaman. (Royal Air Force Official: Crown Copy-right reserved).

This photograph covers approximately the area marked by a black line towards the top right-hand corner of the map on the opposite page.

Raised Beaches

A very striking series of raised beaches occurs in the alluvial flats south of Chukai, Trengganu (See Fig. 1). These beaches are sandy ridges largely covered with characteristic, coarse, seaside grasses; where they are wooded, they carry *těmbusu* (Fagraea fragrans), *gĕlam* (Melaleuca leucodendron), *sĕndudok* (Melastoma malabathricum, *kĕmunting* (Rhodamyrtus tomentosa), and cashew nut (Anacardium occidentale). Between the beaches are areas of swamp, with clay soil containing fine sand unlike the coarse golden and white sand of the beaches, and carrying practically a monostand of *gĕlam*. The latter tree can grow to any height from a low bush to a tree 80 feet high, has a straggly canopy of thin grey-green, tapered leaves, and a white papery bark which readily peels. When crushed, the leaves exude an essential oil smelling of Eucalyptus. It is probably the acids derived from the decomposition of the roots and timber of this tree which contaminate the water of these swamps and render them unsuitable for padi cultivation until they have been cleared and drained for a considerable time.[1]

There are two main series of beaches; the older series follows the line of Bukit Palas and Bukit Pak Gedik, one to four miles inland (See Fig. 1); the younger series, on which the coast road has been built, is situated between the present coast and two and a half miles inland.

The older beaches aggregate more than half a mile in width in places, and are continuous from Bukit Kuing in the north to Bukit Pengorok in the south, except for breaks through which Sungei Chendar and Sungei Cherating flow and a wider break at the word "PAHANG" in Fig. 1. This wider break probably represents an old course of Sungei Cherating; it is almost opposite Kuala Sungei Ular, a river mouth which is disproportionately large for the volume of water which now flows from it. The Malays at Kampong Sungei Ular say that water flows into the sea from this *kuala* for only a day or two after exceptionally heavy rain, and yet the river mouth is similar in size to that of Sungei Cherating.

South of Cherating, the younger series of beaches form one sandy ridge, three quarters of a mile wide in places, following the present coast-line; north of Cherating, it is represented by a series of narrow, parallel ridges, separately by swamp (see Plate 3).

1 Agronomic data derived from Part III (S. G. Willimott) in 'Report on a Visit to the East Coast of Malaya'. November 1947, (No. 12 in DA-R 3/47/14, Kuala Lumpur, unpublished) by Mr. R. G. H. Wilshaw and Dr. S. G. Willimott.

We may now consider the various stages in the development of this topography.

Stage I.

The sea washed against the foot of the quartzite ridge (See Fig. 1.) and there were numerous islands off the coast, including Bukit Palas, Bukit Pak Gedik, Bukit Berapit, Bukit Buloh, Bukit Pak Siah, Bukit Geliga, Bukit Cherating, and Pulau Ular. The water off this coast was shallow; under the influence of the waves, the sand of the sea was drifted landwards but, some distance from the shore, the waves began to lose their energy by drag on the bottom and sand was deposited to form an off-shore bar. This bar was built up until it was swept by breakers which transferred the sand from the seaward to the landward side, causing a migration of the bar towards the land. This continued until the bar reached Bukit Kuing, Bukit Pak Gedik, and Bukit Palas, to which it became tied. By beach drifting, sand was built up on this line to form an ordinary beach, the top of which was at the height reached by storm waves. Since the sea was shallow, the waves were probably not very large and it is assumed, for the purposes of this paper, that the beach was built up to a height of only four or five feet above mean sea level. Behind this barrier beach was a shallow lagoon which was partially filled by sediment brought down by rivers from the land, to form Paya Sungei Ular.

At the end of Stage I., the land rose about 20 feet, or the sea level fell the same amount. The barrier beach formed during Stage I., was raised above the influence of the waves and now forms the older series of raised beaches on the line of Bukit Palas and Bukit Pak Gedik.

Stage II.

The processes visualised above were repeated and a new off-shore bar was formed. This migrated landwards until it reached Bukit Geliga and Bukit Cherating. It was broken by these islands and began to sweep past them in broad curves which would later have rejoined behind them, as the bar of Stage I., must have done. The disturbing influence of the islands on the waves and sea currents caused the main off-shore bar to be broken up into a series of narrow parallel bars between Bukit Geliga and Bukit Cherating. While the landward advance of the bars was held up by the islands, beaches were formed on them as in Stage I., and entrapped lagoons which were partially filled with sediment from the land (see Plate 3).

Sungei Cherating probably reached the sea at what is now Kuala Sungei Ular.

At the end of Stage II., the land emerged another ten feet or so relative to the sea and the new beaches were raised above the influence of the waves.

During Stage II., the waves were beating against the foot of Bukit Cherating, leading by undercutting to the formation of cliffs as much as 100 feet high. At the foot of these cliffs were caves cut by the waves, but these caves are now about 10 feet above sea level, due to the second emergence.

Stage III.

This stage extends to the present day. The beaches of Stage I., were built up to four or five feet above sea level but have since been subjected to rises of twenty and ten feet, so that the tops of them are now about 35 feet above the sea. The beaches of Stage II., have been raised about ten feet and are now about 14 feet above sea level. New beaches are forming only where the headlands of Tanjong Geliga and Tanjong

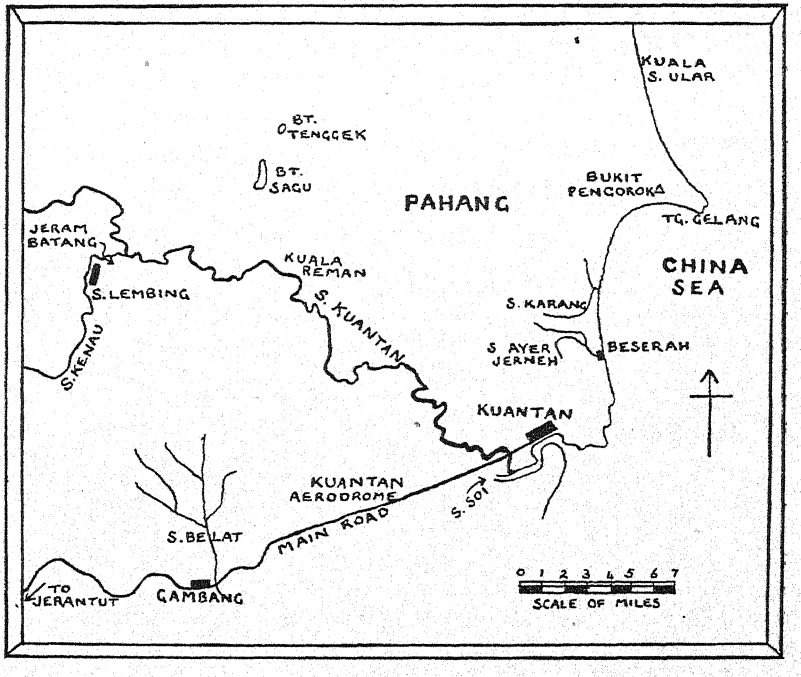


Fig. 2. Sketch map showing places named in this paper, south of the area covered in Fig. 1.

Cherating provide shelter from the sea currents from the north. (A similar process probably gave rise to the sand-bank west of Bukit Palas during Stage I.) New off-shore bars are forming, one of which extends south from Tanjong Mat Amin and co fines the waters of Sungei Kemaman, another is already tied to the island of Pulau Ular.

It was probably the second emergence which caused Sungei Cherating to change its course to that which it follows at the present day.

High Level Alluvium

An area nine miles from the coast, near Kuantan, was almost flat even before it was more perfectly levelled in the course of construction of Kuantan Aerodrome (See Fig. 2.); the soil varies from fine to coarse sand with water-worn fragments of vein quartz. It is an area of coastal alluvium which was laid down almost at sea level but is now more than 50 feet above the sea. It therefore appears to indicate an even earlier stage of emergence of the land than the two deduced from the beaches south of Chukai.

Caves in Limestone Hills

In various parts of Malaya, caves in limestone hills have been carefully studied and attributed to a variety of causes, including undercutting by the waves of the sea and solution by the stagnant water of swamps. The caves in the limestone hill of Bukit Tenggek, northwest of Kuantan (See Fig. 2.), were caused by mechanical erosion and solution by the flowing water of a river impinging on the almost vertical side of the hill. They are semi-oval in plan, as much as 100 yards long and 30 yards deep; in section they are like a very tall letter U lying on its side, the height of the caves being about ten feet. Both in plan and in section, the walls are so smoothly curved that there can be no doubt that mechanical erosion played a large part in the formation of the caves; solution by stagnant water would produce irregular curves due to variations in chemical composition, grain size, structure and texture of the limestone.

There are at least two such caves in Bukit Tenggek. One is partially filled with alluvium and is at the level of the surrounding alluvial flats; it has simply been left dry by a change in the course of the river which cut it. The other is about 30 feet above the surrounding flats and must have been cut during Stage I. of the formation of raised beaches south of Chukai.

Similar caves at different levels occur also in Bukit Sagu, another limestone hill south of Bukit Tenggek (See Fig. 2.).

Such caves form perfect "rock shelters" which are used even today by travellers on foot between Kuala Reman and Sungei Kemaman; they should prove fruitful sites for archaeological investigation, especially as the discovery of artefacts of the Cave Culture (Hoabinhian) a few miles away shows that the area was populated in ancient times. Such an investigation, coupled with accurate measurement of the heights of the caves above the surrounding alluvium, might yield important data regarding the dates of the land emergences described above.

River Terraces

The emergence of a land mass leads to the rejuvenation of the more sluggish parts of the rivers and causes them to cut down into their flood plains. Remnants of old flood plans are left as terraces such as may be seen in many places on Sungei Belat, near Gambang (See Fig. 2.), and other rivers near Kuantan.

In railway cuttings beside Sungei Kenau, at Jeram Batang, Sungei Lembing (See Fig. 2), a pebble bed is exposed which, although now well above river level, must have been laid down by Sungei Kenau. This again might well repay archaeological investigation for some of the more durable articles accidentally dropped in the river by members of an ancient civilsation.

Sungei Ayer Jerneh, for a quarter of a mile above it confluence with Sungei Beserah (See Fig. 2.), flows between almost vertical banks of alluvium about 20 feet high, and is already building a new narrow flood plain at the lower level.

Rapids on Sungei Karang

Rejuvenation of a river causes it to cut back from its mouth; this leads to a gradual lowering of the river profile which remains smooth unless a band of hard rock or some other obstacle interferes. On Sungei Karang (See Fig. 2.), near Beserah, the remnant of an old flood plain may be seen upstream. This is succeeded downstream by steep rapids over basalt bedrock, where the cutting back of the river has been halted. Farther down, the river is building a flood plain at the new lower level.

Isostasy

The sedimentary rocks which now form part of the land mass of Malaya were deposited below the sea in Carboniferous, Permian and Triassic times. When the great mass of tin-bearing granite was being intruded, these rocks were arched up, probably in Cretaceous times, and emerged from the sea as a new land mass. This was subjected to weathering and erosion by meteoric waters, the

products of erosion being carried down by the rivers to the sea. This process, which is still continuing, reduces the weight of rock in the land mass and increases that of the areas below the sea. This causes a tendency for the land mass to rise and the area below the sea to be depressed; it is probably the spasmodic relief of this tendency which has caused the emergences described above; that is, they are due to an effort on the part of the area to attain isostatic equilibrium.

Conclusion

There is evidence, in the form of raised beaches, caves at different levels in limestone hills, river terraces, and rapids on Sungei Karang, for two recent emergences of the land from the sea in the Kuantan district of Malaya. The first of these amounted to about 20 feet and the second to about ten feet. High level alluvium at Kuantan Aerodrome suggests that there may have been an even earlier emergence of about 20 feet.

The age of these land emergences might be determined by archaeological and geological investigation of the caves in the limestone hills and the pebble bed terrace near Sungei Lembing.

Acknowledgment

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Singing Pre-History

by TOM HARRISSON
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(*Received, September* 1948)

Archdeacon Perham (1) and a few others have recorded some Sea Dayak (Iban) songs telling the legendary doings of Singalong Burong, Klieng and their associated demi-god heroes. But in general, the recorded material of this type of song is fragmentary in the extreme, and unfortunately even Perham publishes the material "curtailed in length; but to give it *in extenso* would weary the reader"—and he goes on to apologise for Dayak prolixities and multiple images, the very things we most need to record and study and which, alas, he has elided. The situation is now not likely to be very much improved, for as long ago as 1896 it was said that "in the largest tribes, there are never more than two or three of the elders who have any acquaintance with history (2). Among the Sea Dayaks and other sub-coastal people of Borneo, a large part of folk-lore and mythology was, however, recounted in prose, and of this rather more is on record.

For other peoples in Borneo we thus have few records of olden "stories" told in stylised song form, though there are, of course, a few songs, such as Wooley's vivid translation of a British North Borneo "Murut" (Tagal?) head song. (3) For most of Borneo we have no recorded songs of any description. For instance, Hose & McDougall, in their two big volumes (4), refer only to "Songs, Boating" (one reference).

Further study may do much to revise the situation. Meanwhile, during visits to the Kelabit Plateau in North Central Borneo in 1945-48, some study was made of this subject. The Kelabits (until 1945 all illiterate) were for a long time the least known resident people of Borneo; they inhabit the extreme headwaters of the Baram, Tutoh, Limbang, Kerayan, Mentarang and Bahau Rivers in Sarawak and Dutch Borneo, and are closely linked to the Muruts, (5, 6). It took some time to realise that practically all Kelabit folk-lore and history is sung, and that a large part of their prolific song culture is directly folk-lore and history. This was partly because the idea was somewhat alien to one's own culture system; partly because of initial language difficulties; and largely because until the stranger is fully accepted as part of the landscape, the Kelabits tend to sing "lighter" and more "topical" songs, largely improvised and often flattering the guest, and only after months do they reveal their own ways com-

pletely. It may well be, therefore, that this type of "song" is more common elsewhere than has been previously suspected. Apparently, however, this way of recalling past history and pre-history in long songs is, in general, uncommon. In a comprehensive and valuable survey of folk-lore research, Dr. E. J. Lindgren (7) makes no relevant reference.

Topical singing is done on separate rythms and times from the pre-history story-song. These latter are of two main types, all dealing with persons and events said to have happened very long ago and with no traditional link to now.

1. *Sordardai*. Sung by male only, no chorus and not by women. High pitch. Irregular intervals. Definitely "song" but with use of speech styles and intervals to a large extent.

2. *Adi'*. Sung by a single man or woman, the end of each line taken up by a chorus.

Both these are traditional, and none have been newly made within Kelabit memory or history. They are closely related to a third type, *Sordarir*, which is normally sung by a man solo, at intervals within the only type of spoken folk-tale, the *Sekuno*. Some of the longest and most important stories are told as *Sekuno* with *Sordarir* periods; one of the versions on culture hero Tokid Rini took seven days to record (in writing). Some *Sekuno* do not have song periods within them, and these are mainly fairy stories and fables, often of strongly Malayoid colouring, and paralleled by Sea Dayak *Ensera*—the sung Dayak tales are called *Kana*, and show some close parallels with the Tokid Rini (Kelabit) cycle. *Adi'* and *Sordardai* have not yet been exactly paralleled elsewhere.

Many of the "topical" types of song are also near ordinary "folk songs", and are by way of processing contemporary life into history. Popular themes are preserved and become folk music in the American negro sense. Thus a whole recent series, with numerous variants, tells of the arrival of British parachutists in 1945, and subsequent guerilla war with the Japanese. As well as those made and learned at that time, others are constantly being improvised on the same theme and if "successful" adopted. Thus as late as December 1947, Penghulu Lawai, B.E.M., Chief of the northern Kelabits, sang me a new and impromptu flatter-song starting:

You take them—
You bring war to the Japs—
You say lets play; you help us

We of the upriver, we
We do not yet know
We hear news before, I say,
But before that you fight.

And so on, for a couple of hundred lines, developing into how Kelabits and whites fought side by side, on until "victory" etc. etc.

The detailed consideration of all types of Kelabit song must await the full working out of the research material, which has been augmented in the later stages by much assistance from Mr. F. Manis, a Malay who spent many years in the interior as a Dutch Government teacher, and then Administrative officer. Gramophone records are also being made with the generous co-operation of Mr. W. G. Tait, Postmaster General, Sarawak. In nearly all cases the original full Kelabit text has been recorded in writing—and this has sometimes involved many days of labour on a single song.

The present preliminary paper is intended to draw attention to the matter in general, with a view to encouraging parallel study elsewhere in the area. The single song below is not especially "representative", and is more limited in character than most. It serves, however, to illustrate the sort of thing we are dealing with. It is shorter than most and simpler. Some are extremely complicated, with elaborate "battles with the gods", floods and eruptions, incests and adulteries, arguments and insults, patricide and orgy. Between them, *Sordardai* and *Adi'* contain a fairly complete pattern of the whole of Kelabit code of life and outlook. Although this has been powerfully modified of late years (e.g. by cessation of head-hunting) the social and psychological background remains substantially the same. For instance, a detailed study of relationship (kinship) terms in these songs, as compared with daily current usage, shows many parallels and only a few differences. But there are numbers of archaic or unused words in such songs, and unintelligible phrases are not infrequent.

Sordardas of Balang Lipang.

The following song is one of the *Sordardai* group, as sung by Penghulu Lawai, one of the older Kelabits and a persistent singer. He is liable to break into song at almost any hour of the day or night, wherever he is, sober or drunk—he is not infrequently drunk on rice beer! He once remarked to me—"When I am alone in the jungle I always sing this; then I feel brave." The "hero", Balang Lipang, is one of several roughly corresponding to Klieng in Sea Dayak; some other Kelabit culture heroes are Opai Simaring (supposed to be "the first man" and a great maker of stone monuments (8)), Sial Apoi (a sort of volcano), Tokid Rini (the

southern Kelabit equivalent of Opai Simaring), and Agan Tadun (super-killer). Balang Lipang is the least "exciting" of these figures, generally appearing as a pure and simple head-hunter, though one who likes an occasional open fair fight rather than the continuous sneak-and-run tactics of everyday head hunting.

This version was one of the first collected word for word (29. XII. 1947), and thus lacks the polish later attained by experience. It will serve well, nevertheless, for the present purpose as indicated above.

The translation sticks as closely as possible to the exact sense of the original, but I have avoided the pseudo-realism of trying to put English into Kelabit grammar—a structural impossibility, and also producing a stilted effect, confusing the overall sense. The student will later have full opportunity to compare English texts with both Kelabit and Malay versions, and to consider the many special terms and senses in Kelabit talk and song.

The numbered lines enable reference to the notes, correspondingly numbered, after the main text. These notes are an essential part of the whole picture for those unacquainted with Kelabit life.

The land of Balang Lipang is Long Marong Akan Dalan.
Balang Lipang sits on the rock and works there—
He makes a sword-handle there—
He carves a pattern on the bone of the handle—
He prepares white hair for it, and a sheath—
The instruments of war
When he has finished
For a long time he sits on top of the rock—
He thinks—"Why am I so long here, and no-one has called me in to eat"

He sits there a long time, then hears someone moving along the house.
The person comes to the end of the house
It is Burong Siwang, who sees his son there, and that he has work there.
He goes forward to call in his child to eat—
He comes to the door and sees his son on top of the rock; he has done much work.
He sees his fine son, shining so white, like the moon, his eyes like lights, in his ears leopard's teeth, his earrings fine ones—
Indeed he is fine-looking, his face so red,
Burong Siwang is happy to see him:
"No one under the clouds has a son like mine"

"I do not lie, my son Balang Lipang is the best, I am delighted with him", he says

Then Burong Siwang calls out:
"Why do you sit there so long, son?
We in the village, we have eaten
I long awaited you, you did not come
Now I come to call you.
The rice is cold and the meal is cold—
Why are you so long?
Your mother has your rice ready
Yet you do not come
So now I summon you; you should come now."

"You call me to eat, father
Now I know.
I have been long here because I have much work—
I have made a sword
And a sword-handle
For my own use.
Now if you call me to eat,
Oh, of course, I will follow you—
For I have done my work."
Then Burong Siwang says:

"I called my son and then returned to my verandah
I sat there quiet a long time."
Balang Lipang got up off the rock and took his sword and
Other things and went up into the house.
He came to his verandah and put away his sword, his sheath, his sword-head—he put them safely away.
When he had put these away he went through into the room.
Up stands the wife of Burong Siwang and fetches a mat and tells him to sit—
She gives him rice and vegetable and a plate of (mixed) rice—
She gives him fish and pig,
Then says "you must eat—

We have already eaten"
Balang Lipang asks—"Why do you not eat with me, all together?
"Oh, we have already eaten", says Sina Burong Siwang.
He takes his rice, one package
He eats it, and he eats another—
He takes a little from each plate.
He throws away the leaf.
He gets up and goes out to the verandah:
"Sit here, Balang Lipang
Next to me—Burong Siwang"

Says Burong Siwang to his son.
"Good, Balang Lipang, I have not sat with you for a long time—
Good that you sit with me
My son Balang Lipang—I want to talk with you a little.
For a while past the men have been making the rice-clearings.
If you take the dogs out into the jungle
Beware when you go into the jungle—
For many from other villages seek revenge upon me—if you go into the jungle you must always look out.
If you go anywhere, wherever you go, beware.
Many people want revenge for my killing.

For before I killed many from other villages—I do not lie."
Then says Balang Lipang to Burong Siwang "How is that, Father—do people now want to fight you?"
"There is one who wants to fight very much", says Burong Siwang, "Tokud Udan Panit Tutub Long Midang—"
"He is the hardest one of them all", says Burong Siwang.
Says Balang Lipang: "Where then is his village, my father should tell me his village."
Burong Siwang replies: "Balang Lipang, if you ask me his village, maybe you want to go there. Do not go! He is a fearful fighter, no one can stand up to him. His village is very far. Do not go!"
Then Balang Lipang says: "Truly he will fight—but I only want to try him. Truly my father forbids me—but I only want to go and see."
Then Burong Siwang says: "If you want to go, child Balang Lipang, I do not want you to go. I have tried him, and I was defeated—so I do not want you to go, I fear you will be killed."
"Truly he may fight boldly, father. I only wish to try him a little bit", says Balang Lipang. "If I am beaten, father, it cannot be helped." Balang Lipang gets up from beside Burong Siwang, and fetches his clothes.
He takes down the skin of a leopard—

He fetches all his things, he gets his war hat.
Having gathered all his belongings, he gets his shield—
He takes his spear—
He goes along to the house to the end—
He comes to the end platform and goes down—
He goes along the level place by the house to the foot of the hill—
He starts to climb up the hill—he goes into the jungle
He enters the jungle and he coughs—he says to the omen birds
"I want to talk to you omens!

I wish to go now, for I hear news of Tokud Udan, who wants to fight—I want to try him, and you should help me.

90. If I am to defeat Tokud Rudan and collect his head, you should fly across my path—cross to the right."

Balang Lipang sits down by path to await the omen bird's call.

He awaits the sound for a long time, he hears a call to the left—and it quickly crosses the track to the right.

"Ah, you have crossed my path", says Balang Lipang, "you have given me good hope for life and protected me from death—

You have crossed to the right; if I am to get the head of Tokud Rudan and to bring it back to this village, it is good you should show me by crossing again, to the left—if I am to get it and not to die."

Now for a long time he waited, until there was a call to the right, and straight away back the bird flew to the left.

After the omen bird had crossed, he quickly rose and started on his journey.

He went quickly, he went up the hill—and the hill shook and trembled with the beat of his feet.

He went on, up a great mountain, until he reached halfway

Balang Lipang followed the mountain and a big tree fell from beneath his feet on the path—the tree fell as if while making a rice clearing, as if cut with an axe.

100. For a long time he travelled, until he arrived at the rice-clearing of Tokud Udan.

Balang Lipang arrived there and saw his village, and looked at it.

Balang Lipang looked at the village and it was good; the roof was of iron and the walls of iron, the planks and posts (all) of iron

He starts to descend the hill, and sharpens his sword on a stone, making it truly sharp. His spear too (he sharpens like that)

When he had cleaned his sword and his spear he went on down the hill

Balang Lipang goes on down hill and follows on a wide by-track made by Tokud Udan—the wood track he had made

He arrives at the fence of Tokud Udan, and he starts to go up into the house

He climbs the fence and comes up onto the platform and goes into the house

He pull ou his sword and cuts the young men of Tokud Udan

Like fruit, as the fruit of the durian falls when ripe, thus the heads fall.

110. He cleared out all the men in the house—some were dead, some ran away, some sat crying, some calling out "Who comes and cuts us up? Who is it? We do not know? Who cuts people at the other end of the house?"

Tokud Udan sees a man cutting people in his village, a man of splendid body, of white skin, his face brilliant red.

Tokud Udan says: "Who is that who cuts (our) village people? He of the body white as day, his face so red, Probably he is a good man! I do not know him—what is his name?"

Tokud Udan comes near Balang Lipang saying: "What is your name? I do not know you. Why do you kill people in this village? What is your name?"

Balang Lipang replies: "Why should you ask me *my* name first? This is not my village. I am a stranger. You should tell me your name first."

"True, you do not know my name. It is Tokud Udan Panit Tutup Long Midang Long Marong Akan Dalam. That is my name; what is yours?"

"True you do not know me—my name is Balang Lipang son of Burong Siwang, that is me", says Balang Lipang.

Says Tokud Udan—"Ah yes, there has been news of you before, that Balang Lipang was a good man, but I had not met you before and now I do. You certainly seem very good."

Tokud Udan goes on—"Why does Balang Lipang come here and kill people in my village. Who do you revenge by killing my young men—what is your idea?"

"Well—I do not wish revenge on you. But my father says you are a very good man, and I want to try you. The tales about you are many, that is why I want to try you."

120. "Oh, if Balang Lipang wants to challenge me, I will try. Not that I am good", says Tokud Udan, "but I will try. For if I did not agree maybe I should be ashamed. I will try you."

Tokud Udan fetches his waist cloth. He gets his fighting things, his shield, his war hat

When he has got all his war outfit, his sword, his hat, Balang Lipang looks at him and sees his body is white and splendid like day, and his face is splendid, it is red.

Then Balang Lipang says: "Tokud Udan, you have got all your war things. I want to try you now. Don't fail to be ready. Watch out, you! I wish to warn you. Otherwise you may say I took you by surprise. So I speak and tell you truly to be ready.

And Tokud Udan replies: "Right—you start. I am ready for you."

Then Balang Lipang pulls out his sword from its sheath, and goes forward to cut at him. His sword is very fine, with carving and patterns of blade, and of handle too.

Tokud Udan has his shield and he is ready—the shield is of stone, and he holds it before him on guard.

Balang Lipang cuts at him and strikes the shield of Tokud Udan. Tokud Udan's shield is cut through by Balang Lipang's parang and Balang Lipang reaches his body, but there his sword breaks—for Tokud Udan's body is hard as iron.

Says Balang Lipang: "Oh, sad indeed am I, for my fine sword is now broken Men said that Tokud Udan was a great warrior and now I do know, for alas, my sword is broken."

Now says Tokud Udan: "You watch out now, Balang Lipang, for now maybe I'll come back at you, since you have cut at me. Watch out! If I do not warn you, you may perhaps say I took you by surprise. Don't fail to be on the alert!"

130. "Good. Carry on", says Balang Lipang, "I am ready for you"—and he stood up at full height, waiting for Tokud Udan.

Tokud Udan pulled out his sword, and it had very fine carving; he started to cut at Balang Lipang.

He cut at him, and Balang Lipang's shield was cloven, so that the sword struck his body—but Tokud Udan's sword was broken, for Balang Lipang's body was very very hard.

Tokud Udan exclaims: "Oh, woe is me! My sword is broken; and I do not lie—it was a superb one. What we have heard of Balang Lipang is true, he is very good—for indeed he is as hard as iron.

Then Balang Lipang says: "Oh, your sword is broken, mine is broken too. Best we try and wrestle and see (who wins)."

The two hold each other, and they are both extremely strong—Balang Lipang the strong, Tokud Udan the strong. They do not move, they stand only. The two are of one and the same strength.

For two nights they stay wrestling; for two days the house shakes, the boards break, the village is broken up, through these two wrestling.

Then says Balang Lipang: "Why am I like this? Lazy like this? If I am not stronger maybe I shall be beaten—and then I shall be really ashamed." So Balang Lipang makes his muscles terribly hard in his body. Balang Lipang is so strong, he forces Tokud Udan down. Balang Lipang gets above him.

Balang Lipang says then: "I had better tie you up and carry you off, for I want to make you my slave, to look after my pigs and do other work." So he tied up Tokud Udan with rope, tying his feet and his hands.

Having tied him up by hands and feet, Balang Lipang lifted him. But Tokud Udan would wriggle about very strongly, until the rope broke and he got back onto his feet.

140. Tokud Udan now rushed at Balang Lipang and caught hold of him; they wrestled again.

Tokud Udan pushed Balang Lipang and sent him a tree's length. Balang Lipang came back at him, and rushed Tokud Udan. He made himself strong, and stronger than Tokud Udan (a little).

Tokud Udan got on top of Balang Lipang, then Balang Lipang got on top; they rolled over and over, one on top and then the other.

Balang Lipang now tied him up again. Then he was amazed and said: "How did I manage to get him like this. My sword was broken on him, he is exceedingly tough—how did I manage to get him like this?" says Balang Lipang.

Balang Lipang thinks to himself—"How can I wound him, his body is so hard? And my sword is broken?" Then he saw a small knife in Tokud Udan's belt. "Oh, I'll try that", he says, and he takes it out and stabs Tokud Udan. The knife enters.

Then Tokud Udan cried out loudly: "Perhaps I am dying. Before this I have fought with many men—and never was I defeated. Now, I think maybe Balang Lipang has beaten me." And the blood spurted out of his body like water.

Then Balang Lipang pulled out the knife and he cut off the head of Tokud Udan.

When Balang Lipang had taken the head of Tokud Udan—

"What do I think after that? My heart in my body thinks it will go home."

He thought he would return to the house of his father, Burong Siwang at Long Marong Akan Dalan.

150. He went over the great mountain up and up into high jungle, to the highest peak, and there the sun came out.

He followed the ranges and went so strongly that the mountains rolled and swayed, because he went so swiftly homeward. He went on and on until he came to the rice-clearing of Burong Siwang—his own land.

He came down the hill to the plain and came near to the edge of the village.

He called out aloud and shouted for his father—"Are you there, father, in the village, for Balang Lipang has arrived, he has fought with Tokud Udan."

All the villagers, his father, his mother, came running out of the house and down the ladder to greet Balang Lipang

"You have returned son! Where did you go? You have been very long, these days I have waited for you, a long time—where have you travelled so far?"

"I have been around and about, father. I have reached the land of Tokud Udan, and fought with him three months. I have got his head and so now I return", said Balang Lipang

Now spoke Burong Siwang: "I said my son was the very best. No one under the clouds, no one in all the villages can compare with him. Before others tried to fight him (Tokud Udan) but were always defeated. You have his head! I am so happy, my child."

They gave out the head cries, gathering at the fence, declaring Tokud Udan's head was the finest, "His face red like a fireglow, he is the very finest", said all the youngsters.

Burong Siwang tells the young people to fetch ten fowls from baskets and bring them out to cut off their heads and purify Balang Lipang

160. After killing the fowls, Balang Lipang at once wished to go up into the house. Burong Siwang went in front, and second came Balang Lipang, Sina Burong Siwang third, and the others behind—they went up into the house.

They got the water-carrying bamboo, and played through the house, singing proudly of taking the head of Tokud Udan

They went round and round eight times through his room. He sat down and unbelted his loin cloth.

He had a sister, Dayang Supang, and she sat Balang Lipang down, fetched a jar of rice beer and put it down close beside him.

Before he was ready to drink he said "Fetch all the people, gather everyone down to the little ones—on the verandah."

They brought beer in a cup for Balang Lipang, and he gave it to Burong Siwang. They brought another for Balang Lipang and he gave it to his mother, Sina Burong Siwang.

The young danced on, danced for the head of Tokud Udan. Sitting on the verandah a man brought a large bowl of beer and gave it to Balang Lipang and he drank all of it, being so dry from his journey.

Two days he drank the rice beer of Dayang Supang and did not sleep, he made merry with the head of Tokud Udan, until daylight he played with this his head.

Burong Siwang said then: "Son, Balang Lipang, I want to talk to you for a little. You'd better listen to me (now).

"It is good that men should go off with the dogs again now, Balang Lipang, and seek beasts to dry the head of Tokud Udan, seek pig and deer and so on, to feast (for) your head."

170. "Oh, if my father tells me to do that, of course I shall go", says Balang Lipang. "Where shall I go—perhaps up the River Marong, to seek game?"

Balang Lipang goes off and up the River Marong with his dogs, up into the head-waters—but he gets nothing at all.

He goes on in the head-waters of the Marong and gets nothing, but finds himself in a new river, a large river. He follows this, for a month he follows it—but he gets no animals.

He goes on from the Marong to the Lobang—and there he gets a Barking Deer.

He goes on again after he has the Barking Deer, and his dogs find a pig, a huge pig,—and this he kills.

He goes on again, and the dogs bay once more and Balang Lipang runs after them and finds a Sambhur with fine, many-pronged horns—a fine big Sambhur.

The dogs bay again and Balang Lipang runs after them and sees a huge beast which he does not recognise, he does not know its name, but he spears it—it is unknown to him.

He goes on again, having got the huge beast. For a long time he goes on under the clouds, going into each river valley until he gets another animal—a Wild Ox.

He goes on, round and across the head-waters of the rivers and among the mountains, finding no villages, always in great jungles. He gets many animals of all sorts, of each kind.

(Then) he thinks: "I have got many animals now, I think I will go back to my father's land."

180. He collects up all the animals. They are so many, very many, that he thinks—"They are so many, it will be best if I try to wrap them in leaf."

He wraps them in leaf and tries them, finds they are very light, so carries them off.

He travels on, carrying the animals for a long time, and grows tired. He sees a large rock and he thinks: "I am tired carrying these animals. Best I rest here." And he sits on top of a rock.

He meditates—"Why do I sit here? Perhaps later on people will say I lied? It would be a good idea if I left a mark here now, so that they will know".

He kicks and makes marks, to remember him by, on the rocks, then on he goes.

He goes on for a long time, nearly a month, until he comes to his father's land at Long Marong Akan Dalan.

He arrives near to the village and calls out for his father: "Are you in the village? I have many animals, I got a a great number, and one whose name I do not know".

Burong Siwang hears him and rushes out and comes to the end of the long-house and onto the platform and sees him carry many animals.

"I took the dogs, father, and I have returned with pig, barking deer, sambhur, leopard, wild ox, and one—the largest—whose name I do not know. What is it?" asks Balang Lipang.

Then Burong Siwang says to him, "This animal which is so large—how is it that you do not know it? We old people call it Tebadok", he says to Balang Lipang.

190. Balang Lipang follows behind Burong Siwang, and goes up into the house, to half way along the house, to his verandah. He takes off his loin-cloth and other jungle things and puts down the animals he has brought in

Burong Siwang says: "I want to talk to you, Balang Lipang. Your sister Dayang Supang has prepared rice-beer for you. What do you think—should we not summon other villages, villages near to us?

There is Junkeloko, and there is Junkelokong. We should summon them.

There is also one, Balang Lipang, called Udan Panit, whose ears are so fine that if a man talks on the horizon he can hear it, Balang Lipang."

He tells one man to summon Junkeloko, who is like a sambhur deer, and Junkelokong, like a sambhur deer. But the house of Udan Panit was like the house of Balang Lipang, it did not move about.

All the people arrived and Balang Lipang took them to drink—for two days and three nights they did not sleep, he entertained the visitors. They sang and danced for Tokud Udan.

They drank for five days and did not stop, five nights and did not rest.

Those who cooked the animals Balang Lipang had brought back, and the house pigs he had killed, found it took a whole day to cook them all.

Balang Lipang then told everyone to assemble together, all women, all children, all men, pregnant women too, old women too, tiny children too, before they ate (the meat).
Balang Lipang told men to divide out the meat, the house pig flesh, all of it, equally to everybody. There was enough for everyone, a basket full for each down to the little children; and the rice was of the same amount!

200. He told them to drink again, after they had fed; they drank for two nights and two days, until the drink was finished.
Then Udan Panit and Junkeloko and Junkelokong said to Balang Lipang. "We have been here a long time; the drink is finished and we should go home. For a long time we have not been in our own villages."
Then Balang Lipang replied: "Alright, go home, Junkelokong, Junkeloko, Udan Panit, for my drink is finished—go today! I have nothing more to give you, my drink is finished."
All the visitors then got up and put on their clothes, their hats, their other things, ready to go home.
They go along the house and out onto the end platform and down the ladder and into the jungle and so on until they reach their villages.
After they had all gone, Balang Lipang said to his father Burong Siwang, after talking of many things
"How about your rice, father Burong Siwang? If there is little (left) we had better make a rice-clearing, or how shall we fare for food later—perhaps the villagers will starve, and what good is there in hunger?"

207. And Burong Siwang said to Balang Lipang, "You speak wisely, child. You shall lead the villagers to make rice-clearings, for if not they may starve later on, and that would not be pleasant", said Burong Siwang.

29. XII. 47.
BARIO.

Notes on the Song

1. *Long Marong* is 1½ days' canoing down the Tutoh (main tributary of the Baram River) below Kubaan, which is one long day's walk from Bario, Lawai's village. The whole of that area is now uninhabited, and it never has been inhabited within memory or direct (spoken) history. These long village names correspond to the long names for people in these songs. Modern Kelabits seldom use the prefix Long (= river mouth) but call the villages by adjacent streams (= Pa), Pa Main, P'Umur, etc. (And see line 115).

2. In these sagas, few men have less than four names though no living Kelabit has more than two. The full name here is Lel' Agang Kululong Balang Lipang, but on this occasion Lawai did not use this. Later I asked him why: "I am too lazy to say all that", he replied. This is characteristic of Lawai, and

also of Kelabit culture-elasticity generally. But whereas such looseness is possible in *Sordardai,* in *Adi* the full text must normally be used or the chorus accompaniment at the end of each "line" would be confounded. Lawai's "laziness" was not strictly normal even in this case.

12. This is a "bird" man, as is common is Kelabit mythology. Compare Singalong Burong in Sea Dayak etc.

15. Important qualities of Kelabit maleness.

16. Here red does not mean red in the European sense. It rather refers to a flush, high colour, a state of ferocity, a look of vigour and blood. Culture heroes are commonly both white of skin—a quality strain to the present day—and red of face. (cf. line 112).

19. The irregularity of line length is here partly compensated for by faster speed, often amounting to a gabble for long lines, and long drawn sounds for short. The chorus songs are also irregular, however, though less so. Much of the effect is obtained by a rapid high "run" in the penultimate syllables of a line, which gives an overall rhythm to the whole. It would be almost equally "accurate" however, in the case of *Sordardai,* to put the translated text into a prose form. But this raises other difficulties, and at this preliminary stage I prefer to follow a somewhat uncertain system of "natural intervals," unequal as these are in value and meaning. Slips of memory, and the tension of the song itself, may also influence line lengths and pauses to an appreciable degree.

29. It follows from the previous note (line 19) that punctuation is only used here when it is necessary, and when it clearly corresponds to the sense of the sung text. Indeed, when one first hears any particular song of this type, it is difficult to understand who is talking or what the link between some lines may be. There are frequent changes of "speaker"—as between lines 29 (end of Burong Siwang) and 30 (start of Balang Lipang), which may not always be indicated by any name or point, such as is normally adopted in Western cultures. This is even more difficult to make out if one reads someone else's literal rendering of an original text. So much of the sense comes from:

(i) *Very* slight momentary changes in inflection by the singer.

(ii) *Familiarity* with a song heard over and over again from childhood on, and occasionally discussed, or explained to the initiate.

My use of quotation marks etc. is therefore based on a rendering of both literal (legend) and verbal (song) emphases. Another factor here is change of tense, though this is much *exaggerated* in the present *Sordardai* due to Lawai's own rendering of it on this occasion.

43. A long-house as used by all the resident inland peoples of Borneo. "Verandah" (e.g. lines 41 and 44) refers to the front part of the house, which may or may not be open at the sides, and in usually not so with Kelabits. All long-houses, except those of some British North Borneo Tagals, are longitudinally divided from end to end by a wall, with family living quarters in the "back", visitors and bachelors quarters in front. For present purposes this latter is the "verandah." I have as yet found no better English term.

46. i.e. mother of Balang Lipang.

51. These courtesies are an every day routine of Kelabit good-manners.

52. The prefix Sina means Mother, and among Kelabits is commonly placed before the name of the husband to denote his wife when the couple have had a child. It is rare in old songs, though, and I suspect (for this and other reasons)

that in this case Lawai has forgotten her full name. I believe the Kelabit usage may be comparatively recent?

53. Rice is generally spooned out of a locally-made earthenware pot, wrapped in "ginger" or other leaves of standard size, and eaten with the fingers. Two to three packages make a normal meal for these people.

56. He goes to the opening in the palm-leaf roof and throws out any remains, plus leaf wrappers, to the pigs. This is custom.

63. Therefore, it is now possible to ease up and hunt,—as the period when women can do most of the rice-tending is at hand.

67. The idea, as expressed in Kelabit, is necessarily somewhat simplified here. Burong Siwang has taken heads from other villages, and they have not as yet reciprocated,—an eye for an eye. Therefore, they are bound still to be on the trail of any relations or villagers of his, to square the account. Tit-for-tat is one of the dominant ideas in Kelabit life, extending down to the tiniest detail of borrowing a match.

71. Changes of tense are not unusual, especially in a pure solo such as this (cf. line 47 etc.) Many alterations and repetitions are made to get the required rhythm or because the singer slips or pauses. Meaningless but rhythmic sounds may be inserted *ad lib*, for the same reasons.

72. Long Midang signifies the house at the mouth of the Midang River. This system of naming villages is widespread among other groups, but is *not* normally used by the Kelabits. The prefix *TOK* also suggests an eastern (Dutch Borneo Murut) provenance for this enemy; the term, equivalent to Kayan and Kelabit Tama, signifies Father (cf. *Sina* line 52), and is still used there. Eastern enemies figure largely in Kelabit songs, but Tokid Rini is the chief hero of the southern Kelabits, who never use the Tok prefix themselves! (And see line 193).

74. The village has already been named by Burong Siwang (line 72). Indeed, his whole speech is clear incitement to his son. But to urge him more directly would be improper, specially as between father and son, in Kelabit manners (cf. 115).

79. This sudden drop in "length," after several highly-sustained breath-taking verbal runs, is characteristic, and Lawai uses the technique cleverly here to relieve a period of mounting drama; now we drop back into the details of a more commonplace set of incidents—almost literally a breathing space before the main "drama" which is to follow.

80. A particular type of hat made of rottan, leopard skin, dyed goats' hair, hornbills' feathers and beads (Kelabit: Temonong Lalid Balang). Its magical qualities are reflected on some of the oldest stone carvings of the area.

84. Down the ladder, a notched log; Kelabit long houses are raised 5 to 12 feet off the ground. There is usually an open platform at either end, largely used for wood-chopping and urination.

88. Omen birds. In the present case, probably a small Spider-hunter (*Aracnothera* sp.)

90. The additional K before Udan ("rain") is a typical Kelabit treatment of names, which, even with living persons, may be modified, momentarily or permanently, to suit phonetic or other convenience. Udan is the root word.

91. In the old days, no head-hunting expedition would be undertaken without such consulting of the omens. A large proportion were abandoned or postponed because of unfavourable signs.

93. A spider-hunter appeared and flew from left to right. Had it *at first* flown from right to left. this would have been most unfavourable.

94. This double-check is usual, and *now* the bird must fly in the reverse direction (right to left).

98. The Kelabits live in a dense tangle of mountains, from 3000 to 8000 feet, and there is no harder travel in Borneo. They are probably the finest walkers in the island, and in physique second to none.

99. Balang Lipang was so big and strong that he pushed over a great tree with his feet as he went. In another Balang Lipang song he beats all comers in a tree-felling contest, and this theme recurs frequently in Kelabit hero songs. Sometimes the tree reaches to the clouds and is the bridge to the sky world and to conflicts there.

100. Although the village of singer Lawai (Bario) cultivates wet rice by irrigation, (as do a considerable proportion of the upland people), over most of the actual Kelabit plateau, as over most of inland Borneo, the *ladang* system of shifting jungle cultivation (felling a new area each year) is used.

102. See note on line 127.

105. This refers to a large track made by collecting firewood. Tokud Udan was so strong that he pulled immense logs which cleared conspicuous paths—whereas the average Kelabit path is narrow and irregular. This is another common "hero" theme, and in the *written* legends of Brunei the first Sultan's brother and his associates (who also "visited" the Kelabit country) made new branches of the Limbang River by dragging logs to make the Sultan's palace.

111. Village = long house, or group of 2-6 long houses. (And see note to line 16).

112. "Good" in the sense of aristocratic, rich, true to custom and brave. Class is important in Kelabit life, and however fine the character of a lower-class person, he may be spoken of as bad or evil. There are no special adjectives for good and bad in this sense; they can equally be used, with quite a different significance, of rice crops, buffaloes, swords or other classless things.

115. To Tokud Udan's name as given by Burong Siwang (line 72), is now added a second village name. Moreover this is the mouth (*"long"*) of the same river which is referred to in the opening line as Balang Lipang's home (and see line 149). Singer Lawai could not explain this, and may have telescoped two ideas. But such name confusions are repeatedly in Kelabit folklore, as in the Tokid Rini cycle, where three characters, including the principal hero and villain, *all* have the same name. Another example occurs in line 193.

116. This sequence of declaring names is in accord with custom. The formula occurs in many of these songs, and is one of the ways they serve to preserve and "teach" etiquette.

119. The idea of "trying" a class equal is a powerful dynamic in Kelabit culture to the present time, though now finding expression rather in feats of strength. provocative talk, or (most importantly) contests of distributing wealth and hospitality.

127. Compare line 102. The symbolism of iron is frequent—iron bodies and iron houses in particular. There is some reason to suppose that iron is of fairly recent introduction in the Kelabit uplands, and it is certainly only within the last half-century that there has been enough of it for everyone's requirements. (Perhaps the first sentence of this line should have been recorded as a separate line on this occasion.)

130. This is less dramatic than the usual "play by play" account of the many such combats in Kelabit mythology—of which, incidentally, the most epic, though least "Kelabit" in character, is in a spoken (not sung) tale of the *Sekuno* type already described above.

141. Sent him staggering a tree's length (c. 100 feet).

144. This knife, explains Lawai, "could eat iron". He demonstrates the the knife stroke—in just above the waistline, upward to the heart, fast.

149. Compare note to line 115.

156. Literally "I've been going round and round, father". Most songs of this type stress the length of time. A single combat commonly lasts a year, and several last ten. Here, as at many points, this version is simpler and more condensed than usual. Lawai is the only man in his village, Bario, who now sings this type, and he has probably evolved some "working forms" of his own, over the years. His versions of *Adi* (e.g. of culture hero Agan Tadun) are more exacting—in line with the less personal character of such singing styles, already mentioned.

157. Literally "number one good"—cf. note 112. This ecstacy over bringing back a head is no exaggeration of what actually occurs.

158. Special calls, songs, clappings and procedure signify the success of a a "war" party, and these lead into an in-line song and dance, 8 times round the whole long-house, as indicated in subsequent lines. This ritual must be performed when any new head is brought into a house. "Purification" is not the precise equivalent, but it is not possible to go into the matter in detail here.

161. Water is poured on the incoming persons, and presently the whole house is awash—a sort of ribald fun to which the Kelabits will resort on small provocation.

162. i.e. the room of Burong Siwang and Balang Lipang.

162. The courtesies of drinking, as broadly indicated in this and the following lines, are even more marked than those of eating (see note to line 51).

166. Very large bowls were ritually used on these occasions. Of these survive but two good specimens—from the Kelabit village of Kubaan and Pa Mada —now in the Sarawak Museum.

167. He—Balang Lipang. It is theoretically "not done" to sleep on such occasions.

169. "To dry the head" signifies the period of its drying off and being placed in the long house for ritual purposes. The first use of a new head would be, normally, in connection with the naming of one or more children. In any case, the "killer" and his family will make a status-securing feast to mark, emphasise and consolidate the occasion. The purpose of seeking beasts was to provide meat. Cattle are only of recent introduction in the area.

170. Throughout, Balang Lipang is the paragon son in this song. By no means all songs teach the same moral—for instance, Tokid Rini's son nearly kills him.

171. See note to line 1.

172. Lawai considers he came over into the Libbun (Dapur), the longest of the rivers converging to form the Baram above Lio Matu.

173. The Lobang flows into the Tutoh much higher up than does the Marong. Lawai suggests Balang Lipang worked back that way.

174. The use of the "historic present" is particularly clear here, though (as already stated) too much importance should not be attached to exact grammar in this purely solo type of song, known now only to a few, who tend to adopt personal versions and to vary these according to personal whim (or the audience?).

177. Now very rare in this area except in the Ulu Bahau (Dutch Borneo) but previously probably common—see for instance the many seen by Sir Spenser St. John in his 1858 journey up in the Limbang (9). This part of the Balang Lipang saga bears similarities to a colourful version of the story of Simau'un, brother of the first Sultan of Brunei, recorded by me at Rangau, at the mouth of the Limbang River (near Brunei) in September 1947. A written Jawi text of this Rangau tale has since been obtained for the Sarawak Museum.

183. The wide range of Kelabit terms for emotional and nervous processes are difficult to interpret. "Thinks in his heart" is a near literal rendering of the idea here (if I understand it correctly).

184. Several rocks with alleged "heel marks" are assigned as the locale of this event.

189. Tebadok = Malay Badak, the Rhinoceros, (*Rhinoceros Sumatranus*) probably extinct in Sarawak, due to uncontrolled hunting; still a few in Dutch Borneo (e.g. Ulu Bahau) and British North Borneo (South East district).

190. On this and other occasions he does not of course remove the long bark or cloth roll wrapped round waist and between legs. He may be merely losening? The leading family of a Kelabit long-house generally live in the central room about equidistant from each end, as does Burong Siwang and his family.

192. These "houses" (villages) are of a type not previously known to me. So far, I have failed to place them. This and the next lines are of especial (because puzzling) interest, accentuated by Lawai's uncertainty as to their significance himself. There is even a suggestion of nomadism (line 194)?

193. This is a typical case of duplicate naming. One of the three neighbour villages bears the same name (villages are often called after the headman) is the song's "villain" (see lines 72 and 115).

194. It is not clear if this should be in oratio recta or not. The whole passage is obscure, and probably elided in this version. Lawai adumbrated: "These houses were exactly like Sambhur Deer (*paiou*) and walked about like a *paiou*." This may suggest some (ghostly?) link with Kelabit coffins, frequently made in this form.

Of Udan Panit (line 193 and note above), Lawai said, illustrating his aural powers: "If a man copulates a woman in another village, he knows", and he instanced the distance from Bario to P'Umur (half a day's walk). This bracketing over into the macabre is a feature of some of the other songs—Balang Lipang is perhaps the most commonplace of the heroes in this respect.

198. Such emphasising phrases would indeed be required to assemble all the people in a Kelabit village. *Everyone* in English has no such total significance in Kelabit, and one of the very hardest things to do is to get even all the *relevant* people together about any one thing at any one moment.

199. Women cook ordinarily, but men cook large animals, distribute their flesh at feasts. Any feast should provide *much* more than any guest can possibly eat. A smell of decomposition is the sign of successful hospitality. But Balang Lipang beat all records with a basketful each, even for small *children*.

206. Padi is actually referred to in this case. I have used an English word, as the meaning is clear.

207. This end is on a characteristically Kelabit note. First and last they are rice-farmers and fine ones. But it is not suggested that this, or any other song of this type, has a "purely Kelabit" origin, any more than have the Kelabits themselves. Even when the whole of the present material is worked out, it may be difficult to solve the development of thes saga-songs, owing to the extreme paucity of information from surrounding peoples. With the Trusan and Limbang Muruts it may be too late now to recover anything of significance. From the Sarawak Kenyahs, Kayans and Punans we so far have virtually nothing at all, and that is broadly true of Northern Dutch Borneo too. Fortunately, we have—just in time—preserved some of the early Brunei manuscripts, and these will provide important links, I believe. But there is much (whether original or superimposed) unmistakeably—and often uniquely—Kelabit in this song material, and so much light is thereby thrown on the whole development, background, incentive and mentality of Kelabit life. Quite apart from its *intrinsic* interest and the general importance of putting full data on record for at least *one* group, the study of Kelabit singing offers rich potentialities when *linked* (as in the present case) to a sociological study of actual life, as it is lived by these people today. This study will, it is hoped, be the eventual and gradual outcome of past and present sojourns in that wild, rich, difficult country.

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The Arabs and the Eastern Trade

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Introduction

What follows is mainly an account of the Arab connections with Malaya during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. But inasmuch as the voyage from countries "above the wind" to those below it is not accomplished without many interruptions, so this account, like an old-fashioned sailing ship, will call at many ports on the way thither, and take an unconscionable time to reach its final destination. Long before any settlements in Malaya were founded, or thought of, the pattern of ocean going commerce between the ports of China, the East Indies, Ceylon, Indian East Africa and Arabia had assumed a definite and regular form, following the courses of a trade which is certainly older than the most ancient historical accounts bear record, and conforming to an even older pattern imposed by the monsoon which blew the shipping of the East to the West, and of the West to the East along well established routes at well defined seasons. The influence of Arabia on the civilisation of Malaya has been very great, in religion, morals, language, political organisation, custom and law—in practically every branch that one can think of. But these are relatively modern and incidental effects of the intercourse between the two countries, while the trading connections are fundamental and immemorial. Consequently it has seemed necessary, however difficult the task, to endeavour to summarize in a few pages the particulars of this trade and the way in which the pursuit of it took the Arabs first to India and then in comparatively recent times to these shores, before proceeding with an account of the Arab settlements in Malaya itself. But first of all let us examine that part of Arabia from which the majority of the Arab settlers in Malaya are drawn, and in so doing discover some of the reasons why this account came to be written.

The Hadramaut.[1]

This has been throughout history one of the most prosperous provinces of Arabia, owing to the fact that for hundreds and thousands of years it was the only place in the world for the cultivation of frankinscence, equally prized by King Solomon, the Romans and the people of the middle ages; it was only the

1 The standard book of reference of the country is "A Report on the Social Economic and Political Condition of the Hadramaut" by W. H. Ingrams, O.B.E. It was issued by the Colonial Office in 1936.

effective competition of better spices more cheaply acquired in the East that finally killed this commerce (particularly benzoin—the "gum benjamin" from Sumatra). The Hadramaut was almost the last part of Arabia to yield its secrets to the modern explorer and map maker, and it was only in the eighteen nineties that the first proper accounts began to reach Europe of discoveries there of first rate geographical importance, thriving and populous cities situated a week or more journey away from the nearest point on the coast at the further end of a difficult and often dangerous mountain trail. Later explorers filled in the first picture with still more fascinating details of cities boasting some of the utmost refinements of civilization situated like islands in the midst of a sea of constant anarchy, of a hierocratic oligarchy wielding feudal powers, and of an architecture combining the features of a mediaeval castle with those of a building on Broadway. "Five hundred houses, each of them a skyscraper, standing on a slight eminence to form one massive block of buildings, containing fifteen thousand inhabitants..... If Grosvenor House, made somehow of mud and with loopholes for windows, stretched the length of Park Lane, it would give some idea of how Shibam arrests the eye in the distance, a walled city without walls, the houses themselves supplying the fortifications, their side sheer, their tiny windows spaced at uniform distances; not a city in the accepted sense of the word, for it is the great houses that form the wall, foursquare and impregnable to the hostility of rifle-fire."[2]

The wadi Hadramaut in which this city and others like it lay was fertile, but not so fertile or so extensive as to be able to support such a conglomeration of inhabitants in such style, even if their cultivations were not, as was in fact the case, wasted by constant war. The wealth that enabled these houses to be built and maintained was not earned in the Hadramaut, or even in Arabia, but derived from the remittances, amounting to more than half a million pounds annually, from East Africa, India, Malaya and the the East Indies. Venerable Arabs after a lifetime of commerce in lands of culture and prosperity would return for good to their own holy but war stricken land, to end their days in simple pleasures and costly pieties, building first a mosque and then a castle home, while another generation grew up, married and leaving wives and children behind, emigrated to far-off countries to earn their living or a fortune as luck might have it.

Just as there was only one country to retire to, so also the only place to have one's children educated, if one could afford it, was in the villlage school of the distant valley home. Thus it came about that there was, in the Hadramaut, not only a society of retired business men who had become almost more used to speaking

2 Pearn and Barlow "Quest for Sheba" p. 133.

Malay than their native tongue, but their wives married overseas, who could speak nothing else, and a bevy of children sent back to acquire a proper knowledge of the Moslem religion and the Arabic language, but still much more at home when talking Malay. Pictures on the wall would be of Singapore, Penang, or Batavia, the mid-day meal for a treat would be a 'rijstaffel', and the talk that of a waterfront cafe anywhere in the Eastern Archipelago. This picture of a society so essentially Malay in many of its elements, flourishing in the remote fastness of valleys surrounded on all sides by deserts, completely artificial in that its very existence depends entirely on the fortunes of its members in voluntary exile half way round the world, must be unique in our modern age. Our next task will be to examine the circumstances which brought this remarkable society into being and then to give an account of the trade links between the East and West which made it possible for it to be maintained.

The Eastern Trade.

The ancient commerce between East and West included trade in an enormous variety of products, listed in many a contemporary chronicle. One of the more famous of these is the category of articles subject to duty at Alexandra, contained in the "Rescript concerning Eastern Trade" in the Digest of the Roman Law dating from the time of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Here they are classified under seven different heads, (i) Precious stones etc., (ii) Vegetable products valued for their fragrance, as incense, perfumes or medicine (iii) Dyes (iv) Textiles (v) Metals (vi) Animals (vii) Humans. The East Indies competed with India as a source of supply particularly of the products mentioned in the second group. For the most part they are articles of relatively small bulk in comparison with their cost—pearls, which had a recognised medicinal value, hibiscus seeds which were used for the same purpose, and also as a substitute for coffee, galangal (an aromatic herb), bezoars from Patani, camphor, sandalwood, civet and ginger, cloves and nutmegs. These and other products which there is no necessity to mention, were traded not only westwards, to the markets of Europe, but also eastwards to Canton. The writings of Chau-Ju-kua, who held a customs post in that port at the end of the twelfth century A.D. provide much valuable information of what was brought into and exported from south China at that date. Research into the history of each one of these products, when it first appeared, where it was bought, where it was sold, and when (as often happened in the case of vegetable products) one source of supply superseded another is a study in itself, and need not be entered into here.[3]

3 See I. H. Burkill—A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula.

The history of the trade in pepper does however deserve special mention, since for hundreds of years it formed the staple article of Eastern commerce, and one from which enormous profits were made. There are numerous references to it in the chronicles of the Roman Empire and in mediaeval writers. Alaric demanded 3,000 lbs. of it as part of the ransom of Rome in A.D. 408. The Genoese and Venetians traded in it and made unheard of profits. Marco Polo reported that the tonnage of junks was calculated by their capacity in baskets of pepper. It was the first thing asked for by "Glutton" in Piers Plowman

> "I have good ale, gossip" quoth she,
> "Glutton, will thou assay?"
> "Hast thou in thy purse any hot spices?"
> "I have pepper and piones" quoth she "and a pound of garlic a farthingworth of fennel for fasting days." (V 310-133.)

"The scarcity of fresh meat," writes Trevelyan "in winter before the era of roots and artificial grasses was a chief reason why our ancestors craved for spices; they were used both to preserve meat, and to season it highly when it had little else to recommend it."[4] The supply was never sufficient and the price (which mainly consisted of profits made by the middlemen, our Arabs) remained high. It was the inducement of a share in these profits which led the Portuguese to seek a sea route to India, and consequently it would be no exaggeration to say that the peppr trade has played a large part in shaping the destinies of mankind.

The value of the East Indian trade may be gauged by the following facts. The East India Company's second expedition paid 95% profit on the capital subscribed, and the third expedition paid 234% profit and £4,500 in customs dues. The fourth expedition was a total loss. In the year 1613 the customs dues paid by the Company amounted to £13,000. In 1615 two ships actually paid £14,000 between them; in 1616 the cargo of a single ship was valued at £140,000. In order to appreciate the significance of these figures it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that the entire customs revenue of England was being farmed out in the last years of Queen Elizabeth's reign for £12,000 annually. The results of this Eastern trade were quite sensational; they practically doubled the value of the country's imports, and held out the prospect of extraordinary wealth to the merchants who took part in it.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the Portuguese and Arabs, and later the Dutch and the English, fought keenly for a share

4 G. M. Trevelyan—English Social History, p. 218.

in this trade. But it was many years before the European consumer gained any advantage from the discovery of the maritime route to the Indies. By the wars in the Moluccas the production of spices was diminished, the ancient carriers of the trade were plundered, and the Persian gulf and Red sea, the avenues by which the commodities of India reached Europe, were either seized or blockaded. The consequence of all this was that they sold dearer than before the discovery of the new route. Before the capture of Malacca the Portuguese boasted that, if this city were taken "Cairo and Mecca are entirely ruined and to Venice will no spiceries be conveyed except that which her merchants go and buy in Portugal."[5] This prophecy was fulfilled, but the defeat of the Arab merchants was not, as it is sometimes depicted, an unqualified benefit in the development of the Eastern trade.

The Eastern Trade-Routes.

Until the Portuguese discovered their way round the Cape of Good Hope the western terminus of the ocean route over which this enormously profitable trade was carried lay, according to circumstances, in the Red Sea, or in the Persian Gulf, or in both. At the beginning of the Christian era—by which time the trade had been firmly established for hundreds, and probably thousands of years, the Red Sea route was the one chiefly in use. The Emperor Augustus was pursuing a policy of conciliating, and, where necessary, pacifying the Sheikhs and princelings of Southern Arabia with the object of securing safe passage for those valuable commodities of which his empire was the chief and indeed the only consumer. There is nothing inherently difficult about the navigation of the Red Sea, particularly its southern parts, by ocean going sailing ships, but it is also very easy for anyone who controls Aden and Socotra to prevent them ever entering it. Except therefore when the rulers of Egypt have been sufficiently strong to enforce rights of passage for their own ships, merchandise from India and the East destined for Egypt has had to be transhipped at one or other of the Gulf of Aden ports, and transported from there onwards in local vessels. The Gulf of Aden ports were prosperous when Egypt was weak, and vise versa. In this prosperity the inhabitants of the surrounding territories, particularly Yemen and Hadramaut, had their share, and it is easy to see how their native aptitude for trade and commerce (the existence of which is noted in the earliest times) was likely to be fostered by the extremely favourable geographical situation in which they were placed.

Throughout this period Roman ships were sailing in great convoys past the Straits of Bab el Mandab, bound for the Roman

5 Duarte Barbosa, brother-in-law of the navigator Magellan, quoted by Sir R. Winstedt "History of Malaya."

factories on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. A contemporary voyager has left was an account of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean trade during this period.[6] Ships left from Egyptian ports during the month of July and from Mocha on the Yemen coast, a port "crowded with Arab shipowners and seafaring men, and busy with the affairs of commerce" a little later. They departed from the Red Sea in August and then either pursued their way along the southern coast of Arabia to the mouth of the Persian Gulf, or else struck right across the Indian Ocean; those bound for the southern ports of India "throwing the ships head considerably off the wind", while those bound for the Gulf of Cambay "keep along shore not more than three days and for the rest of the time hold the same course straight out to sea from that region, with a favourable wind, quite away from the land."

How new a practice it was to venture boldly forth on the monsoon wind out of sight of land is not known; according to the account just quoted it was quite new, and so far no evidence has been produced to prove the contrary. Two important facts are now established of importance to our history, one that there were direct sailings between the ports of Southern Arabia (Sheikh Said, Aden, Bir Ali and an unknown town somewhere near the Kuria Maria islands in the region of Dhufar) and the ports of western India, the other, that these direct sailings were seasonal; it was not possible to make a voyage, and then return at once. It follows that if the Arab voyager once found himself in India, he would have to establish himself there, at least temporarily. This, as we shall see later, is what happened.

Pliny describes the return journey. "Travellers set sail from India on their return to Europe at the beginning of December, or at all events in the first week of January; if they do this they can return in the same year. They set sail from India with a south east wind, and upon entering the Red Sea, catch the south west or south." It reads like a train journey, with some finely worked out connections for those who, like Pliny, may have been anxious to return to Egypt in a hurry. But by no means all, or even most of the ships pursued this course; many of them set a course almost due west to what the anonymous contemporary author calls the "far side market towns" of the continent of Azania (Africa), where abode:—

"The less maritime Kings,
Mombaza, and Quiloa, and Melind,
And Sofala, thought Ophir".

6 Periplous of the Erythraean Sea (Schoff's translation).

One can quote Milton, skipping from the first to the sixteenth century, without any sense of anachronism, because the pattern of communications dictated by the winds and the seasons before the coming of the steamship was an ageless pattern, unalterable except in its minor details. Thus, though all the East African ports mentioned by our first century author are not precisely identifiable, we can say without any hesitation that they lay between Cape Guardafui in the north, and the neighbourhood of Dar es Salaam in the south. Here too the trade was seasonal, but there was a longer season. Let us see how a visitor in the first half of the nineteenth century describes one of these sea-side markets.[7] "From April to early October the place is deserted. No sooner does the season change than the inland tribes move downwards to the coast, and prepare the huts for the expected visitors. Small craft from the ports of Yemen, anxious to have an opportunity of purchasing before vessels from the gulf could arrive, hastened across, followed two or three weeks later by their larger brethren from Muscat, and the valuable freighted bagalas from Bahrein. Lastly the fat and wealthy Banian traders from Porbandar, Mandavi and Bombay, rolled across in their clumsy Kotias....By the end of March the fair is nearly at an end, and craft of all kinds, deeply laden, and sailing generally in parties of three or four, commence their homeward journey. By the first week in April the place is again deserted, and nothing is left to mark the site of a town lately containing 20,000 inhabitants."

The case of a town so thriving at one moment and so deserted the next is somewhat exceptional and, as we shall see later,[8] there are many examples of Arab settlements along this coast of a permanent kind. The instance given will however serve to underline the point made previously, that the commercial activities of mankind in all the centuries except the last have been absolutely dependent on the weather, and that had this not been a good deal more reliable in the Indian and Pacific Oceans than it is in the Atlantic, these activities could only have taken place with very great difficulty, if anyone had been willing to undertake them at all. The art of boat building as practised by the ancients was remarkably primitive; there could be no sailing far off the wind while keels were unknown, and no great strength of construction when the main timbers were fastened with pegs of bamboo, the planks being stitched together (as is the practice to this day with craft built in the Gulf of Aden) with rope made of local fibres. The wonder is, not that the early mariners did not venture further, but that they went as far as they did.

7 quoted by Sir R. F. Burton "First footsteps in East Africa."
8 Appendix A.

The Red Sea route seems to have maintained its predominance for some centuries, and then to have declined, no doubt as the Roman power declined. Its trade was taken over and much enlarged by the Persians; in the first half of the fifth century the Persian Gulf was visited by junks from China. European intercourse with the East diminished, and with the foundation of the Mohammedan religion in the year 622 of the Christian era, ceased altogether. No iron curtain erected in modern times can compare for opaqueness and impenetrability with that drawn along the frontiers of the Middle East in the seventh century and hardly lifted for the next five hundred years. But behind this curtain there was anything but darkness. This was the great age of Arab expansion and discovery. They had a factory in Canton, established at an early date of Islam, and the notices we receive of that port in the eight and ninth centuries indicate how thriving it was, and how large its foreign population. Early in the eight century—to avenge, it is said, the plunder by the pirates of the Indus mouth of eight vessels which the ruler of Ceylon had despatched, fitted with presents, pilgrims, Mohammedan orphans and Abyssinian slaves, to secure the goodwill of the Caliph of Baghdad—Mohamed ibn Kasim led an army through Persia into Baluchistan and Sindh, supported by a naval contingent which followed along the coast carrying men, arms and warlike machines. He had been promised the governorship of China, if he got so far, but he never did; however he conquered Sindh and kept it. The Arabs not only held possession of all the Indus valley for centuries after its conquest, but also colonized Southern Baluchistan. Having once reached Sindh there is historical evidence to show that the original Arab conquerors (who were recruited chiefly from Syria) never returned to their own country. They took "wives of the people" and as a natural consequence the Arab tongue ceased to be spoken in the course of a few generations and nothing remained to mark their invasion except the Semitic features of a vast number of the inhabitants and a tenacious clinging to traditions and genealogies which represent every Baluch chief of importance as a member of the prophet's own tribe.[9]

Except for a rather greater persistence of the Arabic language, the commercial or military penetration of the Arabs into other regions was attended by similar results. While these events were taking place in the East an even more remarkable surge of Arab peoples on the move was overwhelming Egypt, North Africa, and eventually Spain. "To what causes" askes Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, in his History of Europe "are we to attribute this sudden and extraordinary out-pouring of the Arab race? An answer which is

9 T. H. Holdich—India, p. 53.

often given is that the Arabs were propelled into the uttermost parts of the earth by the ferment within them of their new religion, and that they rode, conquered and battled to extend the faith. But this explanation does not accord with the fact that, during the early years of the Arab expansion, the conquerors were at no particular pains to make converts. On the contrary, their success in government largely consisted in the wise policy of toleration which they practised towards Jews and Christians presenting in this respect the happiest contrast to the persecuting practices of their successors. But if religion was not the primary motive which underlay this extraordinary movement, still less can it be ascribed to consistent design. The Beduin horsemen did not ride out of Arabia with a clear cut scheme for the conquest of the world and the establishment of new states. They made their empires as other states have made empires after them, blindly, without set purpose, and with no near and immediate purpose other than plunder.... Having discovered the weakness of the Empire they were resolved to exploit it and to hold, administer, and extend their conquests. Not otherwise did the Elizabethan buccaneers throw themselves upon the wealth of the western hemisphere. Yet if religion was not the originating force in the expansion of Arabia, it gave to it a degree of animation and permanence which it would otherwise have lacked. Without the bond of a common religion the Arab horsemen would have lacked the cohesion failing which victories can seldom be won and never secured." The considered opinion of a great historian will be of interest when we come to consider, in due course, what brought the Arabs to the Far East.

In the meantime let us return to the Persian Gulf, where the scene is one of increasing splendour, where the Caliphs ruled "greater than Solomon—more magnificent in their dispensations, more splendid in the display of their wealth" and where, in Baghdad, Chinese wares had a special market devoted to their sale. It is the age of Sinbad the Sailor and of those tales half the production of fancy, half a perversion of fact, which have permanently coloured the conception of the East in the popular imagination of the West. More prosaically, the profits from the monopoly of the carrying trade, and from the distribution of the products of Asia in the markets of Europe, supplied the sinews of war without which the Mohammedan armies could never have warred so long and so successfully.

All this power and glory came to an end in 1258 when Baghdad and the Eastern Caliphate fell to the Tartars. The Tartar Khans were not unfriendly to the Western world, and European travellers were able for a brief period to travel in the East in a way that had not been possible since the seventh century. The story of

the adventures of these travellers (mostly Italians) is remarkable, and not least so for the fact that when, in the middle of the fourteenth century the curtain which had hid the East from the West rolled down once more all their discoveries and achievements seem to have been forgotten, or dismissed as "travellers' tales". They include however some very keen and accurate observers, particularly the famous Marco Polo, and as a result of their visits we begin to have a rather clearer picture of the trade in Eastern seas, and to estimate more accurately the part that the Arabs were taking in it.

One of the facts which their journeys helped to establish was the renewed importance of the Red Sea route. The fortunes of Alexandria, and of Venice, whose ties with that city were very close, afford some indication of the value of the traffic along this route, and Venice was trading in Eastern spices, drugs and silks in a big way from the beginning of the ninth century onwards. This trade was very strongly fostered under the energetic government of Saladin (1173—1193) and his successors, and reached its peak in the interval between the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453, and their conquest of Syria and Egypt in 1516-17, since during that period it was virtually without rivals. It is worthy of note that 1516 was the year in which Suarez, the successor of Albuquerque, reduced Aden to temporary submission, took and burned Zeila on the opposite coast, and attacked Jeddah. It may be imagined that these two events occurring at the opposite ends of the Red Sea not only disrupted its trade but also completely disorganized the livelihood of those dependent on it, either as merchants or carriers.

But in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries these events were still undreamed of. Marco Polo observed (A.D. 1294) that Aden was the port to which many of the ships of India came with their cargoes, and he adds some interesting particulars of what happened to them when they got there. "From this haven the merchants carry the goods a distance of seven days further in small vessels. At the end of seven days they land the goods (at Suakim?) and load them on camels and so carry them a land journey of thirty days. This brings them to the river of Alexandria, and by it they descend. It is by this way through Aden that the Saracens of Alexandria receives all their stores of pepper and other spicery, and there is no other route equally good and convenient by which these goods could reach that place. And you must know that the Sultan of Aden receives a large amount in duties from the ships that traffic between India and his country, importing different kinds of goods, and from the exports also he gets a revenue, for there are despatched from the port of Aden to India a very large number of Arab

chargers and palfreys, and stout nags which are a source of great profit to those who export them...." This is not the first time that Marco Polo mentions the trade in horses between Arabia and Southern India, and later, in describing the port of Sheba in the Hadramaut, where there was a "King" and Dhufar, just beyond it where there was a "Count" both in some sort of vassalage to the Sultan of Aden, he mentions the value of this trade once again. He also refers to the domestic production in the Hadramaut of frankincense, for thousands of years a source of wealth to the inhabitants. It is interesting to note that this was still considerable, and apparently had not yet suffered, as it was to later, from the competition of superior Eastern spices.

Marino Sanuto, a Venetian nobleman who travelled in the East about 1300-6 gives much information regarding Venetian commerce with India during this period. Formerly he says, and even down to his time, it used to take the route of the Persian Gulf. But latterly the merchants of Southern Arabia had gradually recovered their old commerce, and part of the merchandise of India and the East now came into Europe by way of Aden and Alexandria. The rarer commodities, such as cloves, nutmegs, mace, gems and pearls were still conveyed up the Persian Gulf to Bussorah, and on through Baghdad to the Mediterranean, but all the more bulky goods, such as pepper, ginger, cinnamon, together with a proportion of the more valuable articles, went via Aden.

Ibn Batuta (1325-55) visited Aden, then a place of great trade, and the residence of wealthy merchants; ships of large burden from Cambay, Tana and all the ports of Malabar were in its harbour. Cairo he describes as "the greatest city in the world outside China". Nicolo Conti in 1443 refers to Aden as "an opulent city remarkable for its buildings. Varthema (1503-8) says that Aden was "the strongest city that was ever seen on the level ground; it has walls on two sides and on the other sides there are very large mountains. On the mountains there are five castles, and the land is level, and contains 5,000 or 6,000 families. It is the rendezvous of all the ships which come from India Major and Minor, from Ethiopia, and from Persia. All the ships that are bound for Mecca put in here." This was of course just before the end, when the Portuguese attacked the place.

The ships now being used in the Indian Ocean were of considerable size. Marco Polo saw one of so large a size as to require a crew of 300 men. Below the deck the space was divided into sixty small cabins, fewer or more according to the size of the vessel, and each cabin afforded accommodation for one merchant. The chief ports in India were Quilon and Calicut. In the

latter port, according to Varthema, there were "very much Moorish merchants....it must be known that the Pagans do not navigate much, but it is the Moors who carry the merchandise, for in Calicut there are at least 15,000 Moors, who are for the most part natives of the country." "Mohammedans alone are in a big way of business" said Albuquerque.

It would appear that these Moors, or Mohammedans had practically ousted Chinese ship owners from whatever share they may have had in the trade between the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf and Southern India. But from the Cape of Comorin eastwards the Chinese were still the masters, and according to Ibn Batuta (1325-1355) all the communication with China was conducted in vessels of that country. According to Marco Polo's account this trade must have been far more valuable than that between India and the west, as for one shipload of pepper that went to Alexandria or elsewhere, a hundred or more were brought to China. The ships (the size of which was calculated according to the number of bags of pepper they could carry) seem to have been very large "all made with triple sides, fastened with enormous spikes, ten to twelve sails, made of strips of bamboo woven like mats, with a crew of 1,000 men i.e. 600 sailors and 400 soldiers" reads a fourteenth century account. Whether the Arabs, or Mohammedan Indians travelled in these junks, or sailed their own craft across the Bay of Bengal is a matter for surmise but in one way or another numbers of them must have made the passage. The great Arab traveller, Ibn Batuta, who was kept waiting some months in Sumatra awaiting the change of the monsoon during 1347 appears to have met there a number of compatriots and coreligionists. Fifty years before this, Marco Polo was detained at Perlak (near Achin in Sumatra) for the same reason, and he also observed that the town was so much frequented by the "Saracen" merchants that they had converted the people to the law of Mahomet. In his time though the countryside was still pagan. Achin and the small states in the north of Sumatra were by virtue of their situation particularly likely to experience the penetration of Arab merchants and conversion to Islam. Many a merchant, bound from China to India, must have spent a tedious time there, waiting for the change of season. Among them were pilgrims bound for Mecca and religious teachers, chiefly from India,[10] but settled there. So at least subsequent tradition regards them, but in truth those who spread the seeds of Islam in the East were in no way zealots devoting their lives to the cause; they were traders coming in the normal way of business, and the work of conversion was merely a secondary task. To the natives of southern Arabia it was not even that, then as now they came entirely for

10 E.g. "Hikayat Hang Tuah," p. 552.

trade, and it follows that the religious doctrine of the people of Malaya and the islands has its roots in Indian rather than Arabian tradition. It follows too, that the names of their early teachers preserved by the Achinese tend to be Indian, Syrian or Egyptian names rather than Hadramaut names. Also in the island of Java which was (with Malacca) the next area in which the Mohammedan religion spread, the names and genealogies which the chronicles have preserved of the Arabs who in the fifteenth century most contributed to the overthrow of the Hindu powers indicate that these persons came from the persian Gulf, or the Red Sea rather than from the Hadramaut and Southern Arabia. Speaking generally, we would not be far wrong in saying that the Hadramaut visitors to the East Indies up to the middle of the eighteenth century came there as traders, and with a few exceptions, only began to settle there from about 1750 onwards. The Arab colonies in Malacca and Palembang date from this period while those of Siak (Sumatra) and Pontianak (Borneo) are even earlier but most of the others were not founded until well on in the nineteenth century. There was no mass migration from the Hadramaut to the East Indies before then.

The Netherlands East Indies Government and the Arabs.

In the Netherlands Indies census of 1930 there were found to be 71,000 persons claiming to be Arabs (compared with 45,000 in 1920 and 30,000 in 1905). The number of Arab immigrants, of which an account was kept year by year, varied with the state of the economic situation in the Indies or in the Hadramaut, from which the great majority of them came. It was not abnormally high, when set off against the annual losses by death or by departure, and the main increase in numbers was therefore a natural one. These immigrants were exclusively males, who married into local families or into the families of Arabs who had preceded them.

The result of this has been that the Arabs together with their descendants who, for the reason given above, are invariably of mixed descent, constitute the third most numerous and important non-indigenous racial group in the East Indies. The great interest that the Dutch have shown in these Arabs and the importance that they have attached to their relations with them is not however solely due to this fact, nor is it to be explained by the activity in research into all matters relating to colonial affairs which has been so characteristic of their administration in the East. They were, and had to be concerned with Arab affairs because the majority of their subjects were Mohammedans, thousands of whom made the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, and because from 1873 onwards the Dutch were engaged, at enormous trouble and expense,

in trying to subdue the Achinese and surrounding tribes in northern Sumatra. The Achinese were bigoted Mohammedans, and regarded their resistance to the Dutch as a holy war. So long as this resistance continued, which it did intermittently for a very long time, there was the constant danger that the spirit of revolt would spread and infect the whole of the Mohammedan population.

This danger had presented itself to their minds long before Achin had come within their sphere of influence. During the first half of the nineteenth century, while Achin was still an independent state it was also a port of much importance for those about to embark on, or returning from the pilgrimage. These only numbered a few hundreds since the Dutch, in order to discourage it, imposed a tax which all who desired to go on the pilgrimage had to pay. Only those who were most fervent in the faith undertook the journey but their enforced wait at Achin for a following wind coincided with the period of high emotional excitement at the prospect of going to Mecca, or elation at the thought of having almost completed the homeward journey. It is hardly surprising therefore that a fanatical spirit reigned in Achin and that those who found the Dutch rule irksome tended to congregate there. In 1852 the Court of Cassation declared the pilgrims tax illegal and the numbers swelled from hundreds to thousands annually—in 1926-27, the record year, there were 52,000 Indonesian pilgrims, and some 10,000 Indonesian students constantly in Mecca, studying religious subjects and the Arabic language.

In 1884, i.e. two years after the British Government had entered into a treaty relationship, though the Resident of Aden, with the Qu'eti Sultans of the Hadramaut, the Governor General of the Netherlands East Indies commissioned Professor L. W. C. van den Berg to render a report on the Arabs established in the Indian archipelago. His book, published at the end of 1886 is in one respect a remarkable production. The Hadramaut, at that time, was virtually unexplored; van den Berg however, by dint of the most systematic questioning, cross questioning and reconciliation of the answers he received, succeeded in producing a reasonably accurate map of the interior of the country, a geographical 'tour de force' which can never have been surpassed, and seldom attempted. Besides this, the book contains may observations on the social condition and manner of life in the country which he had never seen. These however are the less valuable part of his work and have been supplanted by the reports of later visitors to the Hadramaut; what remains important is the section dealing with the Arabs in the East Indies. On this subject his book is still a standard work of reference, and as it is, fortunately for the average English reader, written in French instead of Dutch, it is readily accessible.

Van den Berg drew attention in his work to the fact that nearly all the Arabs established in the Netherlands East Indies were of Hadramaut origin, and this fact dictated the title of his book.[11] The remaining Arabs he dismisses as "mostly vagabonds" some thirty of whom arrived in Singapore every year, to make their way to the interior of the peninsula, or to the native states under Netherlands suzerainty. Their motive was that of obtaining charity from the less sophisticated, or of acting as pilgrimage brokers, arranging transport and lodging, inducting the pilgrims into the appropriate ceremonies etc. They were disreputable, and little trusted by the authorities. It was these men who were regarded as the potential carriers of dangerous religious doctrines, and not the respectable Hadrami Syeds, often men of wealth, whose material interests were closely bound up with the maintenance of law and order. The Hadramis regarded their own country as the home of religion and learning; they respected of course the shrine at Mecca (even if not to the extent of making frequent pilgrimages thither) but on the whole were not interested in international politics, or in the Pan-Islamic propaganda which was such a bogey to European powers with large numbers of Mohammedan subjects. The Mahdi revolt and the Achin resistance did not arouse any spirit of emulation in their hearts and throughout the Dutch could count on them as being among the least likely to be disaffected of all the peoples in the East Indies.

These conclusions had the added and greater authority of Professor C. Snouck Hugronje, one of the world authorities on Islam who, on his return from Arabia, proceeded in 1891 to Achin with instructions from the Netherlands East Indies government to make a special study of the religious element in the political conditions of that country. His observations there led him to believe that this element was one of great significance and it is analyzed at some length in his book.[12] He finds that it derives in the main from Indian, rather than direct from Arabian sources, more especially the chains of mystic tradition (salasilah), which were strongly subject to Indian influence. These mystical teachings always presented a powerful appeal to the Indonesian and they were the more dangerous in that they were not coupled with the study of the law and the absorption of dogma which the Arab theologians, and indeed the general experience of mankind, have found to be the indispensable basis of mystic orthodoxy. The mystic teachings which radiated eastward from Achin were anything but orthodox, but, with the exception of the small contingent from Mecca, the Arabs took little or no part in their propaga-

11 Prof. L. W. C. van ler Berg—Le Hadramaut et les Colonies Arabes dans l'Archipel Indien; Batavia 1886.

12 C. Snouck Hugronje—The Achenese (tr. O'Sullivan).

tion and were not themselves influenced to adopt them. In this way they constituted a negative but important stabilizing influence in the population.

To resume the story of the Netherlands East Indies Government policy towards the Arabs. A Dutch consulate had been established in Jeddah, the port of Mecca, since 1872, the officer in charge of which was responsible for looking after the interests of the pilgrims and also exercised, by virtue of the capitulations recognized in the Ottoman Empire, judicial functions with regard to them. The incumbents of this post were chosen with great care, and received a special training. They were chosen from members of the East Indies civil service, and given a year of study at Leiden in the Arab language, Moslem law and other studies, before taking up their appointment. After holding it for five years they returned to the East Indies. This system produced a number of very able men, expert in Moslem affairs and politics. Of these one of the ablest was a certain Van der Meulen who, with a German as his companion, traversed a large part of the Hadramaut in the course of a journey sponsored by the Netherlands East Indies government, and later published an interesting account of his experiences. Part of his route lay over country hitherto untrodden by Europeans, but even where it did not, Van der Meulen's previous experience of Arab problems and politics in the East enabled him to make many original observations. (It is worthy of note that the most authoritative account of the Hadramaut before that date had been written by the late Capt. W. H. Lee Warner, formerly a member of the Malayan Civil Service, who visited the country in 1919, on a political mission for the British Government).

Van der Meulen tells a revealing story when discussing the history of a certain ruin that the party of travellers passed one day, and which had been the dwelling place of a Hadrami who had amassed a fortune in Java. This man, when he returned to his native land tried to set up a kingdom; he recruited soldiers, made raids into the fertile lands of a neighbouring valley, and destroyed its date palms. Instead of buying him out with a piece of land the Qu'eti Sultan, into whose lands he had trespassed, himself raised an army and even transported a few cannon to his village. The man was taken prisoner, his house was razed to the ground, and a heavy ransom was exacted from his wealthy family in Java. The family petitioned the Netherlands Government on his behalf, basing their claim on his Dutch nationality. It was thus, says Van der Meulen, that the desirability of being accurately informed as to conditions in the land of origin of a considerable number of its subjects became evident to the Netherlands Govern-

ment. How easily, he must have thought, could these matters have been arranged if the two territories were under one administration!

External Influences on Arab Politics.

The incident just narrated, and the history of the establishment by the Qu'eti of their own dynasty have a strong family likeness. The only difference was that the Qu'eti, having larger resources abroad, could do things on a bigger scale, and were much more successful. Thus 'Umar bin 'Awadh el Qu'eti, the penniless adventurer who had made his fortune and his name in India.[13] had before he died, the satisfaction of knowing that his sons were masters of Shibam (1858) in the interior and of Shihr (1866) on the coast. Later, and thanks once more to the length of the Qu'eti purse, they succeeded in obtaining possession of Mukalla (1881) which, with Shihr, controls the whole coast of Hadramaut.

The British concluded a Protectorate treaty with the Qu'eti Sultanate in 1888, covering "the territories of Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies", a vague enough description which could not however by any stretch of the imagination be held to include the Kathiri territories in the interior from which the vast majority of the Arabs in Malaya and Indonesia had originated. These territories though really independent were nominally subject to the Ottoman Empire, and so remained until the end of the first World War when the Kathiri Sultans recognised the Qu'eti agreement with the British as being binding on themselves also. The point is just worth mentioning, since Wilkinson states, in his dictionary, that early in the Great War there was a mistaken view that the Hadrami Arabs unless locally born or naturalised were Turkish subjects or had Turkish sympathies. As has been shown this view was only mistaken in so far as the Qu'eti were concerned. A better authority[14] observes that there is little doubt that the inland settlements of the Hadramaut had been profitably engaged during the war in smuggling supplies to the Turks in Yemen. The Dutch actually considered the prohibition of further Arab immigration into Java, owing to alleged seditious activities on the part of Kathiri elements already there, in 1919.

During the thirty years between the two treaties the British Government scrupulously (it might be said, over-scrupulously) refrained from interfering in any way whatsoever with the domestic affairs of the Hadramaut, where sporadic tribal warfare continued unchecked. As we are now speaking of times that are past, there can be no harm in drawing the attention of the reader to this extraordinary phenomenon of prosperous and enlightened Arab

13 See Appendix B.
14 H. St. J. B. Philby, Encyclopaedia Brittanica, "Hadramaut".

traders, landowners and merchants, thoroughly accustomed to all the refinements of a comfortable existence in Africa, India or the Far East, not merely providing the wherewithal for this warfare to continue, but habitually returning, toward the close of their days, to take an active part in it. They would retire to castles in the Hadramaut where, for months on end, it would be dangerous to put a foot outside the from gate from dawn to dusk, as this might attract a volley of fire from a rival castle across the way. Some villages, for the same reason, could only approach their cultivations by an elaborate system of trenches. Nobody regarded this as in any way exceptional, and everybody cried out for arms, and more arms. One party even imported a tank (transported in pieces, by camel or donkey, an eight day journey from the coast to their valley) which now lies derelict, a monument if ever there was one to wasted human effort.

To this general rule of turbulence and anarchy there was one important exception. The class of Syeds, or descendants of the prophet through Hassan or Hussain, has always commanded special respect in Moslem countries, and nowhere more so than in the Hadramaut, with its long tradition of piety and learning. The tribesmen, it is true, were neither learned nor pious, but they had in general a marked regard for these qualities in others, a regard which the almost complete isolation of this part of Arabia from the trends of modern thought had allowed to remain virtually unimpaired for centuries. A further explanation of the respect almost amounting to reverence in which the Syeds were held was their traditional custom of going about unarmed. This custom is said to have been prescribed by their ancestor, Syed Amad ibn Isa al Muhajji who came from Basra in the tenth century to settle in the Hadramaut, and it was almost universally observed. The few Syeds who did not keep to it had become indistinguishable from the Beduin. Nothing could serve to show more clearly that the Syeds were a race apart and they were thus able (apart from other useful consequences) to travel immune—after taking proper precautions to declare their identity—in districts where the ordinary traveller would have hesitated to go even if accompanied by a large and well armed escort.

The Syeds had become quite numerous, but their prestige had not suffered on that account, as the right to the title, which claimed to be a very good one, was most carefully safeguarded. A Syed who travelled overseas was at pains to ensure that the births of his male children were properly recorded in the registers kept by the "Mansab" or hereditary head of the branch of the family to which he belonged. In spite of all this it must be said that hereditary privileges have had their day, in the Hadramaut as everywhere else, their progress into oblivion being greatly has-

tened by the experiences of Hadramis in other countries overseas. Those who ventured into new lands to seek "the ring of the prophet Solomon" were not as a rule of the wealthiest, and in their new homes they acquired a competence, and with it a better social status which they were naturally reluctant to lose on returning to the country of their birth. As for the emigrant Syeds, they too lost many of the privileges of their position, just as they also had no occasion to exercise the responsibilities that went with them, after they had left the Hadramaut.

It is hardly surprising therefore that when an anti-Syed movement sprang up, it received much useful support, particularly from the overseas Arabs. This movement, which was known as "Irshad", is said to have begun in 1918 with a quarrel about a school in Singapore which the Syeds had endowed and to which, owing to the lack of contributions from other sources, it was decided that only the sons of Syeds should be admitted. The movement spread to Java, and thence to the valleys of the Hadramaut, where it made considerable headway and demonstrated, not for the first or the last time, the influence of Malayan politics on that distant land.

The effects of this movement might have been far more rapid and revolutionary than they were but for the fact that the Syeds, who on the whole constituted a conservative element in the population, also included in their ranks a number of men who were extremely progressive and far sighted. It was the Syeds who had taken the lead in migrating to foreign countries and the wealth which they derived from their successful business ventures, though mainly employed to consolidate their material position in the Hadramaut, where they were the chief land-owners, was also used to bring about very noteworthy improvements in the social conditions of the population generally. Successive travellers in that country have paid generous tribute to the enormous influence for good of one of these families in particular, the resources of which had been spent on such purposes to the tune of some $50,000 annually. All sorts of useful works stood to their credit, such as schools, dispensaries, roads, a local coinage, a postal service and even a food distribution scheme. Such men, in accepting the position of leaders in their own country appreciated more keenly than anyone the wastage and demoralizing effects of the perpetual insecurity in which their fellow countrymen lived, and, long before the British Government had taken any active steps to settle the age-long feuds which created this insecurity they had worked hard to pave the way for their eventual reconciliation. During 1927 and 1928 conferences were held (again in Singapore) with the object of settling the differences of Qu'eti and Kathiri, the main disputants, and though these did not bear immediate fruit

the general armistice of some years later owed much to these earlier endeavours, and would have been impossible without them.

The Arabs in Malaya.

The recorded history of the Arabs in Malaya starts, as so many other things start, with Raffles. Our excuse for quoting at length from the "Memoirs" will be that they form a most convenient text on which to hang a number of further observations concerning the Arabs in this country. At the same time, the passage is very typical of the lack of regard with which the Arabs in the East were held by Europeans at that period. In a despatch from Malacca dated 10th June 1811 Raffles as "Agent to the Governor General with the Malay States," writes as follows:—

"The observations which I have suggested to your Lordship regarding the Chinese, are in a high degree applicable to the Arabs who frequent the Malay countries, and under the specious mask of religion, prey on the simple unsuspicious native. The Chinese must, at all events, be admitted to be industrious; but the Arabs are mere drones, useless and idle consumers of the produce of the ground, affecting to be descendants of the Prophet, and the most eminent of his followers, when in reality they are nothing more than manumitted slaves; they worm themselves into the favour of the Malay chiefs, and often procure the highest offices in the Malay states. They hold like robbers the offices they obtain as sycophants, and cover all with the sanctimonious veil of religious hypocrisy. Under the pretext of instructing the Malays in the principles of the Mohammedan religion, they inculate the most intolerant bigotry, and render them incapable of receiving any species of useful knowledge. It is seldom that the East is visited by Arabian merchants of large capital, but there are numerous adventurers who carry on a coasting trade from port to port, and by asserting the religious titles of Sheikhs and Seyyad claim, and generally obtain, an exemption from all port duties in the Malay states. They are also very frequently concerned in acts of piracy, and great promoters of the slave trade. This class of adventurers it will be our object sedulously to repress, but a regulated trade with any of the commercial states of Arabia, as Muscat, Mocha or Jidda, may prove extremely advantageous to the Malay countries. The old Sultan of Pontiana, who was on his guard against the machinations of the Chinese, and took effectual means to prevent their either farming his port duties or engrossing his funds, suffered hmself to be constantly circumvented and duped by the Arab adventurers who frequented Pontiana. The errors of the father, however, have served in some degree to open the eyes of his son, the present Sultan, yet he still continues to suffer Arab traders, direct from Arabia to trade at Pontiana, duty free; and

last year this port was visited by two Arab vessels direct from Muscat. This may serve, in some degree, to illustrate the necessity of our establishing an equal and uniform system of port regulations through the whole of the Malay countries; for if the Chinese, on the one hand, are permitted to farm import and export duties, in different ports, they have every facility allowed them to form combinations, in order to secure a monopoly to Chinese traders; and if, on the other hand, the Arabs, under religious pretext, are entirely exempted from duties, they may baffle all competition, and the Malay countries will inevitably be exhausted and drained, and the English deprived of the fruits of conquest merely to the advantage of two foreign nations that are equally devoid of claims on the English and Malays. Let the Chinese and the Arabs, as well as the Americans, trade to the eastward, but let their trade be regulated, and above all, let them not be left in the enjoyment of exemption and advantages which are neither possessed by the English nor the Malays. Since the reduction of Dutch colonies in the East, several of the ports formerly dependent on them have almost become Arab colonies, as Palembang, Tringano, and Telawany on Sumbawa. The evil is obviously increasing every day, and can only be checked by encouraging the native Malays, and regulating on equal term the duties of the Malay and other eastern ports."

This is not a very favourable assessment of the Arab contribution to the material and moral civilization of the East. But there is evidence to show that these were not Raffles last thoughts on the subject. In his history of Java (1817) he repeats the former indictment, using the same words, until he comes to one phrase, where he introduces a significant alteration:—

"Let the Chinese and Arabs still trade to the eastward. Without them, the trade would be reduced to less than one third of even what it is at present; but let their trade be regulated etc., etc."

and elsewhere he says:—

"The objections which have been made to the political influence of the Chinese and Arabs in the Eastern Islands, do not equally apply to them as traders. In this last capacity and subject to regulations which prevent them from uniting the power of a chief with the temper of a merchant, and despotism with avarice, their value cannot be too highly rated....the Arab traders are here what they are all over the world, keen intelligent and adventurous."

and in 1822, in giving instructions to a Singapore Housing committee, he writes:—

"The Arab population will require every consideration."

The fact of the matter is that in 1811 Raffles was very far from understanding the mechanics of trade in the East Indies, and only appreciated later the fact that the Arabs, as for that matter also the Chinese and Bugis were not competitors so much as coadjutors, and that without them the trade of the archipelago could not be carried on in its existing volume. Unfortunately this misunderstanding had been shared by a great many Europeans in the East. L. A. Mills in his article on "Piracy and the Straits Settlements" records an opinion that the systematic oppression of the inter-island trade which was practised by the Dutch and the Portuguese before them was responsible for a good deal of the piracy which existed later.

As far as trade with Muscat, Mocha or Jidda was concerned, the Arab share in such traffic was tending to diminish rather than increase. During the period of which we are now writing the trade between Bombay and the Persian Gulf was still almost exclusively in Indian, Persian or Arab hands. From Bombay eastwards the trade was much more extensive and European firms had a large share in it, controlling not merely the "Indiamen" but also a good proportion of the "country" shipping i.e. ships built in Eastern waters but on European lines, and European owned. Crawford gives a picture of the ocean commerce between the archipelago and Arabian ports, which he describes[15] as having been "reduced to a trifle" since the settlement and supremacy of Europeans in the East. The direct trade he states to have been confined to a few ports of the western portion of the Archipelago, as Achin, Palembang, Pontianak and some of the Malay states of the peninsula. Arab shipping was the best constructed, best navigated and best equipped of any Asiatic nation. The normal course of trading was to make a voyage to the Malabar coast, and buy cloth there to truck with the islanders. a few dried fruits were also occasionally bought; the rest of the investment was bullion. On the return journey they carried cloves and nutmegs, black pepper, Indian frankinscence and sugar as cargo, and pilgrims as passengers. Twenty years later, according to Newbold[16] "one or two square rigged vessels arrive annually from Arabia, bringing tortoise shell, salt, gold thread, sandalwood, oil and sundries", and taking back "benjamin, gold dust, long pepper, Indian piece goods, a small quantity of sago and spices and large investments of sugar, tin, sapanwood, spices and lignum aloes."

15 John Crawford—History of the Indian Archipelago Volume III, p. 208.
16 T. J. Newbold "British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca"—Vol. I, p. 358.

But the real strength of the Arabs lay in coast-wise and inter-island shipping, centred at first on Palembang, Pontianak and Grisee and later shared by Singapore and Surabaya. Many of the early Arab fortunes were made in this way. It is a remarkable fact that the Hadrami throughout history has taken so kindly to the sea; travellers in the interior of that country have noted how many of the men are intrepid swimmers and divers although their only opportunity of learning these arts was in rock pools left by the rains in the wadi beds. Again we may quote from Raffles, that "the enterprize of the Arabs, Chinese and Bugis is very conspicuous. They are in general fair traders, and Europeans acquainted with their characters can rely on their engagements and command their confidence." The wheel had come round full circle! At the same time it must be admitted that not all these fortunes were made by fair trading. Many of the Arabs were strongly suspected of supporting the pirates who were such a menace to shipping in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, if not of being pirates themselves. So far as Borneo was concerned this was not a suspicion but a certainty.[17] After 1855 sailing ships began to give way to steamers, in the ownership of which the Arabs were less successful. There were some Arab owned steamers working from Singapore, but it does not appear to have been a profitable business.[18]

Let us now examine Raffles' allegation that the Arabs had succeeded in obtaining for themselves a privileged position with the native rulers which greatly facilitated their trade, and we shall observe that this is exactly what happened. There are innumerable instances in the history of the East Indies of an Arab settling in one of these states and rapidly acquiring for himself (and his compatriots) an altogether preponderating influence there. Sometimes they had only to present themselves in these surroundings to be appointed provincial governors, and to be given as wives the daughters of princes or of the high aristocracy. The Malay explanation, like Raffles', is that the Arabs traded on an often spurious religious connection, and commanded the veneration of the religiously disposed but relatively uninstructed Moslem peoples through being of the same race and origin as the founder of their faith. This may be partially but it is not entirely true—many of the countries in which they succeeded in entrenching themselves most securely were pagan countries. Van den Berg attributes much of their success in this field to other than religious causes. Their diplomatic skill, their ability to exploit the weak sides of the native character without weakening their own, and their dignity and gift of expression generally[19] made a tremendous

17 L. A. Mills "The Suppression of Piracy in Brunei."
18 C. B. Buckley "An Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore" p. 565.
19 "Sejarah Melayu" passim; the anecdote at p. 203 is an exception.

impression on the peoples among whom they appeared. Their bearing appeared to justify their claim to represent an older and higher civilization. Perlis in Malaya, Siak Kampar and Jambi in Sumatra, Kubu and Pontianak in Borneo are among the places where Arabs either became established as rulers or intermarried with ruling house, and their position in Palembang, Singapore and other centres owed much initially to the respect with which the Malay authorities regarded them. This respect was partly based on ignorance—"omne ignotum pro magnifico"—and greater familiarity caused, not exactly contempt, but a more candid and accurate appreciation of their true worth. As Arab immigrants arrived in increasing numbers the feelings of the original inhabitants of the Archipelago towards them became radically altered, and the later arrivals no longer found it possible to make alliances with the better families. This change of attitude was the more marked as the economic competition of the Arabs became more keenly felt. Reference to this competition and to the commercial practices on which it depended will be made later.

In the time of Raffles however the Syeds were still regarded as being a good deal superior to ordinary mortals, and so regarded themselves. The reader may recall the famous incident in the "Hikayat Abdullah" (the author of which was, incidentally, of Arab descent) when one Syed Yassin, smarting under the ignominy of being imprisoned for a debt which he professed to be unable to pay, ran amok and stabbed Col. Farquhar, the Resident. The ensuing turmoil is vividly described; a general rising was feared and, possibly with a view to warning others of the fate which they would suffer, Raffles ordered the corpse of the Syed (who had been killed by a sepoy in the Resident's following) to be dragged feet foremost behind a bullock cart round Singapore town, and afterwards exhibited in an iron cage at Tanjong Pagar.

But the matter did not end there, for after the body was buried the site of burial became a place of pilgrimage. It has not survived, possibly because it has been replaced by the still more famous shrine of Habib Nur, about which a word or two must be said, since it is venerated and visited by Malays from at least as far afield as Malacca, and is the invocation of all who find themselves adrift in storm and tempest in the Java seas. "Habib" is a mixture between a title of respect and a term of endearment, and it is bestowed on Syeds, though who Syed Nur was, apart from the fact that he died some seventy or eighty years ago, the writer has not been able to determine. Two incidents have however served to bring home to him the very great veneration with which the tomb of this saint is still regarded; the first being when his cook, a native of Palembang, was insistent that a vow of fruit and flowers must be made there before an imminent birth in his

master's family, the second when his syce, a native of Muar, asked for leave to do the same the day before he took his driving test. It should be recorded that the power of the saint was effective on both occasions! It is said that many attempts have been made, in the past, to dig away the small eminence on which the "keramat" still stands, to the great hindrance of the proper development of the harbour area of Singapore, but the saint has succeeded in frustrating them all. Even Chinese labourers who have been set to work on the task were smitten with sudden and unexplained sickness, and refused to complete it.

Some four months before the occurrence of the amok in which Col. Farquhar was stabbed, one of Raffles' many committees had been set up "for appropriating and marking out the quarters or departments of the several classes of the native population." The part of the instructions which concerns us ran as follows:—

"ARAB CAMPONG"

"23. The Arab population will require every consideration, and their expected numbers should not be estimated at less than 1 to 2,000. No situation will be more appropriate for them than the vicinity of the Sultan's residence, and it will only be necessary in providing the accommodation they require to keep in view the convenience of separating them as far as practicable from the European dwellings, with which they will in such case come nearly in contact."

The European residences, which had to be thus carefully safeguarded, were to be situated in an area "eastward of the Cantonments as far generally as the Sultan's and inland to the bank of the Rochor river and the foot of the hills, including the great Rochor plain." This is what would be described nowadays as the Middle Road area of Singapore, and the Arab quarter—in a time when it was customary to think of 'Quarters'—was to be situated to the northeast, round the Istana. Arab Street, Baghdad Street, Bussorah Street, Jedda Street, Muscat Street, all within a quarter of a mile of each other, are there to show that Raffles' intentions were carried out, and in 1901 when a census of the inhabitants of Singapore by residence of the different races was taken, it was in the G division of the Municipality bounded by Middle Road, Selegie Road, Rochore Canal Road and Sumbawa Road, and in adjoining streets that the great majority of Arabs was still found to be congregated. There was not a single one living in the modern business quarter, represented as C division, on the south bank of the Singapore river.

Raffles' expectations regarding the increase in size of the Arab population were still unfulfilled a hundred years later, as will be seen from the figures quoted below.[20] Statistics in this case are more than usually misleading, however, since there is no very clear dividing line between those who are Arabs and those who are not. With very rare exceptions no Hadrami woman ever leaves her native country, and it follows that a child of unmixed Arab descent is never born in the East Indies. Although certain families, particularly in Singapore, have preserved their continuity of descent, in most cases the rate of assimilation with the local population has been rapid and completed in two or three generations; and the widespread custom among the Arabs of sending their sons back to the Hadramaut for their education—one of the facts accounting for the extent to which Javanese and Malay are spoken in that country,—merely retards and does not divert this process.

One of the reasons why the distinction between Arabs and non-Arabs has been better maintained in Singapore than elsewhere is that Arabs coming from or returning to the Hadramaut have made it a stopping-off place just like Achin was in the days of the sailing ships. A feature of the statistical table to which attention may be drawn is that while the Arab population of Penang and Malacca has remained more or less stationary over the past fifty years, that of Singapore has fairly steadily increased. Figures for the rest of Malaya are not available over a sufficiently long period to make it possible to draw any useful conclusions and in any case the fact that in Selangor, in 1931, four times as many persons claimed to have been born in Arabia as declared themselves to be Arab by race, makes one doubtful of their accuracy. It may be observed however that the East Coast settlements, noted by Raffles, still exist, though they do not appear to be increasing in size; anyone interested in reading about one of these settlements as it was a quarter of a century ago will find a brief but interesting account in the census report for 1921 (paragraph 339) of the settlement at Kampong Bruas in the Pekan district of Pahang. This settlement though four or five generations old was still occasionally recruited with fresh immigrants from the Hadramaut; the descendants greatly prized their Arab ancestry and would not admit to being Malays, as by that time in fact they were. A century ago they were still quite distinct.[21]

An Arab who has established himself in Malaya or in the East Indies finds jobs for his compatriots; hence in each of their colonies the colonists tend to come from the same district. The conservatism in these matters is carried to extremes; there are

20 Appendix C.
21 "Pelayaran Abdullah", p. 15.

villages and town in the Wadi Hadramaut separated by no more than a day's journey, the inhabitant of one of which have, for generations, migrated to the East Indies, while from the other the inhabitants have for an equally long period migrated to East Africa. Those in the East Indies come mainly from the Kathiri towns of Seiyun and Terim, and from the Qu'eti town of Shibam, all far inland and until recently eight days journey from the coast (in 1937 however their isolation was ended by the completion of a road between Shihr and the Wadi Hadramaut where they are situated; it owes its existence to the enterprise and pertinacity of a well known Singapore family). Both in Africa and the Indies they established themselves without difficulty as petty shopkeepers and small traders, penetrating into markets and sources of supply from which European firms remained aloof, or were for some reason excluded. They did little importing or exporting on their own account. Even the uncouth tribesmen with no experience of any form of business other than brigandage, proved remarkably apt at this form of occupation, with which they combined the ancillary activity of money lending, if it is not unfair to use a word with such derogatory implications for a commercial practice which is universal, but usually escapes criticism under the title of "giving of credit".

There is one further form of economic activity for which the Arabs have displayed a great and unexpected genius, and which is of more than passing importance. It is well known that, in Singapore and many other large towns of the East, the Arabs own land and house property on a large scale. To appreciate how this came about it will be necessary to digress for a moment to consider the principles of Mohammedan law, and the way in which they favoured the kind of transaction which resulted in such ownership being acquired.

Islam prohibits usury. In the application of this law, Muslims are forbidden to earn interest on money loaned, with or without security. Among certain sections of Muslims even the payment of interest, as opposed to the receiving of it, is considered a grave offence and a sin. It therefore happens that, handicapped as they are in this respect, it is not unusual for Muslims when forced by circumstances to raise a loan, to deposit their articles of value—real property and jewellery for instance—in the hands of business men of their acquaintance without any consideration of interest but on certain specific conditions. Generally, the most important condition is the method of repayment of the loan, and it may be agreed, for instance, that repayment is to be made by instalments or in a lump sum before the end of a certain period. If after the end of this period the loan is still unpaid, the lender may give notice to the borrower that he must repay before the end of a

further period or else forfeit the right to redeem the article deposited. When the article is land, it is necessary for the would-be borrower to convey his property outright to the lender in a properly drawn up deed of conveyance. In such cases the borrower becomes the vendor, and the lender the purchaser; the amount of the loan is the consideration for purchase, and time the essence of the contract. If the loan is repaid within the specific period the property is reconveyed to the borrower, at his cost. Meanwhile, so long as the loan remains unpaid during the period agreed to between the parties, the rent derived from the property is collected by the lender as his due. If the loan is not repaid and the period has elapsed, the lender remains in absolute possession of the property, which he has in effect acquired at a reduced price. Most loan transactions follow this general pattern with variations to suit the individual case.

There are two prerequisites for this kind of business enterprise, a sufficiency of capital and the knowledge how to invest it. With regard to the former, with all his stinting and saving the individual Arab would not as a rule be able to provide the sums required from money in his own possession, and it was not unusual therefore for a number to club together to do so. This meant that later, if the property was to be sold, not only the persons in whose name it stood but the others (or their descendants) have to be consulted—a long and tedious business which tends to have the result that when property has found its way into Arab hands, it does not leave them easily. With regard to the necessary knowledge, the Arab is no simpleton in these matters, even though he has never left his native valley. Land in the Hadramaut both for building and cultivation is scarce and is bought and sold at a high premium.

In Singapore, numerous transactions of the kind mentioned above took place, particularly during the early days of the Colony's history; with the result that the Kampong Glam district for example which was originally predominantly Malay (the original "Sultan" leases having been given mostly to Malays) is now about 5% Malay as against 35% Arab. In other parts of the town the Arab acquisitions while they do not form nearly so large a proportion of the total, are nevertheless very considerable.

It is sometimes thought that the Arabs must be hypocritical in their attitude towards religion, if they employ such methods, while condemning usury, or charging interest on loans. But it is doubtful whether this would be a correct appreciation. The founder of the Mohammedan religion was himself a merchant and it is likely enough that this sort of transaction was current and generally accepted in his own day. Moreover while there is no

harm in applying the logic of the west to the behaviour of the east, it is a mistake to assume that the inhabitants of that hemisphere apply it to themselves. The Arab code of conduct is different, and has its own peculiar defects, and virtues. For instance it would be unknown and impossible for a successful Hadrami trader to devote the whole of his earnings to his own and his family's comfort. The first duty of the home coming traveller who has made a fortune is to build a mosque, and this duty takes precedence over the building of a house for himself. There are certain time-honoured objects of beneficence; it is a pious duty in desert countries to build wells, and a number of these were provided in Singapore by charitable donations before the days of a piped water supply. Burial grounds and schools are other favourite objects of charity. The Arab community before the war accepted full responsibility for the repatriation of its destitute members. Hospitality is another duty; the hospitality of the Hadramis was described by Philby, who should know, as "astonishing even in a country like Arabia". On the other hand, there is little evidence in the majority of a social conscience. Rich and poor may mingle freely in an atmosphere of complete democratic equality, but there is no suggestion of consequent economic equality, nor is private charity directed to the furtherance of such an object. It is a hard philosophy of life, but there is no hypocrisy about it, and no sentimentality masquerading as benevolence.

This philosophy has been fostered by many centuries of hard living. The artificiality and insecurity of life in the Hadramaut have already been noted, and it is to be observed that the urge to emigrate, which sent her young men overseas in such numbers to earn their living, has been mainly due to the impossibility of of supporting them at home. Miss Stark concludes that the habit of emigration in large numbers is of recent growth, from the fact that the time is still remembered when a traveller would be nicknamed 'Makkawi', 'Massawi' etc. according to the place (sc. Mecca or Massawa) from which he had returned.[22] In those days therefore the population must have been kept within bounds in other ways, more especially by war and famine. Such conditions inevitably breed a certain ruthlessness of character. However even in ancient times there seem to have been enterprising individuals who sought their fortunes overseas. The Hadramis themselves recognise a spirit of adventure as being one of their national characteristics. There is a story related by Burton of a man who, flying from Hadrami society, reached the uttermost parts of China where he thought himself safe, but as he was about to pass the night in some ruin he heard a voice hard by him exclaim "Oh

22 Freya Stark—"Southern Gates of Arabia" p. 121.

'Imad ad Din," the name of the patron saint of the Hadramaut. "Thereupon he arose and fled and he is, they say, flying still."

Appendix A.

The Arabs in East Africa.

Arabs from the southern coasts of Arabia were well established along the sea board by the middle of the first century A.D., and probably much earlier. There were a number of their settlements, from the horn of Africa down to what is now Tanganyika territory, and they carried on a lively trade with India and the Red Sea. A contemporary geographer[23] informs us that "the country is not subject to a king, but each market town is ruled by its separate chief." Later he explains that "under some ancient right the coast is subject to the sovereignty of the state that is become first in Arabia. And the people of Mocha (in the Yemen) now hold it under authority, and send thither many large ships, using Arab captains and agents, who are familiar with the natives and intermarry with them, and who know the whole coast and understand the language."

There seems to have been a decline in the importance of these settlements in subsequent centuries, possibly not unconnected with the decline in trade through the Red Sea which we have already noted. However in the eighth century active colonization began by Persians and Arabs from Oman seeking relief from persecution in their own country. From the tenth century onwards traditions regarding these settlements, which were now linked by an active commerce with the Persian Gulf, become continuous. They were created or re-established along the Somali coast at Lamu and Mombasa, Zanzibar and Kilwa. These colonies reached the height of their prosperity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when ports were established at Mozambique and at Sofala, near the modern Beira. This is the farthest south that the Arabs appear to have penetrated is no evidence that they ever came within sight of rounding the Cape of Good Hope in the reverse direction. This lack of enterprise is somewhat surprising in such an adventurous race, but there was no stsong inducement to penetrate further south and there was one great obstacle in the way of doing so, namely the existence of a turbulent and warlike Bantu people, nicknamed by the Arabs "Kafir" or unbeliever, along the coast from Delagoa Bay southwards.

In 1497, Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape and calling at Sofala found himself in contact with the "moors", this being the vague designation by which writers of the period refer to Arabs and sometimes to other Mohammedan peoples also. Towards these Arabs he adopted an opportunist policy, attacking them or enlisting their services as he found convenient. Arab pilots escorted him to Zanzibar, Mombasa and Malindi from which place he crossed to Calicut in India to obtain the cargo of pepper the profits from which so greatly stimulated the Portuguese in the pursuit of their colonial ambitions. Later, Portuguese captains captured these market town one by one, Sofala, Quelimane, Sena, Mozambique, Kilwa, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Malindi, Lamu and Magadishu, besides making excursions into the Red Sea and Southern Arabia—with the dual object of securing their lines of communication, and of confining the commercial activities of their Arab competitors within the narrowest limits.[24] Even at the zenith of their power however it was impossible for them to spare the men to garrison these towns and they therefore adopted the policy of appointing tributary Arab sultans—a policy which succeeded as long and only as long as they could maintain a supremacy of sea power to enforce it. Once the Muscat Arabs had succeeded in turning the Portuguese out of Oman in the

23 Autoor of the 'Periplous'.
24 Sir H. H. Johnston "The opening up of Africa" p. 165.

Arabian peninsula (1650), they proceeded to attack them in Africa, until at the turn of the century the Portuguese had lost practically all their footholds except Mozambique.

History repeated itself when the rulers of Muscat found themselves no more able then the Portuguese had been to control the Arab colonies in East Africa. But it developed along new lines when in 1832 the Sultanate was transferred from Muscat to Zanzibar and the Sultan, Said bin Sultan, extended his authority over the whole of what is now the coast of Kenya and Tanganyika. And not only over the coast; for Ujiji, on the shore of Lake Tanganyika over 600 miles from the sea, was an Arab town when Stanley met Livingstone there in 1871. This was one of many centres established by the Arabs in the interior, partly for commerce in the products of the country, and partly for the purpose of carrying on the iniquitous slave trade, the stamping out of which was one of the main reasons for the penetration of the region by European missionaries and explorers in the latter half of the century.

Some idea of the extent to which Arabs have migrated to the East African territories may be gained from the 1931 census figures—7,000 in Tanganyika, 12,000 in Kenya and 33,000 in Zanzibar and Pemba. In addition there are Arab colonies in most of the towns of Somaliland, Ethiopia and Eritrea. Except in Zanzibar and Pemba they form an infinitesimal proportion of the population, but an important one since much of the internal trade of the country is in their hands. A very large number of them come from the Hadramaut, and are known as Shihris. The contacts between East Africa and the Hadramaut, the manner of living of the Hadrami when abroad there, and the social effects of this emigration on the conditions of life in their own country (where Swahili is widely spoken) are described in detail in Chapter XXV of Mr. Ingrams Report on the Hadramaut already referred to, and as this is an easily accessible work any attempt to summarize the account given there would be superfluous.

Appendix B.

The Arabs in India

The presence of Arabs, or people of Arab descent, in the ports of the Malabar coast of India is explained by the centuries old trade connections between India and the Gulf of Aden, which the seasonal monsoon so greatly facilitated.

What is rather more unexpected is that the Arabs of the Hadramaut have also established very close contacts with the Deccan, particularly that part of it which forms the modern state of Hyderabad. Thus the Qu'eti' Sultans of Makalla also hold the office of Jemadar in the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad, and have in the past spent more of their time in India than in Arabia. Their Arab subjects look to India as the country to which they emigrate to earn their livelihood or, God willing, to make a fortune, in the same way as the subjects of the Kathiri Sultans of the interior have looked to Malaya and the East Indies. If they remain at home in the Hadramaut even the bare essentials of life may be beyond their reach, and emigration is a stern necessity.

The manner of the arrival of the Arabs in the interior of India and subsequent growth of their power in that country is as follows. The Mohammedan rulers of Northern India who invaded the Deccan in 1294 did not succeed in holding it for long. Under Zuffir Khan (1347) and his successors an independent kingdom was set up; a century and a half later this kingdom in its turn became subdivided into a number of principles.[25] From the fifteenth century onwards these Mohammedan rulers employed mercenary armies composed of Afghans, Abyssinians, Persians and Arabs, the last being the progenitors of the Mohamedan

25 Sir G. Birdwood "Report on the Old Record of the India Office" p. 241.

population in the Nizam's dominion. The hostility of the local Mohammedans to new immigrants was making recruitment difficult by the beginning of the of the seventeenth century, and this led to the recruitment of Marathas in their place. From 1627 until 1761 the Marathas were the dominant power in the Deccan and they too employed mercenaries including Arabs. Some of these mercenary contingents seem to have acquired a virtual independence, and such was the position of the Arabs in Hyderabad in the first half of the nineteenth century.

A good account of this is given in the private diary of Sir Richard Temple,[26] who was Resident at the Court of the Nizam of Hyderabad for nine months (1867-8) and who informs us that an Arab contingent "containing in itself all the vices that have ever been attributed to foreign mercenaries" was recruited from the Arabs who flocked into Hyderabad state in the beginning of the century. They were fostered by the policy of Raj Chandu Lal, the minister between 1820 and 1845, until their power reached such a pitch that they were able to defy alike the authority of the Nizam and the British Government. During the thirties there was mention, in the Residency records, of the extraordinary preponderance which they had acquired in the city of Hyderabad and complaints of the weak manner in which the British government had acquiesced in it. Successive Residents confirmed this, and placed on record their view that the displacement of these mercenaries from the commanding position they had been able to acquire was a matter of prime importance. At one time they practically overshadowed the Government. During the Mutiny they did not however join the rebels, possibly because they had too much to lose, but also because of the extremely firm policy of the Nizam's minister Sir Salar Jang. Nevertheless, the situation was extremely explosive. A "jehad" or holy war, was declared in Hyderabad city, the green flag was raised, and a fanatical mob attacked the Residency. Had the Arabs not remained aloof, the situation would have been lost, and if Hyderabad had joined in the rebellion, practically every Moslem in India would have followed the Nizam's lead. After the mutiny had been put down, a much firmer policy was pursued by the British government.

Nevertheless, in 1867 they still remained a power to be reckoned with. They formed a large, and the most important section of the infantry under the Nizam's own command; two thirds of them were true ("asal") Arabs, i.e. either born in Arabia or sprung from Arabian parents, the remainder being the sons of Arab fathers and Indian mothers ("mawallad"). The true Arabs possessed many martial and soldierly qualities, especially courage and endurance, but they lacked discipline or training. The "mawallad' Arab also possessed these qualities, but in a lesser degree. Each troop had its own officer, but its members stood in a properly feudal relationship towards their Jema'dars, to whom they owed their loyalty and who supplied them with their arms and other accoutrements, and their pay. The principal Arab Jema'dars were Abdullah bin Ali, the Saifu 'ddaula, a man of much celebrity in the Deccan annals and immensely rich, the Ghalib Jang, or Kaimkamu 'ddaula, whose family originated in the Yemen, and the Barak Jang, fourth son of the old, venerable, and immensely rich Jema'dar Umar bin Awadh al Qu'eti, who had left the Hadramaut a poor man, to acquire in Hyderabad the wealth which he subsequently used to found a dynasty in his native country.

The Nizam had been almost openly accused, by the Governor General in 1851, of using the Arab Jema'dars to oppose the reforms which the minister was endeavouring to introduce.[27] In doing so he had placed himself in their hands; they controlled the Treasury, had hereditary posts in all the forts and palaces, and maintained their own law courts, refusing to allow their followers to obey a summons from any other. Much of the countryside was under their control, the system having been adopted of giving them, instead of an annual amount in cash, the

26 Sir R. Temple "Private Diary of Politics at the Court of the Nizam of Hyderabad.
27 Sir W. Barton "The Princess of India" p. 197.

Appendix C.

Census Statistics of the Arabs in Malaya[1]

(i) Arabs by race, 1824-1931.

	1824			1834			1849			1860			1871			1881		
	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total
Singapore			15	55	11	66	121	73	194	65	52	117	275	191	466	551	285	836

	1891			1901			1911			1921			1931		
	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total
Singapore	503	303	806	523	396	919	716	521	1237	738	544	1282	1057	882	1939
Penang & P. W.	352	332	684	299	243	542	353	349	702	273	247	520	320	285	605
Malacca	53	42	95	24	21	45	65	70	135	39	17	56	59	29	88
Perak	37	14	51	36	33	69	39	11	50	70	31	101	40	15	55
Selangor	17	10	27	19	12	31	55	18	73	54	28	82	52	18	70
N. Sembilan	19	1	20	15	12	27	43	19	62	55	23	78	58	30	88
Pahang			329	211	236	447	85	67	152	174	221	395	104	85	189
Johore							392	307	699	411	325	736	709	636	1345
Kedah									119	128	98	226	76	37	113
Perlis									10	81	73	154	73	70	143
Kelantan									17	70	48	118	132	81	213
Trengganu									186	271	296	567	61	28	89
Total	S.S. & F.M.S. 2012			S.S. & F.M.S. 2080			Brit. Malaya 3442			Brit. Malaya 4315			Brit. Malaya 4937		

(ii) Arabs by birthplace, 1911-1931

	1911			1921			1931		
	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total	M.	F.	Total
Singapore	304	75	379	268	31	299	327	95	422
Penang & P. W.	85	28	113	49	14	63	47	15	62
Malacca	12	4	16	8	—	8	24	2	26
Perak	31	10	41	35	9	44	21	7	28
Selangor	28	8	36	23	1	24	218	65	283
N. Sembilan	17	3	20	22	6	28	26	3	29
Pahang	16	2	18	8	3	11	17	3	20
Johore	79	27	106	107	23	130	112	15	127
Kedah				27	3	30	23	3	26
Perlis				12	1	13	8	—	8
Kelantan				21	6	27	33	7	40
Trengganu				30	8	38	23	3	26
Total	S.S. only		508	Brit. Malaya		715	Brit. Malaya		1097

1 The Census figures run only to 1931. There was no census in 1941, owing to the war. The detailed figures for the 1947 census, which replaced it, are still awaiting publication. (31:1:49).

revenues of a village calculated to yield that amount (but which, when "farmed" by the Arabs, was probably made to yield a percentage more). This corrupted the administration and enhanced their power. But the Indian mutiny gave the Nizam's minister his opportunity, and he took it. He abolished their prisons, took over their forts and by slow stages deprived them of their private jurisdiction. The British Government assisted him by stopping, so far as it could, the further immigration of Arabs from the Hadramaut. From that time onwards Hyderabad ceased to be the Arab el Dorado, though the connections between the two countries have continued to remain close and, for the Hadrami at any rate, not unprofitable.

Short Notes

The Ligor Inscription

(Received, April, 1948)

Only now has the *Tijdschrift* of the Royal Batavian Society for 1941 (deel IXXXI, af. I) reached Europe; so that we have had to wait seven years to read one of the most valuable papers yet written on an inscription of paramount importance for the history of Sri Vijaya. As few members of this Society are able to read Dutch, I feel sure that the writer of the paper, Dr. F. D. K. Bosch, will forgive me for summarizing it here.

Originally the King of Sri Vijaya mentioned on face A of the inscription was supposed to be the Visnu. . .and Sri Maharaja of the royal house of the Sailendras of face B. Dr. Krom identified him with a Javanese ruler. Then Dr. Majumdar (*Suvarnadvipa* 1937, p. 207; *The Sailendra Empire, Journal Greater India Soc.*, 1934; *Bull. Ecole Française Ext. Or.*, XXXIII, p. 127) claimed that the script on the two faces differed, that the initial word Svasti "hail" on face B denoted a new beginning and not a continuation of of inscription A, that only on one face is Sri Vijaya mentioned, and that the two sides referred to two persons, not even contemporary.

Dr. Bosch considers that differences in the script of the two faces are negligible, and that the two inscriptions are by the same hand. Hindu-Javanese inscriptions were traced in chalk or charcoal by a scholar, and copied by an illiterate carver, who would not know on which face the inscription started, and here chiselled the 29 lines of the conclusion first, and for some reason carved only 4 lines of the beginning with its initial *svasti*. Is it likely that a later ruler would have added an inscription of his own on a predecessor's monument? Is it mere coincidence that one face names only a dynasty, and the other only a kingdom? And why does the inscription on face A lack the usual exordium? Assume with Dr. Majumdar that the Sailendra Maharaja of face A conquered the

king of Sri Vijaya of face B, and one is left to wonder why he wanted control of an isthmus so far from Java and its interests, and how in the 8th century, still lacking sea-power, he could beat the powerful fleet of Sri Vijaya and seize one of its most important trading posts?

There is no reason to think that the Sri Vijaya of the early Palembang and Bangka inscriptions was ever ruled by Sailendras, but this Ligor stones does show that a Sailendra prince from Java did rule it in 775. A.D.

Krom (*Stapel, Gesch. v. Ned. Ind.*, I, 1938, p. 162) guessed that Varmasetu of the Nalanda charter was a ruler of Sri Vijaya, and that marriage with his daughter Tara put the Sailendra prince Samarāgravīra on the throne of Sumatran Sri Vijaya. If this Samarāgravīra is identical with the Visnu (varman) of the Ligor stone, then it would appear that the Ligor prince is also the Samarottunga rakai Panunggalan of a Javanese (O.J.O. IV) inscription of 797, and the rakai Panunggalan of Kedu charter of 907. That charter mentions no ruler between rakai Panunggalan and a rakai Panangkaran, who is apparently the father of rakai Panunggaalan, and is also the Panamkarana of a Kalasan inscription of 788, i.e. Vīravairimathana, a Sailendra king of Java, who succeeded Sanjaya and seems to have married into his family. Apparently just before 775 the two *rakai*, father and son, were converted to Buddhism in consequence of the son's marriage with Tara. The son styled Vishnu (varman) thus coming to the throne of Sumatran Sri Vijaya, conquered Ligor in 775 and succeeding his father ruled Java also until his death in 797. If this reading of the inscriptions is right, Vishnu (varman), the Sri Maharaja of the Ligor inscription and later king of Java, should be the ancestor of Sūdāmanivarman and Māravijayottungavarman, the 11th century rulers of Kataha (Kedah) and Sri Vijaya. The Sailendra family lost the throne of Java to Sivaite descendants of Sanjaya before 829, so that to account for the construction of the numerous Buddhist monuments at Prambanam and Kedu within sixty years (770-829), one must suppose father and son built at the same time in the two different places. The son will have built Chandi Mendut in honour of Padmapāni, Cātyamuni, and Vajrapān, whom he also venerated in Ligor. He will also have built Barabudur. His father built Chandi Kalasan in honour of his daughter-in-law, to whom was due his conversion to Buddhism.

Such, in brief, is the new view taken by Dr. Bosch.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

The Malay Annals Again, Goa and the Kings of Singapore

(Received, April, 1948)

In his brilliant "Notes on the Texts of the Malay Annals" (J.M.B.R.A.S. vol. XX, pt 2, pp. 107-116) Dr. Linehan has, I think, solved the corruption "Dewa Sait" of the preface of Shellabear's revised 1612 Johore version. The validity of his view that the Goa of that version is a Goa in Pahang is extremely doubtful. It is based on six grounds:—

(1) *Tanah* or *nĕgĕri* would, he thinks, "almost certainly" have been inserted before Goa if Portugal's Indian settlement had been meant.

(2) The Goa on the Jelai is nearer home than Portuguese Goa and therefore more likely.

(3) Actually while the Johore version of 1612 was being made, Johore sacked Pahang, whose Sultan according to the Chinese fled to "gold mountains" i.e. Goa on the Jelai.

(4) Possibly Johore's invading forces found a Pahang MS of the Malay Annals at the Goa whither the Sultan had fled.

(5) Only in the Johore 1612 revision is there mention of Pura in Pahang and Jeram Koi—postulating a Pahang version that has survived only in the 1612 Johore revision.

(6) The Johore revision has probably corrupted Gelanggi of a Pahang text into Johore's Lenggui.

But against these possibilities there are arguments equally probable and some of them factual.

(I) Portugal's Indian Goa is never described as *nĕgĕri Goa* or *tanah Goa* either in my text (Raffles MS 18) or Shellabear's (Romanized, 2nd edition, Singapore 1909 vol. I, 1910 vol. II) but simply as Goa—Shellabear pp. 202, 222; Winstedt pp. 181, 191, 196.

(II) Johore was from time to time on treaty terms with the Portuguese and visits to their Indian Goa were as likely as visits to the Pahang Goa. So were visits to Goa in Celebes.

(III) On the occasion of the 1612 Johore invasion of Pahang, the Sultan of that state is said to have fled to "gold

mountains" = Goa, but there is no evidence that the Johore raiders pursued him there.

(IV) The gloss of Pura in the 1612 Johore revision is no evidence at all of a Pahang version of the Annals for two reasons:—

(a) The gloss is introduced as a quotation and not as part of any longer text (Shellabear p. 82)—*di-chĕtĕrakan oleh yang punya chĕtĕra....Ada pun di-chĕtĕrakan orang: ada pun sĕladang itu kĕchil sadikit daripada gajah.....*

(b) A Pahang writer would think it otiose, not to say absurd, to record that the Pahang river was shallow and that Pahang had gold and elephants, deer and monkeys, and he would not need to quote hearsay as to the size of bisons. The gloss is clearly by a foreigner to Pahang writing of *Pahang itu* (l.c.) on hearsay. Communications between Pahang and Johore were close and many Johore sailors and traders might have heard legends of Pura and Jeram Koi. A writer in Pahang would not have written *Pahang itu.*

(V) It is not from Dr. Linehan's hypothetical Pahang version that the name Lenggui comes but from Raffles MS 18: Shellabear's edition has Ganggayu. The gloss in Shellabear's version that Ganggayu's Black Fort was up the Johore river is no evidence of an original Pahang source. Anyhow the passage is too mythical to furnish a basis for any argument, and as Dr. Quaritch Wales has suggested, the reference may even be to a black fort at Guar, the capital of the Pala rulers of Bengal (J.M.B.R.A.S., XVIII, pt. 1, p. 79).

(V) If Johore's invasion of Pahang in 1612 suggests especial interest in that State while the Annals were being revised in Johore, so the Portuguese invasion of Johore in 1536 suggests a special reason for the ending of the version at that date, and a special reason why the MS may then have been carried off to Portuguese Goa. So in respect of coincidence honours are easy between the old view about Goa and Dr. Linehan's new one.

For all reasons the identification of Goa must still be regarded as uncertain—light might be thrown on it, if we knew more about Orang Kaya Sogoh, who in some texts is said to have brought the manuscript from Goa. He is mentioned in an apparently corrupt context on p. 192 of my edition. But as Dr. Linehan points out

the old Jawi spelling of Goa was كوه , and a word سوكه or perhaps سوكوه close to it is suspicious.

With regard to Dr. Linehan's views as to the rulers of Singapore, I have collected (in a paper in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. 12, pts. 3 & 4, 1948) evidence that the last ruler of Singapore and founder of Malacca was a *Palembang* prince, who died in 1424 at the age of 80. That date agrees (a) with the Chinese statement that the foundation of Malacca as a kingdom was recognized by China not in 1393, as Dr. Linehan suggests, but in 1403, and (b) with the Malay statement in Raffles MS. 18 of the Annals that Iskandar Shah reigned 20 years at Malacca. Though he wrongly (like all the Portuguese and Chinese) takes the Parameswara and Sultan Iskandar Shah to be two persons, Tomé Pires gives us valuable *data* in his *Suma Orientalis* (vol. II). He tells us that the Parameswara ruled Singapore from 3 to 5 years, begetting a son there with the Muslim title of Iskandar Shah (!), who was "almost a man" at the founding of Malacca but, in spite of his name, only became a Muslim at the age of 72, and died 8 years later at the age of 80! Recognise the confusion of the two persons, and Iskandar Shah *alias* Parameswara is seen to have been 21 in 1365, the approximate date of the Javanese conquest of Singapore, and about when he drove out Siamese. Before its conquest Singapore was a colony of Sri Vijaya and may have been ruled by a prince of the house of Sri Vijaya, that is Palembang. After their raid, the Javanese evidently retired, retaining or setting up Parameswara perhaps as their puppet king. Eventually they seem to have left Singapore for Siam to govern through a Maharaja Wuli *alias* Dam(ar) Raja alias Sang Aji or Shahbandar, who was never acknowledged as king, either because he was not of the Singapore royal house or because Majapahit would not recognise a creature of Siam. If that is correct, Parameswara (later Iskandar Shah) may about 1390 have tried to regain Palembang's hold on its old colony, and therefore contrived to kill the Sang Aji. But the mediaeval history of Singapore remains a hardly profitable field of conjecture.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

The Malay Boat-shaped Puan

(*Received, April, 1948*)

The *puan* (*Malay Magic* p. 389) is perhaps the most important article in a Malay marriage procession. It is an open box perhaps six or eight inches deep with a projecting ornamental end (*sulor bayong*). This receptacle is filled with husked rice (*bĕras*) and

covered with a piece of cloth, usually red. At the square end, it is fitted with a sort of rack called *dandan,* which is filled with betel leaves. Two of these boxes are usually displayed at a commoner's wedding, and are deposited on, or quite close to, the steps of the dais. *Essays on Indo-China* (*Second Series*) Vol. I p. 177 contain a translation from a Chinese work, the YING-YAI SHENG-LAN of 1416, which tells how "at a wedding (in Majapahit) the relations, friends and neighbours bring *pinang* and betel, while with garlands of flowers and leaves they *adorn a little ship* which they carry along with the newly-married as a form of congratulation". Now the rack containing the betel-leaves bears the name of *dandan* or, according to Wilkinson, "the platform extension to the deck of a native *pĕrahu,* still in occasional use, and the word is applied moreover both to the stern-platform, serving as a counter, and the bow-platform for working the jibs". Wilkinson adds that "they were formerly fitted as fighting-platforms (*Hang Tuah* 298), or for use by royalty (*mĕndandani singgasana*)".

The wedding rites of the Malays are founded on the theory that the couple are royal for the wedding-day (*Raja Sa-hari*). The phrase *mĕndandani singgasana* "fitted to thrones" is therefore technically correct. And the customary marriages verses, chanted during the procession of the bridegroom and his friends to the bride's house (Malay Magic p. 381), used actually to run:— *Tatang puan, tatang chĕrana, tatang bidok Sĕri Rama:* "Carry the rice-box, carry the betel-salver, carry the ship of Sri Ramai".

W. S. SKEAT.

Semah (Mĕnyemah)

(*Received, April, 1948*)

Wilkinson after quoting *Malay Magic* p. 198, proceed to quote Shaw (*Rice-Planting,* p. 9) as saying that the sword *semah* is only used loosely for such minor offerings (as at the *mĕnyemah durian,* and the *mĕnyemah bĕlat*), and that strictly speaking, it should be confined to ceremonies at which the State Wizard or his deputy is present. In other words the term should be confined to the great triennial, quinquennial or septennial sacrifice offered by the whole state and presided over (in Perak at least) by the Sorcerer Ruler (Sultan Muda) of the kingdom. Such sacrifices were conducted in Kelantan and formerly in Majapahit. But were there similar sacrifices in other Peninsular States? In Selangor, the word *semah mĕnyemah* meant simply the performance of the annual ceremony of blessing the industries of the people, just as in Brittany or other parts of the Continent, and even in England and Scotland, it has been an annual custom down to modern times, to

bless the fishing-boats and nets. In Selangor this custom was not confined to the blessing of fishing-stakes and durian trees, as miners also were "blessed" (*Malay Magic*, p. 621).

W. S. SKEAT.

The Private Letter Books of John Palmer

(*Received, May, 1948*)

These books came into my possession during the War by a fortunate accident and through the good offices of Mr. R. S. MacTier, a colleague of mine and a nephew of the late Sir Reginald Hobhouse Bart., a direct descendant of John Palmer through his great grandfather who married Marianne the only daughter of John Palmer.

Sir Reginald Hobhouse sent me all the volumes and informed me that he did not require them back. After his death I offered them to the Bodleian Library, which accepted them and there they are to-day.

John Palmer was born in India in 1766. He was the son of Major (later Lieutenant General) Palmer, the Confidential Secretary of Warren Hastings. After a short period of service in the Navy (he was in action against Admiral Suffren) he went into the retail business in Calcutta with Mr. St. George Tucker, later a Director of the E. I. Co. After Tucker returned home, Palmer entered into partnership with one or two others, but the firm reached its zenith under the name of Palmer & Co.

As an agency house, Palmer & Co. occupied a unique position in India; its ramifications extended to Penang, Bencoolen, Pegu and Canton, and later to Mauritius, Java and Singapore. John Palmer himself visited Pontianak, Java and Singapore. His position in the commercial world earned for him from Warren Hastings the titile of "The Prince of Merchants".

But politically his position was perhaps even more important. He was the friend and confidant of almost everyone holding high office in the East, from the Governor General down. He acted also as a "go between" on behalf of his Government friends in Penang and officials in the Supreme Government. The Letter Books show how much intrigue and lobbying went on behind the scenes.

Palmer took an early dislike to Raffles. This was originally due to Raffles's comercial policy in Java, which threatened to interfere with Palmer's business in Calcutta. But in addition he was definitely influenced by the attitude of his old friends in Penang, which was consistently hostile to Raffles. It is true that his

letters to Raffles were civil, not to say friendly and often very flattering, but the very next letter in the volume, is likely as not, would be to one of his cronies in Penang, damning Raffles and all his works.

It is clear that throughout his time in the East, Raffles had to contend with this web of intrigue which was being woven at high levels behind his back in Calcutta. Palmer, for example, sided with Farquhar against Raffles when these two fell out. He was very friendly with Van Braam who represented Dutch official interests in India, after the restoration of the Dutch Colonies. A good deal of information which reached Java, about the activities and intentions of Raffles, can definitely be traced to this source.

The firm of Palmer & Co. must not be confused with the Hyderabad house of William Palmer and Sir W. Rumbold Bart. This firm was involved in the tremendous Hyderabad scandal and and it was the avowed policy of Charles (later Lord) Metcalfe to smash it. He ultimately succeeded and the personal friendship of Lord Hastings with Rumbold involved the Governor General, who felt obliged to resign.

William Palmer was the illegitimate half-brother of John Palmer, but the two businesses were quite distinct. Palmer & Co. also came to financial disaster, but for a different and a rather unusual reason. John Palmer could not resist the requests of his friends for loans of money and his generosity was coupled with a wholly unjustifiable confidence in their honesty. In the end he ruined himself. Such, however, was the high opinion of him, not to say affection, held in Indian and British circles that all rallied to his aid and put him back on his feet. He died in 1836.

His other claim to fame is that he was the stout and ultimately successful champion of the Freedom of the Press in India.

I am making considerable use of these Letter Books in the Life of Raffles on which I am at present engaged. I contemplate later editing a selection of the Letters, because they form a valuable background to many of the leading personalities of the period.

C. E. WURTZBURG.

The Earliest Word-lists and Dictionaries of the Malay Language

(Received, February 1949)

Chinese traders settled in Malacca in the 15th century. The Portuguese made themselves masters of Malacca in 1511. The Dutch began their conquests in the Malay Archipelago at the

end of the 16th century and drove the Portuguese out of Malacca in 1641. The English began to make themselves felt in the Archipelago in the 17th century.

For the Chinese their objective was entirely trade; for the Portuguese, trade and the propagation of the Christian religion; for the Dutch and English, trade with the idea in the background of propagating their religion.

To effect their purposes the new arrivals had to establish contacts with the old-established Malay peoples, and not only learn the Malay language, the *lingua franca* of the Archipelago, but provide means for teaching it to those who would carry on their work. Hence the importance of Malay word-lists and dictionaries.

Here is a table, in chronological order, showing the production of the earliest glossaries and dictionaries of the Malay language.

pre-1511 (?)	A word-list, in Chinese characters, of Chinese and Malay words. The absence from the list of Portuguese loan-words provides internal evidence that the list was compiled before the Portuguese capture of Malacca in 1511.
1521	Pigafetta's Italian-Malay glossary written by a midshipman of Magellan's ship "Victoria" while lying in the roads at Tidore in the Moluccas.
1603	"Spraeck en de Woord-boek in de Maleysche en de Madagaskar Talen" by Frederick de Houtman (Amsterdam). Dialogues etc. in the Malay and Madagascar languages.

The author of this, the first book of Malay produced in Europe, was born at Gouda in Holland. He was a most interesting figure. He and his brother Cornelis, in command of the ships *Lion* and *Lioness*, left Holland on the 23 March, 1598, and arrived at Pulau Weh, off Acheh, on the 26 June, 1599. On the 11 November, while Frederick de Houtman and about 30 of his shipmates were ashore, the Sultan of Acheh, sent presents of food poisoned with *kĕchubong* (*datura*) to the ships. While the crews were under the influence of the drug, the Sultan sent his men to attack the ships, and they succeeded in creesing Cornelis de Houtman and many of the crew.

Frederick and his comrades on shore were taken prisoners. A dour Christian, he resisted all threats and inducements to make him a Muslim, and in the end he gained the confidence of the Sultan and was released in 1602. During his captivity he compiled the material for his Malay work which was published in Amsterdam the following year. He was the first Governor of Amboyna (1605), a member of the Council of the Indies (1619), and Governor of the Moluccas (1621-1623). He died in 1627.

1608 A Latin version of Houtman's Dialogues by Magister Gotthard Arthus (Cologne).

1611 "Spieghel van de Malaysche Tale" ("Mirror of the Malay Language") by Albert Ruyl. Place of publication not known. An adaption of Houtman.

1613 Second impression of Arthus's work (1608).

1623 A Dutch-Malay and Malay-Dutch Vocabulary by Caspar Wiltens and Sebastiaan Danckaerts (The Hague).

1624 Augustine Spalding's English version of Arthus's work:

> "Certaine common Formes of Speech, First written in Latin, Malaian and Madagascar tongues by the diligence and painful endeavour of Master Gotardus Arthusius a Dantisker (native of Dantzig) and now faithfully translated into the English tongue by Augustine Spalding merchant
>
> At London
>
> Imprinted by Felix Kyngston for William Welby and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard, at the signe of the Swan 1624".

This was probably the first attempt at providing a manual of the Malay tongue in the English language. A copy of the work is extant in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

1631 "Dictionarium Malaico-Latinum et Latino-Malaicum" by Father David Haex, of the Order of Dominicans (Rome).

In his dedication to Cardinal Francisco Barberini the author explains how he compiled the work:

> "Truly, O Excellent Cardinal, the wisdom of the Dutch has been of service to us in that, while it has for its aim

> a different target (whatever that may be), it has opened a more speedy way for us to propagate the seeds of the Catholic Truth and to carry to the most distant lands the triumphs of the worship of God. They had compiled their Lexicon for the recording of the tongues of the Indies but, serving their own uses, they had employed Dutch words. It has appeared to thee and to the other Fathers charged with the duty of promoting the Catholic cause that it would be worth while if the Dutch words were turned into Latin. And this sphere of work I have willingly undertaken...."

Haex's work is in fact a Latin version of the vocabulary of Wiltens & Danckaerts (1623).

The word-list includes Portuguese-Malay expressions in use in Amboyna, Banda, Java and the Moluccas. Besides words, the book contains idioms and phrases. Some grammatical observations are also included: examples are given of the uses of the prefixes *"men, pen, ber, ter"* but not of *ka-;* and of "the suffixes *ken* (*kan*), *co* (*ku*), *mou* (*mu*), *nya*, *la* (*lah*), *ta* (*tah*)".

Mr E. S. Bretherton, M.C., of the Department of Education, has very kindly presented a copy of Fr Haex's work to the Museums, Federation of Malaya. Six copies are extant in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

1650 Dictionary by Justus Heurnius (Amsterdam).

1673 Reprint of Houtman's work (Amsterdam).

1677 Dictionary by Frederick Gueynier (Batavia).

1707 Reprint by Andries Lambert Loderus (Batavia) of the works of Wiltens & Danckaerts (1623), Haex (1631) and Houtman (1673).

1708 Reprint by Loderus (Batavia) of the dictionaries of Heurnius (1650), and Gueynier (1677).

The Portuguese held Malacca from 1511 to 1641, and during a large part of that period were dominant in many other parts of of the Archipelago. Perusing the above list one is struck by the total absence of Portuguese vocabularies of Malay. It is possible that such vocabularies exist in the Government Archives, Lisbon, or in the Vatican Library, or in the archives of one of the Christian religious orders that had houses in Malacca during the Portuguese regime, but the late Fr Cardon, a leading authority on the Portuguese period of Malacca, informed me that in his perusal of old Portuguese authors, he had never come across references to lexicons

or books on Malay linguistics. The difficulty that St Francis Xavier had in turning his discourses into Malay would argue the lack of facilities for learning that language, though, no doubt, Pigafetta's Italian-Malay vocabulary was available to him.

My thanks are due to the late Fr Cardon, to Sir Richard Winstedt and to Dr G. W. J. Drewes, Professor of Malay, Leiden University, for their assistance in facilitating the writing of this note.

W. LINEHAN.

Straits Settlements Records

(*Received, September, 1948*)

The Archives of the Raffles Museum & Library contains 586 volumes of manuscript records for the period 1800-1867, relating to the early administration of the Straits Settlements under the East India Company. They were originally placed in the Colonial Secretary's Library and were subsequently removed to Raffles Museum between 1939 and 1941. A considerable proportion of the archives relating to the activities of the East India Company in the Straits is to be found in the India Office and the Public Record Office in London, the Imperial Record Room (now the National Archives of India) in New Delhi, and the Secretariat Record Room in Madras, but it seems probable that the records in the Raffles Museum constitute the only documentary evidence present in the Colony of the pre-transfer administration.

An index *nominum et rerum* to the records was completed by Mr. Tan Soo Chye, the Museum Archivist, in April, 1948. It records every individual, event, institution and place mentioned in the original documents.

The following is a classified list of the catalogued records published here for the benefit of those who might have occasion to consult them.

Series	Heading	Period	No. of Volumes
A	Penang, Singapore & Malacca Consultations	1806-1830	66
B	Penang: Letters to London	1805-1830	10
C	Penang: Letters from London	1810-1829	6
D	Penang: Letters to Lndia	1800-1826	11
E	Penang: Letters from India	1804-1831	4
F	Letters from Native Rulers	1817-1837	7
G	Letters to Native Rulers	1817-1845	7
H	Penang: Letters and Orders in Council	1817-1825	14
I	Penang: Miscellaneous Letters	1806-1830	41
J	Penang: Old Indices to Records	1806-1830	17
K	Penang: Miscellaneous	1805-1829	17
L	Raffles Administration	1814-1823	18

M	Singapore: Letters to and from Bengal	1823-1861	11
N	Singapore: Resident's Diary	1827-1829	5
O	Malacca: Resident's Diary	1826-1829	4
P	Commissioner Young's Land Records	1837-1839	5
Q	Singapore: Miscellaneous	1826-1864	11
R	Governor: Letters to Bengal	1831-1867	46
S	Governor: Letters from Bengal	1830-1866	32
T	Governor: Letters to and from Madras	1847-1863	4
U	Governor: Letters to and from Resident Councillors	1831-1867	51
V	Governor: Miscellaneous Letters Out	1824-1867	45
W	Governor: Miscellaneous Letters In	1830-1866	53
Z	Governor's Diary	1825-1866	60
Y	Government House: Miscellaneous	1860-1867	4
Z	Singapore: Letters from Governor	1827-1864	37

Book Reviews

The Chinese in Malaya, by Dr. Victor Purcell. Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, London. February 1948: 327 pages: English price, 18s.

Dr. Purcell's book is a welcome addition to the bibliography on Malaya. The author, who was the President of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, from its resuscitation in the autumn of 1945 until he left Malaya in April 1946, served in the Malayan Civil Service from 1921. He has, therefore, more than a mere academic interest in his subject.

The book is conveniently planned in three Parts, Early History, Special Aspects of the Chinese in Malaya, and Recent Developments.

The author has cast his net wide for the material for his first Part and has brought together within reasonable compass all that has previously been recorded concerning the Chinese in Malaya by a variety of authors. This has long been needed. As Dr. Purcell rightly says, "there have been many articles on the Chinese of Malaya and references to them in books dealing with the country. and some of the descriptions and comments have been by keen observers, but there has been, so far, nothing like a complete survey of the subject." There is, then, in this Part a wealth of material which has been skilfully dovetailed together, to give a coherent account of the development of the Chinese communities in Malacca, Penang and Province Wellesley, Singapore and the Malay States, thus following the order of penetration of these territories by immigrant Chinese. To present-day observers, the size, wealth and increasingly settled nature of the Chinese community in Malaya might well give the impression that it is a community of historically long standing. But it is a fact that when Penang was founded in 1786 there were few if any Chinese living there, and that when Singapore was founded thirty-three years later there were, according to Newbold, only thirty Chinese inhabitants. True, in Malacca, where European settlement began with the Spaniards in 1511, there were earlier Chinese settlers, but in 1750 they numbered only 1,390, and in 1834, by which time Malacca had been in British hands for ten years, they numbered only 4,143. In the Malay States, though there were some early mining settlements, the mass imigration of Chinese did not get under way until about 1850.

The settlement of the Chinese in Malaya is, therefore, historically very recent. This mass imigration is also noteworthy because it was in no sense an officially directed "invasion" but a free migration, and because it was almost entirely a migration of males of peasant type. The effects of these characteristics on the

social pattern of the Chinese in Malaya can be traced in the second part of this book, which deals with Religion, Secret Societies, Social Problems, Labour and Immigration, Political Societies and Education.

Throughout the historical sections of this book references to the influence of Chinese Secret Societies on the history of the development of the Chinese community constantly recur. In addition, one complete chapter is devoted to the subject of Secret Societies. Without a comprehension of the power, the technique and the widespread influence of the Secret Society complex throughout the Chinese community, no true understanding of the history of that community in Malaya is possible. It is significant that although the most baneful of these organisations —the Triad League—was for over fifty years suppressed by the Governments of Malaya, and reduced to a state of comparative impotency before the Japanese occupation, it sprang to life again as soon as Governmental control was released after the Japanese surrender, and attempted at once to exert its power of intimidation over the community. The fear of an impalpable unknown influence which can exert pressure to attain its ends exists still throughout the Chinese community, though not all its manifestations are along the lines of the Triad League. As Dr. Purcell says, "But in the meantime there has been a new development, political organisations, hitherto unknown, had begun to be organised and a great deal of the energy that might have gone into the *hui* (secret society) was impelled in a new direction. The same type of character who had found his forte in secret society organisation was not slow to see the new opportunities. The fact that he was dealing with a movement with a measure of idealism in it, unlike the blatant self-interest and the sterile ritualism of the Triad, was an advantage, not otherwise, to the shrewd professional who knew how to exploit it". Herein lies the danger of regarding any Chinese political party (and the the day of the political party in Malaya has now dawned, as a political party in England would be regarded. It is likely to be something much more powerful than that. As Sir John Pratt rightly says in his book *The Expansion of Europe in the Far East*—"It is a common fallacy to believe that in order to explain some Chinese situation all that is needed is to attach to it some convenient label; such as imperialism, feudalism, democracy, i.e. drawn from the political terminology of the west. It saves much hard thinking, but the results are generally misleading."

Not the least important reason for the failure to interpret the Chinese adequately in terms of western concepts is this powerful undercurrent of secret society activity, which makes men unwilling to denounce in public things and persons which and whom they know to be evil, because the long arm of the unknown influence may stretch out and strike them down. The danger to the community is not merely that there may exist a specific underground organisation, such as the Triad, which may be suppressed and rendered comparatively innocuous, but that the traditional concept of societies contains ideas of pressure elements which are antagonistic to the concept of free association and organisation. In Dr. Purcell's book we find further references to this pressure factor in his chapter on Political Societies in Malaya, in particular when describing the spread of influence of the Kuomintang, its prohibition by the Malayan Governments, and the apprehension felt among leading members of the Chinese community at the proposal to remove the prohibition.

This chapter on Political Societies also gives a very useful summary of the participation by Chinese in Malaya in the Chinese political societes which supported Dr. Sun Yat Sen in his anti-Manchu campaign which led to the Chinese Revolution, and a synopsis of the contents of the San Man Chu I—the Three People's Principles of Nationalism, Democracy and Livelihood, which were embodied in a series of lectures delivered by Dr. Sun in 1924-25, and which are regarded by the Kuomintang, by the Chinese Communist Party and by a host of political parties between these extremes as the apotheosis of China's political doctrine, the goal for which these parties say they are struggling.

The chapters on Chinese Social Problems in Malaya and Chinese Labour and Immigration give, between them, a picture of the method and manner of this tremendous influx of immigrants in the historically short period of some hundred and fifty years. Dr. Purcell has already mentioned in his chapter on Singapore that in 1837 Buckley noted that "up to this time no Chinese woman had come to Singapore from China". The effect of this was firstly the emergence of the "Baba" class of Straits-born Chinese, married to locally born women whose children, following the language of the mother frequently spoke little if any Chinese. Secondly when, in course of time, Chinese women did begin to arrive in Malaya there was a most lucrative field for the business of prostitution, a field which was thoroughly exploited by Chinese entrepeneurs. The rectification of this unsatisfactory sex-ratio has, however, been remarkable, particularly in recent years. The all-Malayan figure for Chinese females per thousand males was in 1911—247; in 1921—384; in 1931—512. In the recent census of 1947, taken since Dr. Purcell's book was written, the figure is 832. This rapidly increasing female population has, in its turn, brought social problems of a different type—the need for the housing of families instead of individuals, the need for educating the rapidly increasing child population. Dr. Pulcell gives an estimate of 94,619 Chinese boys and 36,347 Chinese girls receiving education at schools of various sorts in 1938 and remarks that this represents a percentage literacy to total population of 44% male and 10·7% female, thus indicating the magnitude of the task which confronts the authorities in planning an educational scheme to keep pace with the rapid increase of the Chinese population in Malaya through births alone. But it is a problem not merely of great magnitude but also of great complexity.[1]

In the early days of the "Baba" class, there was reasonable accommodation for their sons in Government and Mission schools, where the language of instruction was English. And from this class and from these schools came the early Queen's Scholars of Malaya, men of outstanding intellectual capacity who after university careers entered the professions, particularly in the Straits Settlements. But the education system did not attempt for many years to deal with the education of immigrant children, nor with the increasingly important problem of educating the local-born children of immigrants. It is true that until recent years there has been a large measure of fluctuation in the Chinese population of Malaya—a continuous ebb and flow between China and Malaya—but year by year the proportion of Chinese immigrants settling down in Malaya with their wives and families has increased consequent upon the rapid increase in the number of Chinese women coming to Malaya, and the inter-marriage in Malaya of the children of these women. For these children, the normal avenue of education was the Chinese Vernacular School, established and largely financed by the Chinese business-men of the area wherever there was a reasonably large group of Chinese settlers. Education in these schools has followed the pattern of education on China, and has drawn its inspiration from teachers trained in China. Dr. Purcell rightly remarks that China has by no means solved her educational problems (what country has?), and it is true to say that the instruction given in these vernacular schools was concerned far more with the indoctrination of the students with political shibboleths and the spirit of Chinese nationalism, than with education as we understand it. The unsatisfactory nature of this form of instruction is dealt with at some length in the chapter on Chinese Education. Dr. Purcell gives the figure of 91,534 children in these schools in the S.S. and F.M.S. in 1938, as compared with 26,974 in Government and aided English schools. This disproportion has greatly increased since the war, and the virtual stoppage of immigration brings into sharp focus the problem of how these Chinese children, for the most part Malayan-born, shall be educated.

[1] It is of interest here to note that the total number of Chinese children attending schools in Malaya in 1948 was over 306,000. (W.L.B.)

In part III of his book Dr. Purrell deals with Recent Developments in the period 1939—46, and these chapters are among the most interesting of a very interesting book. There is, to begin with, an acknowledgement of the part played by the Chinese during the war in Malaya. "We must bear in mind" he says, "that China had been at war since July 1937". This had resulted in a widespread anti-Japanese movement throughout the Chinese in Malaya long before Malaya herstlf was attacked, a movement which was later to bring down the anger of the Japanese authorities upon the Chinese community. "During the Japanese invasion everything the Chinese community could do to assist the British cause they did". The subsequent formation by the Malayan Communist Party of the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army, and the contacts made with this guerilla organisation after the Japanese occupation, by Chinese speaking British officers brought to Malaya by submarine, are described here. These officers, from a unit known as Force 136, lived with the guerillas in their jungle camps and saw, at first hand, the discipline and the propaganda exercised upon members of the Party. The Policy of the Party was summed up in the first article of their programme, published during the Japanese occupation. "Drive the Japanese Fascists out of Malaya and establish the Malayan Republic". Dr. Purcell remarks that this propaganda "was not anti-British sentiments would hardly have been politic. But as Dr. Purcell says military agreement between Force 136 and the leaders of the guerillas, whereby the latter were supplied by the British with arms and money, the expression of anti-British sentiments would hardly have been politic. But as Dr. Purcell says in his chapter dealing with the liberation "The fact was that the Chinese, especially the Communists, had expected that Malaya be reoccupied by a Chinese army —up country, it was later seen, the accent was almost entirely on the war effort of the Chinese guerillas, the A.J.A." And again "It was clear from the beginning that the leftist leaders were making a determined bid for power. Under the terms of the agreement with the Supreme Allied Commander the guerillas were commited to co-operation with the British military authorities, and they were much under the influence of—Force 136 officers—, but the Anti-Japanese Union were under no such restraining influence, and very soon they made it clear that their offer of 'co-operation' with the British Military Administration was nothing more than a pretence."

All this is very much history in the making, and an understanding of the forces at work is vital to the comprehension of what is happening today throughout Malaya. The surprising thing is not that the Communist forces should now be waging war against the Malayan Governments, but that for two and a half years they refrained from open warfare. Doubtless the presence of the mass of fully-equipped British troops was a deterrent.

The author, too, gives an account of various inter-communal incidents; Sino-Malay clashes which bore witness to the gulf between the two communities which had opened during the Japanese occupation. The creation of the Malay Nationalist Party, the United Malay Nationalist Organisation and the Malayan Democratic Union, the re-emergence of the Kuomintang and the interactions between these bodies and the Communist Parties are also dealt with.

Finally the author gives some account of the introduction of the new constitution for the Malayan Union and Singapore, and its rejection by the Malays, resulting in further consultations and the proposals for the formation of the Federation of Malaya.

A full bibliography and an index complete a most interesting and informative study.

W. L. BLYTHE

Malaya's First British Pioneer—The Life of Francis Light, by H. P. Clodd. Luzac & Company, London. September 1948: pages: English price, 12s 6d.

As Sir Richard Winstedt observes in his Foreword, most Colonies would have long since honoured their Founder with a proper biography. Penang has been particularly neglectful. It is only a few years ago that a statue of Francis Light was set up in Penang. Mr. F. J. Wilcoxson, who undertook the commission, had to solve the problem of what features to give to Light and how to dress him. No portrait has ever been found or probably ever existed, but Mr Clodd has at least been able to prove that Francis Light started his career in the Royal Navy, a point on which there had been some doubt.

While the literature concerning Light and the early days of Penang is quite extensive, as Mr Clodd's Bibliography shows, no one before has ever attempted to weave that material into a proper pattern, and to fill the gaps by systematic research in contemporary records. The task was not an easy one, as the negotiations with the two Sultans of Kedah and the changing authorities in Calcutta were very protracted, but Mr. Clodd has done it well.

The decision to form a settlement at Penang was forced on the authorities by the combination of a number of different reasons; the desire of the Admiralty to have a base to the east of the Bay of Bengal, so essential when the movements of a fleet depended on the direction of the Monsoon; the need of the Company for a port of refreshment in British hands for the valuable China trade; the demand of private traders who feared, with reason, that the aggressive policy of the Dutch and their claim to monopolise the whole trade of the East Indies would drive them completely out of the area. It took time for these different arguments to become fused together to make a case so strong that decisive action could no longer be postponed. Mr Clodd, by skilful quotation from contemporary sources, allows the story to unfold itself, and he thus presents a clear picture of the chain of events which was finally to upset the unofficial equilibrium, which had long been tacitly recognised, of the British predominant in India and the Dutch in the East Indies.

But for Light the doors of the Straits of Malacca might have been barred to Britain, and the Dutch have become undisputed masters of the whole Malaysian area. The history of British expansion in the Far East could not then have been written; even our old established trade with China must ultimately have been taken from us.

The stories of Light and of Raffles have many features in common. Beyond question Raffles, while Secretary in Penang, studied Light's methods and principles very closely. Light's sympathetic handling of the Malays, his knowledge of their language and outlook, his advocacy of a "free port" policy, his antagonism to Dutch monopoly, are all mirrored in the life of Raffles. Light's persistent battle with apathy and ignorance, and the very arguments which he used to overcome official inertia, can be paralleled in the despatches of Raffles. Light gave Britain the entry into the Straits of Malacca. Raffles, by securing the exit, gave us control of the whole Straits, and also opened the door to the China Sea and beyond.

Mr Clodd once and for all disposes of the attractive and romantic legend that Penang was the dowry of his bride given to Light by her father the Sultan of Kedah. It is curious that Trapaud and Marsden, both such well informed contemporaries, could have sponsored such a fiction. Trapaud even describes the Malay ceremonies at the wedding! The hard fact, I fear, is, as Crawfurd observed, that Martina Rozells was not even a Malay, and certainly not a princess. She was almost certainly a Portuguese Eurasian, probably from Junk Ceylon where

Light had his base for many years, and where there was a Catholic Mission. Her sister, Mr A. F. Steuart believes, married Light's friend and executor, Captain James Scott. Light himself was never actually married to Martina, but, as he puts it in his will, he "co-habited" with her from the year 1772; that is three years before Penang was founded. Mr Clodd offers a very ingenious explanation of the legend. It is not entirely convincing, but at least it is an interesting incident in the tortuous negotiations which preceeded the cession of the island.

The book is happily free from printer's errors and the errors of fact are trifling. The mortality of Governors at Penang was certainly phenomenal, but not quite to the extent Mr Clodd suggests. Neither MacAlister nor Seton (not Seaton) were victims. MacAlister acted as Governor till Bruce arrived. Seton was only a Governor in name. He accompanied Minto to Java and was given the vacant post so that he might draw a salary. He returned to India when Minto did. Bannerman might have been instanced—he survived only about 18 months. Petrie was Governor, not Lieutenant-Governor, of Penang.

The Bibliography indicates the wide range of Mr Clodd's research, but there are a few criticisms that might be made. The *Prince of Wales Island Gazette* is not included. The legal notices to be found there give some idea of the battle which raged over Light's estate. This probably explains how it was frittered away. *Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya*, edited by Arnold Wright (1908), gives a good deal of information about early Penang and Light, but perhaps Mr Clodd had covered all the ground from other sources. *Penang in the Past* is ascribed to Mr Pasqual. The title-page gives a nom-de-plume, "Book worm"; but it was, I understand, compiled by the late Mr Lim Eng Pheow of the Penang Gazette Press Limited.

The book has a poor cover, but is in nice clear type and eminently readable. It is likely to stand for a long time as the definitive life of a man whom the British Empire has good reason to remember with pride and affection.

C. E. WURTZBURG

Malayan Fisheries. A Handbook Prepared for the Inaugural Meeting of the Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council, Singapore, March 1949. Frontispiece + X + 80 + XVI photograph plates; with line drawings. Price about $3.50.

This handbook is a joint effort of a number of workers, and forms a contribution from the British Territories of this area to the inaugural meeting of the Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council.

The book is in three sections. Part I presents a summary of the results of the three meetings which may be regarded as preparatory to the Council's inaugural meeting; these were held in Singapore in 1947, Baguio February 1948, and Buitenzorg October 1948. Part II presents a very brief description of the fisheries of Malaya, beginning with an account of the geographic setting of the industry and of the fauna and flora of the area. Some account is given of the fishing people, the gear and vessels, the organisation of the industry and the marketing and distribution of its products. The third section consists of appendices of which the first is some brief notes on the fisheries of North Borneo and Sarawak, the second a glossary of Malayan fish names and fishing terms, and the third a bibliography.

The work is well illustrated with photographs by C. A. Gibson-Hill, and maps and line drawing.

B.K.

194.

Corrigenda, Vol. 21, 1948.

Part I, April 1948.

Kempe, John E., and Winstedt, R. O. (A Malay Legal Digest).

p. 24. The sixth line of the Malay text should read, "fi zaman Sultan al-mu'azzam wa'l imam al mukarram wa'l", and the present line, which is an accidental repetition of line 4 of the Malay text, be deleted.

Linehan, W. (Langkasuka, The Island of Asoka).

p. 120. Seventh line from the bottom of the page. For "greated" read "greeted".

p. 121. Eighth line from the bottom of the page. For "1515" read "?515".

p. 122. Twenty-third line from the top of the page. For "Kopën" read "Koppën."

p. 123. Delete the sixteenth and seventeenth lines.

Williams-Hunt, P. D. R. (Notes on Archaeology from the air in Malaya).

p. 151. Thirty-first line from the top of the page. For "Trading" read "Tracing".

p. 153. Last sentence should read:- "Several of these, almost entirely composed of sea shells, have been located a considerable distance inland, and several caves have been found to contain larger middens than could reasonably have been expected to accumulate had they always been at their present distance from the sea."

Part 2, September 1948.

Taylor, E. N. (Divorce & Inheritance).

p. 129. Table of Cases. (Sali v Achik), for 10 read 107.
(Teh v Kalsom), for 105 read 106).

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of the

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(Covering the territories of the Federation of Malaya, the Colonies of Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo, and the State of Brunei)

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Sungei Ujong

by

J. M. Gullick, M.A. (Cantab)

SINGAPORE
Malaya Publishing House, Limited
1949

CONTENTS

Volume 22, part 2, published May, 1949

Page

Title Page i

Contents iii

Council for 1949 v

Editorial & Notice to Contributors vi

Sungei Ujong, *by* J. M. Gullick, *M.A.* (*Cantab*)

Introductory 1

Legend and History 6

The Constitution 21

Dato' Klana and Dato' Bandar 30

The Waris of Sungei Ujong 40

Linggi 54

Appendices

A. Funeral of a Dato' Klana and Election of a Successor 64

B. Unpublished Agreements relating to Sungei Ujong 67

List of Authorities Consulted 68

Map on page 2.

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Editorial

This issue forms the second part of Volume 22 (1949). The first part, a miscellaneous number, was published in April. We hope to produce two further Journals later in the year, if printing costs allow and certain outstanding material comes to hand. One will be devoted to papers on the recent find of gold images at Sambas, in Borneo. The contributors will include Dato Sir Roland Braddell, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, and Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales. The other will contain papers relating to Trengganu. It will consist of a short history of the State by Mr. M. C. ff. Sheppard, and separate papers by Dr. C. A. Gibson-Hill and Mr. A. H. Hill.

Members are reminded that annual subscriptions were due on January 1st, and that the amount for this and succeeding years is $10.00, not $6.00 as in previous years. Subscriptions should be sent to the Honorary Treasurer of the Society, c/o the Raffles Museum, Singapore. Members are also reminded that the price of additional copies and back numbers published since the recent war has been raised to $3.50 per copy, with effect from the beginning of this year. Pre-war numbers remain at their previous price of $2.00.

An index to Volumes 1-20 (1923-1947) of the Society's Journal was published last year; forming part 3 of Volume 21. An index to the publications of the earlier Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (1878-1922), compiled by Mr. C. E. Wurtzburg, was published in 1927; forming part 4 of Volume 5 of the present series. Approximate numbers of the stock in hand of all back issues is given in appendices to the recent index (Vol. 21, pt 3).

Notice to Contributors

In the interests of economy contributors are asked to keep their papers as brief as possible, to avoid the use of foot-notes, and to correct and return their proofs with the minimum delay. Contributions should be type-written, on one side of the paper, double-spaced and with good margins. Line drawings should be in Indian ink, on white paper or Bristol board, and large enough and bold enough to allow of reduction.

Contributors are supplied with twenty-five reprints of their papers, free, shortly after the publication of the Journal (Rule 20). Additional copies can be provided on payment, if these are asked for when the paper is submitted, or when the galley proofs are returned to the Hon. Editor.

Sungei Ujong

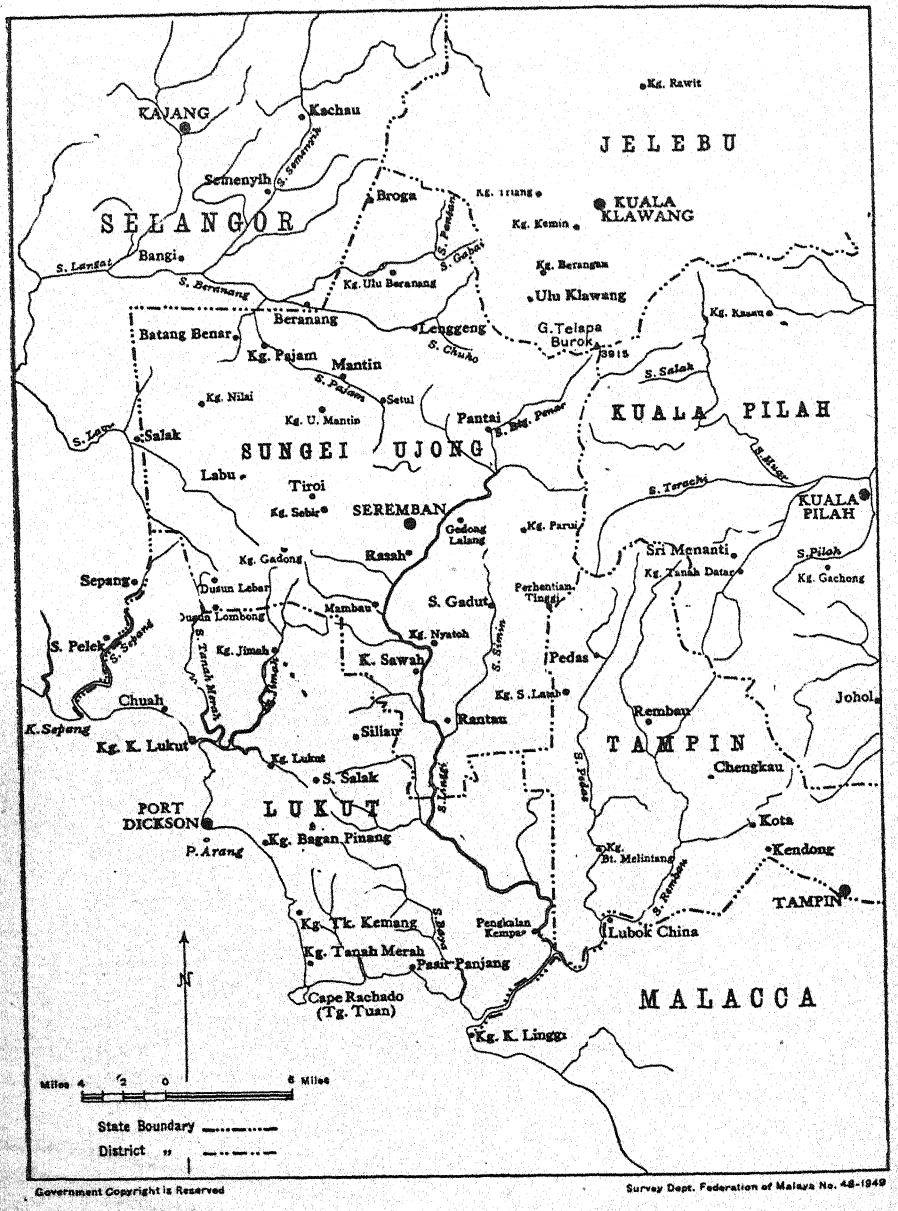
by J. M. Gullick, *M.A.* (*Cantab*)

(*Received, July 1948*)

To ask "Where is this river Sungei Ujong ?" is a fair beginning to the 'adat of Sungei Ujong of which men proverbially say two things "I don't know and "Good Lord, I don't know" when they are asked what it is, and "Good Lord" when they are told.

"Sungei Ujong" should mean "River Ujong" but there is no such river. It is probable that the name "Sungei Ujong" is a false emendation of some old name taken over by Malay immigrants from an earlier language, and so corrupted and its true meaning forgotten. Although "Sungei Ujong" is now the established modern form, it is "Sune Ujon" on D'Eredia's map and "San-yang Hujong" or "Seniang Hujong" in the Sejarah Melayu. To this day old men call it "Semujong" and a legend depends on the form "Sungei Jong". It has been suggested that the original form of the name was "Sang Hyang Hujung" which appears in a Javanese poem of the fourteen century—and which is generally identified with the modern Cape Rachado. "Sang Hyang Hujung" means "Holy head" which tallies well enough with the modern Malay name for Cape Rachado—"Tanjong Tuhan". Sultan Abdul Samad of Selangor, writing in the 1880's, defined Sungei Ujong as the territory along the coast between Sepang and Linggi and extending inland only to the first range of hills. This identification of "Sungei Ujong" with the old name for Cape Rachado is now generally accepted. Two subsidiary problems arise from this identification. The first is how the name of a headland and a coastal area which was part of Selangor until the late nineteenth century came to be the name of another State which had its centre of gravity inland from its foundation several centuries ago. The second difficulty is that D'Eredia and Newbold both place Sungei Ujong near the site of the present Seremban. Related to this is a tradition that "Seremban" is a variant form of "Sungei Ujong". As an hypothesis it is suggested that the name may have been transferred from Cape Rachado to the Malay Settlements inland at the time of the Malay immigration. The name "Linggi" has made a similar progress inland as will be mentioned later.

The Malay legend of the origin of Sungei Ujong tells how a poor but honest family once dwelt on the banks of the Temiang stream above the modern Seremban. The son of the family went forth into the world to seek his fortune. After many years he returned to his home married to a wife of noble family, and the



The western portion of Negri Sembilan, and adjacent territories, showing the present extent of Sungei Ujong and Lukut; printed from a map prepared by the Survey Department, Federation of Malaya.

owner of a junk (jong). He was too much afraid of his proud wife to acknowledge his mother when he met her. The mother cursed her son and his wife; they and their junk were turned into rocks in the river which can be seen at Temiang to this day. Ever after the place was called "Sungei Jong". But the Temiang is not navigable to junks, and other versions of the same story are told about places at Bukit Jugra and Gunong Ledang.

Whatever its name may originally have been, the State of Sungei Ujong has been for centuries one of the leading members of the Negri Sembilan confederacy. The extent of Sungei Ujong is now the administrative districts of Seremban and Port Dickson but within these limits the Bugis settlement of Linggi "mothered by Rembau and fathered by Sungei Ujong" is semi-independent; a separate section is devoted to it at the end of this paper.

Patriotic tradition claims that Sungei Ujong was once much larger than it now is. The Ulu Klawang area which is now included in Jelebu was certainly at one time part of Sungei Ujong, for the Dato' Amar of Ulu Klawang was once a member of the Dato' Klana's Council in Sungei Ujong, and even now he is not a member of the Council of the Undang of Jelebu. Ulu Klawang lies on the Jelebu side of the range which divides the two territories and topography must have played its part in separating Ulu Klawang from Sungei Ujong. Newbold puts Ulu Klawang in Jelebu in 1830 so the separation must have happened within a generation or two of the Malay immigration into Jelebu in the eighteenth century.

A much more debatable claim is laid to that part of Selangor which lies south of the Langat River. The legend runs that the earliest settlements of aboriginees in Sungei Ujong lay between Lenggeng and the Langat river, which was then the boundary between the States of Sungei Ujong and Klang. It is generally agreed that there were no Malay settlements of any importance in this area until the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Then Sultan Abdul Samad took up residence at Kuala Langat and Selangor immigrants came upstream to Kajang, where they settled down under the rule of a son of the Sultan. On the Sungei Ujong side of the river one Raja Hussein founded settlements at about the same time at Beranang and Semunyeh under the auspices of the Dato' Klana of Sungei Ujong. This Raja Hussein was a descendant of Raja Ali of Rembau but he was also a waris of Sungei Ujong through his mother. Raja Hussein did not marry a woman of the waris and his children who claimed after him were not waris of Sungei Ujong. When the frontier between Negri Sembilan and Selangor was settled in the 1880's the territory from Beranang Hilir northwards was given to Selangor,

but Lukut and its territory down to Cape Rachado were given to Sungei Ujong. The claims of Raja Hussein at Semunyeh were recognised and he was offered the choice of becoming penghulu of Semunyeh under the Sultan of Selangor or of becoming Dato' Laksamana of Sungei Ujong. He elected to be headman of Semunyeh but proved incompetent. After a long and patient trial he was deprived of his office and replaced by a kinsman. The kinsman also was incompetent and so the office passed out of the family. The corresponding Lukut question was settled more easily by the payment of $20,000 to Raja Bot, the last Selangor headman. To this day waris of Sungei Ujong still reside at Semunyeh and the boundary was a very sore point with His Highness the late Yang di-Pertuan Besar, Negri Sembilan, who continued to assert the old claim until his death in 1933, by sending letters to the Sultan of Selangor and even by seeking an interview with His Majesty the King at Buckingham Palace in 1925. The question is now considered closed.

Local tradition also asserts that in the days of the aboriginee states Sungei Ujong and Johol had a common boundary on the Sri Menanti river and that Terachi was once part of Sungei Ujong Newbold says "Terachi territory, a portion of which appertained to Sungei Ujong, now claims independence" and he puts the boundary between Sungei Ujong and Sri Menanti at Paroi which is on the Sungei Ujong side of the range between Sungei Ujong and Terachi. It is probable that as in the case of Ulu Klawang, the territory of Terachi may have been part of Sungei Ujong until it was settled in strength by Malays and that it then broke away, partly because of the hill barrier between. But although Terachi as a Malay state has always been one of the group subject to Sri Menanti it has retained a special connection with Sungei Ujong. In the days before the use of motor cars a Dato' Klana's progress to Sri Menanti was a slow and formal affair. In Terachi he broke his journey and was entertained by the Raja di-Muda and the Dato' Terachi. Certain families hold rent free the lands of the Dato' Klana (tanah telapakan) at Terachi on which his party stopped for the night. In court ceremonial at Sri Menanti the Dato' Terachi attends on the Dato' Klana or acts for him.

The modern Sungei Ujong comprises the valleys of two river systems. North-east of Seremban numerous small rivers rise in the foothills of the Jelebu range (Bukit Berembun) and flow down through Pantai and Ampangan to form the Linggi river below Seremban. West of Seremban there is a watershed between the Linggi valley and the basin of the Langat river in Selangor. The southern part of Sungei Ujong along the coast is divided from the interior by low hills. The coastal strip has little natural rice-land and there was not much permanent settlement there prior

to the late nineteenth century except at the Lukut tinfield. The main tide of Malay migration from Sumatra appears to have gone up the Linggi valley to the locality of Seremban and then on to Pantai or over the watershed to the Langat basin.

The heart of true Sungei Ujong is Pantai, the valley of the Jeralang and Batang Penar rivers above Seremban. Although Bendahara Sekudai stopped at Rahang, now a suburb of Seremban, his sons came on to Pantai and founded there the first agricultural Malay settlement of Sungei Ujong. Pantai is now the home of the clan from which the Dato' Klana and other lesser chiefs are drawn and, with its extension to Ampangan where the Dato' Klana now resides, is the political hub of Sungei Ujong. Below Seremban down the Linggi valley lie Rasah, Rantau, and at the estuary the colony of Linggi, all less ancient but parts of the tradition. Although the Linggi valley holds the oldest settlements, including all the villages mentioned by Newbold which the writer can identify, the greater part of the modern Malay population dwells on the north-west side of the Linggi-Langat watershed in the Labu, Setul (Mantin) and Lenggeng (Mandum-Beranang) valleys.

Before the days of towns Rasah, just south of Seremban, was the commercial centre of Sungei Ujong. There was a permanent fair at Rasah to which traders brought their goods by boat up the Linggi. River traffic stopped at Jeboi, three miles above Rasah, and here the tin was brought down to be loaded for shipment to Linggi in exchange for rice, opium, salt, tobacco, cloth, oil and shell for making lime. Rasah itself was a tin mining centre to which the Chinese came in strength from the early nineteenth century onwards. A small colony of Arabs settled here too, and in time became absorbed in the Malay community. Rasah was the domain of the Dato' Shahbandar who became rich with the dues of market and river. Perhaps Seremban, the modern capital of Negri Sembilan, grew out of Rasah at the time of the first Resident in Sungei Ujong. There is no mention of Seremban in tradition or history before 1874. British protection followed a war between the Dato' Klana and Dato' Bandar, and the first Resident may have thought it wise to put himself between them. So he built his first house on the ridge above Channer Road, where there is now a Gurkha camp, on the road between Rasah and Pantai, and near the river and the tinfield. Later the Resident moved to the house which is Now the Mentri Besar's residence and finally about 1906 to the present Residency. The first government offices were on the hill where most of them still are; the Resident's Office on the site of the War Memorial, and below it the Courthouse in which the Health Department is now accommodated. The police station was an atap building on the site of the present F.M.S.V.F. headquarters and the barracks, which are now peon's quarters in

Malacca road, were alongside. Perhaps this focus of law and order attracted foreign traders from Rasah. A row of shops was built at the foot of the hill and named after Captain Murray, first Resident of Sungei Ujong; "Market Road" preserves a trace of the first market site nearby. Murray Street is now a crooked, narrow thoroughfare—the despair of townplanners and traffic experts—and broader, straighter highways named after Paul, Birch and later Residents have become the centre of Seremban.

The origin of the name "Seremban" is uncertain. It may be another variant of the word from which "Sungei Ujong" comes. The accepted Malay explanation is that the town got its name from the old tin workings in the long, narrow dip which runs from the Railway Station padang to the junction of Dunman Road and Channer Road. A mist lay over the water in the workings and the Malays called the place "berembun" which the Chinese corrupted to "selemban" and "seremban". The Chinese have their own name — fuyong — for Seremban which may be a variant of the word. The Malay explanation does not seem at all probable, but it has the authority of the late Dato' Klana, who was born in 1880, and who said that he heard it from men who were old when he was young. Other explanations refer to the bemban tree which grows in quantity on the hospital hill and to the game 'seremban' but neither seems very likely.

Port Dickson, the only other town of any size, owes its existence to the Sungei Ujong Railway built between 1887 and 1891. In the Annual Report of 1888 the place is referred to as Arang Arang but in the following year it became Port Dickson. The town takes its name from Sir Frederick Dickson, Colonial Secretary of the Straits Settlements, who was acting Governor in 1891 when the Railway was opened. A photograph is extant of him opening the Railway.

The modern economy of rubber and tin has overlaid the old pattern of Malay settlement. New areas which were useless a century ago have been developed. New means of transport have opened different lines of communication. The river Linggi has lost its historic importance as the chief route in and out of Sungei Ujong. But beneath the overlay of communications, industries and towns the old Malay pattern is still discernible.

Legend and History

There was no indigenous written history until about 1910 when Mr. D. J. Campbell, then British Resident, suggested to the Dato' Klana that he should write down the history and custom of

Sungei Ujong so that there might be an authoritative record. The book was written by Raja Aman, son of the Raja Hussein of Semunyeh who has been mentioned, who was then Malay Writer to the British Resident. The Dato' Klana consulted with the Dato' Bandar, who was then about 80, and with other old men who were versed in the tradition and gave directions on the composition of the work. It has never been published but various copies are extant: Haji Baghdad, sister of the later Dato' Klana Ma'amor, has inherited a Jawi text with her brother's other papers. One or two typed copies in the Roman script were made in 1938, and others may have been made before. On internal evidence it seems that R. J. Wilkinson referred to his work in preparing the paper on Sungei Ujong which he published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Straits Branch) in 1921 and he cites it in a footnote to his "Notes on the Negri Sembilan".

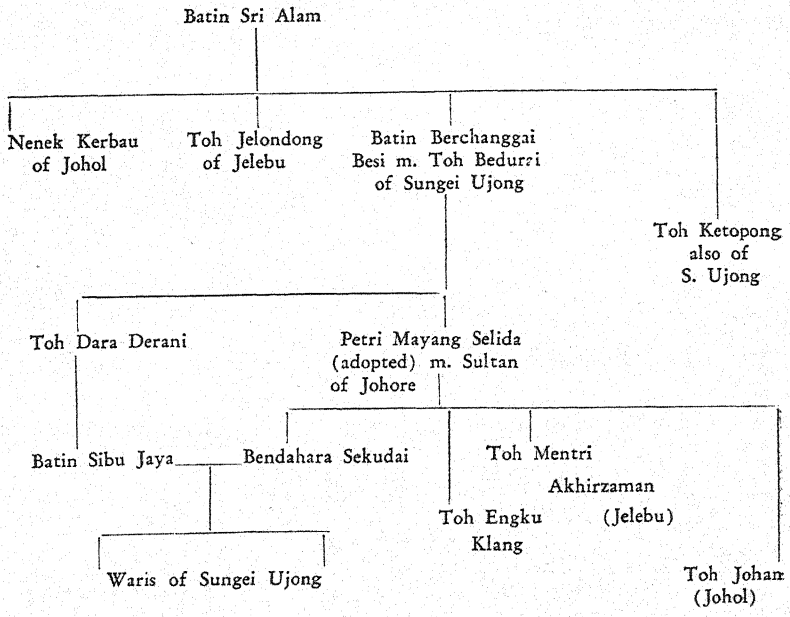
But despite the immense authority of the late Dato' Klana Ma'amor (who reigned from about 1891 to 1945) some passages in the book are not accepted by clans whose status is depreciated thereby. It is argued that the book is not authoritative because it was not laid before the Council of Tiang Balai—such procedure would have been something of an innovation. A more serious objection is that the book is an unsystematic account of legends and customs, interspersed with passages on ceremonial and biassed by local patriotism. It has little to say about any of the clans except the waris Klana. Nevertheless it is of great value as a source-book.

The history of Sungei Ujong is but a part of the history of Negri Sembilan which has already been recounted by various authorities. The object of this section of the present paper is merely to give an account in brief of the legends and tradition of Sungei Ujong, and to touch on those events which are landmarks in the development of the Malay polity as it now is.

The first inhabitants of Sungei Ujong in the period of modern history were primitive peoples who lived by hunting and collecting forest produce; some of them also practised a little shifting cultivation of food crops. Perhaps these people should strictly be called 'Besisi' or 'Jakun', but the Malays of Negri Sembilan call them 'orang bukit' or 'Sakai'. In keeping with general if inaccurate usage they will be referred to as 'Sakai' hereafter. With other Sakai states of Negri Sembilan Sungei Ujong came within the sphere of the Sumatran kingdom of Palembang in the fourteenth century until Palembang was overthrown by Majapahit, the Javanese kingdom. Sang Hyang Hujung (probably 'Sungei Ujong') is

mentioned in the Nagarakretagama as a dependency of Majapahit after the fall of Palembang and Singapore.

The legendary history of Sungei Ujong in the days before the coming of the Malays is very much more legend than history. The legend begins with Batin Sri Alam who fell from Heaven. A man fell standing, a man fell sitting and a man fell lying. He who fell standing was the progenitor of the Rajas, the sitting man was Batin Sri Alam first of the Biduanda, and the man who fell lying was the first of the slaves. Batin Sri Alam visited Negri Sembilan and Pahang, and then vanished into the hills of Sumatra. While he was in Negri Sembilan he found a walking tree stump from which came forth forty-four eggs: these he buried and in time forty-four human beings were hatched out. Batin Sri Alam reared them until they reached the age of shame, gave them bark cloth to cover their breasts and loins, and sent half of them to Sumatra; half remained in Malaya. Another tradition gives Batin Sri Alam four children, of whom Nenek Kerbau founded Johol, Toh Jelondong founded Jelebu, and Batin Berchanggai Besi and his brother Toh Ketopong dwelt at Beranang (Lenggeng) in Sungei Ujong. Batin Berchanggai Besi married Toh Bedurai and had one child, Toh Dara Derani, who herself bore a daughter, Batin Sibu Jaya, who was to marry Bendahara Sekudai. Batin Berchanggai Besi also had an adopted daughter, Petri Mayang Selida, whom he found as an infant in a cave in the forest and reared on fruits and young shoots of trees, for she would eat nothing else. About this time the Sultan of Johore dreamed of a magic princess whom he would find where the water of the river was heavier. So he set forth with all his retinue sailing up the west coast of Malaya and weighing the water of the various rivers one by one against each other to see which was heavier. This eventually led him up the Langat river to its tributary the Semunyeh. The sight of a piece of sugar cane waste and the husk of an ear of maize told him that there was a settlement upstream. So he came to the Sakai settlement at Beranang and married Petri Mayang Selida; on their return the bride disembarked at Johore Bahru which thereby got its old name of Tanjong Petri. Petri Mayang Selida bore the Sultan four sons, Toh Engku Klang, Bendahara Sekudai, Mendika Akhirzaman and Johan Pahlawan Lela Perkasa, who founded Klang, Sungei Ujong, Jelebu and Johol respectively. Bendahara Sekudai came on an expedition to the mouth of the Linggi and found Batin Sibu Jaya at Pengkalan Dian. She had come in flight from an evil spirit inland, and had been saved by a holy man from Acheh who now lies buried in the tomb at Pengkalan Kempas. Bendahara Sekudai married Batin Sibu Jaya, and begot four children who were the founders of the waris of Sungei Ujong. The genealogy set out in this story is:—



This genealogy is too much of a romance to justify serious analysis. Some of the names are improbable, and the begetting of four children is a monotonously regular event in the early genealogies of Negri Sembilan. The theory that the waris of Sungei Ujong derived their title from marriage of their forebears with Sakai princesses has been rejected long since. The genealogy given above is interesting in its double-decker arrangement of Sakai chiefs and Malay founders of the later states. It was remembered later that the former preceded the latter, and Menangkabau custom made it important that the one should be deemed the forebears of the other. The story is a good illustration of what are thought to be the finer points of a good Negri Sembilan pedigree.

But in respect of this period history has few advantages over the legend. In the era of the Malacca Sultanate Sungei Ujong was a fief of the Bendaharas and other nobles of Malacca, who exercised control through local Malay headmen. It is probable that the permanent population of the country at ths time was still only Sakai. The Malacca headmen seem to have been superimposed on the indigenous Sakai states of Klang, Sungei Ujong, and possibly Jelebu and Johol. It is known that Tun Perak, who later became Bendahara, was in his early years headman of Klang, and there is the later episode of Bendahara Tun Perak's local headman who upset relations with the Sakai and was executed for his fault. It is not recorded what the importance was of these good

relations, but it seems safe to conjecture it was trade. In addition to the local Malay headman and the Sakai, there were Malay tin miners and traders who came from Malacca and returned there. They did not at this stage settle down or take up agricultural land. Hence there was scope for trade without any great conflict of interest. Of permanent Malay settlement in Sungei Ujong at this time there is no evidence. D'Eredia, writing over a century later in 1613, says that Sungei Ujong was inhabited only by aboriginees. Schouten in the middle of the seventeenth century mentions twenty-two places with which Portuguese Malacca had trade relations but does not include Sungei Ujong. No doubt there was trade but it seems that there was still no state or authority with whom the Portuguese had commercial relations. The Sejarah Melayu does mention settlements between the mouth of the Linggi and Bukit Jugra in Selangor at the time of the war with Aru about 1480, but these do not seem to have survived into the Portuguese era. Perhaps this was because the Portuguese did not reckon to protect territory north of the Linggi in their long wars. The conclusion is that down to the seventeenth century there was no Malay state in Sungei Ujong, though there was a Sakai population and there was trade and mining in which Malays had their share.

The system whereby the rulers of Malacca had local representatives in Negri Sembilan must have been disrupted by the Portuguese capture of Malacca in 1511. The Portuguese took vigorous action to prevent the Sultan re-establishing himself anywhere near Malacca, but they themselves did not seek to administer very far afield and Sungei Ujong was outside their sphere. In time the connections between the local Malay families of Sungei Ujong, which would tend to become resident there, and the Johore Bendaharas was re-established. The connection was necessarily not strong so long as the Portuguese were in Malacca. Towards the end of the sixteenth century Malays from Menangkabau, who had been immigrating into southern Negri Sembilan, especially Rembau and Naning, for some considerable time, and who had probably been trading and mining in Sungei Ujong for even longer, began to arrive in large numbers as settlers. There were thus three parties who had to reach a mutual accommodation—the Sakai, the Malacca Malays and the Menangkabau Malays. The Sakai would always prefer to withdraw into the hills in face of competition. The Malacca Malays had originally been a foreign and transient element in Sungei Ujong. They held the office of Penghulu Mentri of Sungei Ujong, created by the founder of Malacca during his wanderings before he came to Malacca in 1398, and of Shahbandar, during the pleasure of the Bendahara who appointed them. At first it may be supposed that individual holders of these offices were selected in Malacca and sent out to their tasks. In time certain families acquired a local connection with the dependent territories,

and ultimately came to reside there permanently. In such a way it can be imagined that there developed in these families, originally foreign but now locally domiciled, an almost hereditary right to a certain office. Mediaeval Europe provides examples of the same process. Possibly these local families were related to their patron the Bendahara and possibly they had intermarried to some extent with the Sakai. If so both facts came to be important later. The third element, the Malays from Sumatra, brought with them the custom of Menangkabau to which they were greatly attached. They were willing to accept territorial rulers from the Malacca-Johore dynasties of the territory into which they came, provided that they could also follow their own clan law under control of their own clan chiefs.

Out of such elements could grow the system of waris and suku which appears in most constitutions of Negri Sembilan. In Sungei Ujong itself the system did not follow the model as strictly as the constitution of other states but the essentials are there. The process of development which has been outlined probably occurred gradually in Sungei Ujong during the first half of the seventeenth century. This was a period in which neither Johore nor the Dutch were able to establish any control over Negri Sembilan. When the capture of Malacca enabled them to do so, the constitution of Sungei Ujong was reaching a stage when it needed a little recognition from the higher rulers to give it the seal of respectability.

The Dutch had been in more or less friendly relations with Johore for nearly 40 years before the capture of Malacca in 1641. Their policy was apparently to encourage the rulers of Johore to re-assert their overlordship over the territories north and east of Malacca. This was the most economical way of bringing these territories under indirect Dutch control for the maintenance of law and order and the promotion of the tin trade. Direct dealings with the hinterland led to trouble in 1643 in Rembau and so perhaps the Dutch sent for an envoy from Johore. The Sultan of Johore in correspondence at this time is at pains to attribute to his Bendahara all responsibility for Negri Sembilan, since historically the inhabitants were his tenants. Schouten says that Rembau paid tribute to the Bendahara, and it is likely that the other states in Negri Sembilan did so also. The Bendahara of this time was almost certainly Bendahara Sekudai. The tradition relates that he came on a visit to Negri Sembilan and Pahang. This fits very well with the history of the time, and the visit has been dated in 1644.

In Sungei Ujong Bendahara Sekudai probably found a trading and mining centre at Rasah and Rahang, at which he stayed, with

the Malacca family at Pantai under the Penghulu Mentri and another branch lower down the Linggi under the Shahbandar. These titles Bendahara Sekudai confirmed or, if they were then in abeyance, revived. It would be consistent with the presumed purpose of his visit that he should appoint or confirm a territorial chief and a collector of customs to whom Johore could look for the execution of its orders and the collection of its revenues. The recipients of the titles were glad enough to fortify their position vis-a-vis the Sumatran immigrants by obtaining recognition from the premier Malay state of the day.

The tradition that Bendahara Sekudai bestowed titles on his children by a local Sakai princess may be doubted. He was not long enough in Sungei Ujong to beget the children, inevitably four in number, who are attributed to him nor is it likely that a Bendahara of Johore on the kind of mission which has been supposed would settle down in that fashion. It has been pointed out that the supposed Sungei Ujong children of Bendahara Sekudai did not bear the title of 'Tun' which might still have been usual in the Bendahara family. The ruling families of Sungei Ujong may have been descended from a cadet branch of the Bendahara family and so described loosely as Bendahara Sekudai's children, but this is not the traditional pedigree which is very much more specific. The genealogy which makes Bendahara Sekudai a son of a Sultan was probably manufactured after 1699, when such an idea become more imaginable, and the children in Sungei Ujong also were probably a late invention.

The legend about Bendahara Sekudai in Sungei Ujong is that two sons and two daughters were born to him by Batin Sibu Jaya during his stay at Linggi and Rahang. He conferred titles on them and passed on to Pahang. The two sons were Mohamad Tumbu (called 'Toh Kelambu' and 'Toh Jebat') and Toh Musang, who became the first and second Penghulus of Sungei Ujong. Toh Musang had a son, Toh Penghulu Selat, who married Toh Dara Mudah, daughter of Mohamed Tumbu and so his first cousin. Toh Penghulu Selat was the third ruler of Sungei Ujong. From the children of the two sons of Bendahara Sekudai descend the waris Klana, from which the Dato' Klana is drawn. The office was at this time styled "Penghulu" or "Penghulu Mentri"; the title "Dato' Klana" came later. The two daughters of Bendahara Sekudai married Malays, and are the lengendary ancestresses of two other waris, from which are drawn the Dato' Bandar, who bears the most ancient title in Sungei Ujong, and the Dato' Andika, head of one of the two major groups and senior member of the Dato' Klana's council.

Three tombs ascribed to the two daughters and to Toh Kelambu can still be seen. They lie along the foot of a low ridge just south of Seremban.The tomb of Toh Kelambu is the middle one of the three and marks the boundary between the territories of the two major clan. The authenticity of these tombs is very doubtful.

The legend attributes Sakai wives to the two sons of Bendahara Sekudai and to the founder of another group, the waris Rantau. But it is noteworthy that no such mixed marriages occur again in later generations of the pedigree. This suggests that the Sakai marriages are of later falsification designed to justify the claims of the waris to be inheritors of the land under the Menangkabau custom which they came to adopt. On the other hand it must be said that there is nothing inherently improbable in the idea. Immigrant parties often have a preponderance of males and equalise the sexes by intermarriage with women of other races. A marriage is a good old-fashioned political expedient for setting the seal on a treaty, and the Sungei Ujong legends describe these unions as no more than that. The idea of marrying into the tribe of the aboriginees in order to acquire a right as a tribesman to the tribal land is not unusual. The Kikuyu of East Africa claim their title to land, originally occupied by more primitive people, by virtue of such marriages. But whether or not the immigrants did at some stage intermarry with the Sakai, for the Malacca families were not immigrants at the time of Bendahara Sekudai but earlier, relations between the two races were fairly friendly. There were relatively few Sakai and they did not grudge the Malays the padi land which they did not use themselves. Hence the ubiquitous quarrel between aboriginee and immigrant over land did not arise in this case. The Sakai themselves were attracted by the higher material culture of the Malays, and there is a tradition that many of them were converted to Islam and absorbed into the Malay community and way of life. In parts of Sungei Ujong this process is still going on chiefly through establishment of Malay schools for the Sakai.

At the time of Bendahara Sekudai, and right down to the end of the eighteenth century, the ruling families of Sungei Ujong followed the 'adat temenggong under which political office descended from father to son or occasionally through a daughter. In contrast, the more recent Malay immigrants from Sumatra, who came to form the majority of the population, followed the matrilineal 'adat perpateh in their own groups. During the eighteenth century the 'adat perpateh grew more strongly established and the way was prepared for the adoption of that system by the ruling families.

After the departure of Bendahara Sekudai the ties with Johore which he had established did not last long. Johore itself suffered

a set-back in prestige as a result of the disastrous war with Jambi which led to the destruction in 1673 of the Johore capital. Among the Menangkabau immigrants there was already a party which wanted an overlord from Sumatra. The period of Johore's weakness after 1673 provided an opportunity in Negri Sembilan for a pretender and magician from Sumatra, one Raja Ibrahim, who won some following in Naning and Rembau between 1677 and his death in 1680. There is some evidence that Sungei Ujong also recognised Raja Ibrahim as ruler during his short career. In parenthesis it may be added that even in the year 1945 practitioners of Sumatran invulnerability cults could still command a following in Negri Sembilan. At the beginning of the eighteenth century a Bendahara became Sultan of Johore, and was able to re-establish the old connection with Negri Sembilan. He bestowed a seal of office on the Dato' Bandar of Sungei Ujong among others.

The second object of Bendahara Sekudai's visit in 1644 may have been to create good relations between the Dutch and the people of Negri Sembilan. If this was so his mission was not a great success, for relations did not improve in the long run. Instructions issued by the Dutch authorities to their trading stations and blockade vessels show that they were disposed to consider Malays as bloodthirsty and treacherous savages who would attack as soon as vigilance was relaxed. In the coastal belt of Negri Sembilan the Dutch claimed jurisdiction as far north as Klang, according to Balthasar Bort writing in 1678, but it is not recorded how far inland they reckoned to carry their nominal control of the territory north of the Linggi river. In practice it does not seem that the Dutch did more than blockade the mouth of the Linggi river as the Portuguese had occasionally done before them. Klang and Sungei Ujong produced 400 baharas of tin yearly, but most of it penetrated the Dutch blockade and reached the free markets of Acheh and Bengkalis. The Dutch had no contract of treaty with Sungei Ujong and do not mention any local authority. They evidently considered it to be part of the territory of Johore.

In the eighteenth century Linggi was one of the strategic points in the long wars between the Bugis, the Malays and the Dutch. There was a Bugis incursion of unknown duration into Sungei Ujong which was otherwise little troubled. The hold of Johore over Negri Sembilan grew steadily weaker until the Sultan of Johore making a treaty in 1757, which may have applied to Sungei Ujong as well as Linggi and Rembau, offered to cede most of his territories to the Dutch if they could recover them from the Bugis then in possession. It is not surprising that in 1770 Negri Sembilan broke away from Johore. The Sungei Ujong tradition confuses this event with the struggle between Raja Kechil and Daeng Parani half a century earlier. It relates that when the

rightful heir had been restored to the throne of Johore (sc. Raja Kechil in 1718) the chiefs of Sungei Ujong, Jelebu, Johol and Ulu Muar sent envoys to the Sultan of Johore who made them seek a ruler from Menangkabau. Apart from the confusion about dates, which may be due to further confusion of Raja Melawar and some earlier would-be rulers from Sumatra, it is likely that the story is wrong in suggesting that Johore proposed that Negri Sembilan should go over to the enemy camp; such a policy does not sound like Daeng Kemboja and Raja Haji at work. There was probably a war or at least a complete and unfriendly break. If the Dato' Klana of Sungei Ujong was for a time a Bugis, his supersession and the break may have come together. The reasons for the break were that Johore was weak and was still, until 1784, in the hands of the hated Bugis, whereas the large majority of the Malays in Negri Sembilan were now of Sumatran stock and their loyalties lay with Menangkabau and not with Johore.

The story goes that the envoys went to Siak and thence to Pagar Ruyong, capital of Menangkabau, and asked for an overlord of Negri Sembilan in place of the Sultan of Johore. The Sultan of Menangkabau sent one Raja Khatib to explore the situation. He persuaded the envoys returning with him to acquiesce in his deception that he himself was the Sultan of Menangkabau. By this trick he won temporary acceptance as Yang di-Pertuan Besar but he was soon displaced by Raja Melewar, the true Ruler sent from Menangkabau. Raja Melewar was installed by the four Undang of Sungei Ujong, Jelebu, Johol and Rembau (which now replaced Klang) at Penajis in Rembau in 1773 and then moved to Sri Menanti, which since that time has been the seat of the royal family in Negri Sembilan. In passing it may be remarked that the local ruling chiefs of Negri Sembilan sought in this arrangement no more unifying control than they had had from Johore. A resident ruler was bound to attempt more than that. This was one of the causes of the wars of the next hundred years in which Sungei Ujong was involved.

Raja Melewar (1773—1795) was succeeded by Raja Hitam (1795—1808) and then by Raja Lenggang (1808—1824); both of these successors were summoned from Menangkabau. The fear of the Bugis which had held the Negri Sembilan confederacy together diminished with the decline of Bugis power. The royal family of Sri Menanti became more determined as their local connection and sphere of influence extended over the inland states of Negri Sembilan. The increase in tin miners enhanced the revenues of the Linggi traffic and set the states against each other in competition for this wealth. In such a situation wars for one pretext and another were only to be expected. Rajah Laboh (Yam Tuan Siti), the last ruler summoned from Menangkabau, was never

secure on his throne and by about 1832 Tengku Radin, son of Raja Lenggang, had obtained the succession. Sungei Ujong had its part in the dynastic wars of 1824—1832, and Dato' Klana Kawal twice played the kingmaker, changing sides after a celebrated quarrel over the bets on a cockfight. The outcome of these wars was the severance of the tie with Menangkabau, and the substitution of an hereditary royal family for a succession of rulers for life summoned from Menangkabau.

In Sungei Ujong the period 1750—1835 produced several internal changes. The ruler of Sungei Ujong changed his title from Penghulu Mentri to Dato' Klana. The local chronicle discusses at some length the question whether the new title was conferred by a Sultan of Johore or by Raja Melawar, but glosses over the fact that the title "Dato' Klana' is Bugis. Even the tradition admits that Bugis invaders reached Pantai and built a fort, the site of which is still remembered. It is a reasonable guess, but no more than a guess, that this invasion occurred during the period 1753—1760, when the Bugis were in strength at Linggi. During this invasion the Dato' Mandika, chief of Pantai, withdrew with his followers to Rembau; the Penghulu Mentri is said to have been in Singapore (then uninhabited) seeing the attack of the fish, which had occurred at least 400 years before, but at all events there is no Malay Penghulu in the story at this time. This makes it easier to accept the suggestion that Penghulu Mentri Chantek and his son Dato' Klana Bador, the first to bear that title, were Bugis who had perhaps married into the local ruling family. The title which was imported was borne by Raja Haji a few years later when he was assistant to Yam Tuan Muda Daeng Kemboja at Riau. The tradition goes on to tell how the Bugis were expelled by the Malay refugees from Rembau, led by a man of Rawa whose exploits led to the creation of an hereditary title (Lenggang Berbut) for his descendants.

This period also saw the rise of the Dato' Shahbandar to the status of an independent ruler. The office of Shahbandar had been held since at least 1715, and probably from long before that, by the Dato' Sri Maharaja di-Raja, head of the Waris di-Ayer, which is one of the clans claiming descent from Bendahara Sekudai. The territory of the Waris di-Ayer lies on the middle Linggi below Seremban and it was natural that the chief of such a group should be appointed customs collector for Johore. It was a highly profitable office and the Dato' Bandar-Dato' Raja prospered exceedingly. Wealth, territorial influence and the authority of Johore enabled him to flout the Dato' Klana's orders and arrogate to himself the powers of a territorial ruler (Undang) and thus make a principality of his own. This is the origin of the anomalous position of the Dato' Bandar in the modern Sungei Ujong constitution. When

Negri Sembilan broke away from Johore in 1770 the office of Dato' Bandar should have lapsed, but it did not. At the end of the eighteenth century Dato' Klana Leha was strong enough to insist on the separation of the two offices of Dato' Bandar and Dato' Raja, which since that time have been held by different individuals. The result is that the Dato' Raja is, as he always was, head of the Waris di-Ayer and above him stands a Dato' Bandar, who in strict theory has no place in the constitution at all but who in practice exercises some of the powers of an Undang over the Waris di-Ayer. If Dato' Klana Leha's object in separating the two offices was to weaken both he failed in his object. The Dato' Bandar's power was not diminished and until the era of British protection he was usually able to defy the Dato' Klana and act as an almost independent ruler.

The 'adat perpateh was adopted as the recognised or established custom of Sungei Ujong either at the end of the eighteenth century or in the first decades of the nineteenth. The tradition is that Raja Melewar introduced the 'adat perpateh in 1770. His coming may have induced the undisputed acceptance of the Sumatran custom in other parts of Negri Sembilan where there had till then been some doubt. It may be noted that the Bugis were turned out of Rembau for nonconformity with the custom in 1783, a few years after the coming of Raja Melewar. But these Bugis then came to Sungei Ujong where Dato' Klana Leha allowed them to settle on the vacant land at Linggi, in his territory but away from the Sumatran settlements. This suggests that the 'adat perpateh was observed by the Malay immigrants in Sungei Ujong at this time, but was not the established custom having the force of law. More direct evidence is obtained from the devolution of the office of Dato' Klana at this time. About the beginning of the nineteenth century Dato' Klana Leha was succeeded by Dato' Klana Bahi, who was by matrineal descent of the opposite half of the Waris Klana to his predecessor. But he may nonetheless have been a close relative, even a son, of his predecessor. Twenty years later there was a succession war between Bahi and one Kawal, a matrilineal descendant of Leha. Kawal eventually became Dato' Klana. This is the origin of alternation of office between the two sections of the Waris Klana. The matrilineal genealogies of the Waris Klana now extant go back no further than Bahi and Kawal, who are treated as founders. The local tradition merely states the familiar rules of the 'adat perpateh which were introduced but does not say how the change was made. If as an hypothesis it is assumed that the entire Malay population of Sungei Ujong had until then followed the patrilineal 'adat temenggong the change would have been revolutionary. It would have meant a complete re-arrangement of the clan genealogy. A man who had hitherto belong to the clan of his fathers would have had to trace back his

pedigree on the distaff side right back to Bendahara Sekudai's children with all the conflicting evidence of an oral tradition, and in the remoter stages the difficulty of finding any connection at all with the probably mythical founders of the waris. He would then have to ally himself with those strangers whose pedigree was the same as his. This can hardly have happened. It is suggested that the majority of the Malay immigrants from Sumatra and their descendants had followed the matrilineal 'adat perpateh ever since their first arrival. This determined clan relationships, family ties, the distribution of property and the code of behaviour. But it was a personal law which they had to enforce for themselves through their clan authorities since the major territorial chiefs did not recognise it, or perhaps recognised it only as an alien custom applicable as personal law. The introduction of the 'adat perpateh to which the tradition refers was the change whereby the waris families of Malacca origin went over to the matrilineal system in their own relationships, and made it the established territorial law of the state. Even this was not a very sweeping change as the 'adat temenggong recognises matrilineal relationships for clan purposes but stresses patrilineal descent in the devolution of office and property. In sum, the adoption of the 'adat perpateh was a constitutional change which brought the political system of the ruling families into line with the existing social organisation of of the majority of the population.

It should be said also that the matrilineal clan system of Sungei Ujong has a territorial origin. Most of the clans bear place names as their titles, and there are numerous instances in the tradition of a band of immigrants being absorbed into a clan as a separate but inferior group. Hence a clan is made up of various groups of different status, each matrilineal and exogamic but united together by the accident that their forbears settled down in the same area and came to accept the authority of the so-called clan chief (lembaga) of that territory. The effect of adopting the 'adat perpateh as a political system in such a clan would merely be to change the method of rotation and appointment to territorial office.

In the early nineteenth century the production of tin in Sungei Ujong increased owing to the influx of Chinese miners. There had been Malay mining on a commercial scale for centuries past. Batak and Rawa serfs from Sumatra were brought in as mining labour. But the Chinese miners were much more industrious and skilful than the Malays. Hence they were allowed to take up the tinfields and mine them in consideration of a lump sum or a percentage to the Malay chief or landowner. In 1828 there were nearly 1,000 miners in the tinfields around Rasah, but shortly afterwards there was trouble between Malays and Chinese,

in consequence of which the majority of the Chinese fled to Selangor. In 1830 four hundred miners from Malacca took their place and mining continued on an increasing scale. In 1874 there were 15,000 Chinese in Sungei Ujong. Small towns like Mantin owed their existence to Chinese mining. The increase in the output of tin was reflected in the revenues of the Linggi river traffic.

There was constant strife between the Dato' Klana and Dato' Bandar. In 1849 this flared up into a war over the Dato' Bandar's refusal to make a war contribution from his large resources to some enterprise of the Dato' Klana. The Yang Di-Pertuan Besar intervened and imposed a settlement whereby the Dato' Klana received a fixed share of the Linggi revenues, but the Dato' Bandar was recognised as his political equal. No doubt this was a fair settlement in the circumstances of the case but it was also a shrewd stroke of diplomacy by Sri Menanti; 'divide and rule' is a sound maxim. But as a settlement the award settled nothing; the two contestants fought it out spasmodically for another quarter of a century. Dato' Klana Kawal, the turncoat but choleric fighter of the 1830's, had died before this. His successor, Dato' Klana Sending, was succeeded by a foreigner, Dato' (or Tengku) Klana Syed Abdul Rahman (or 'Aman'). This Syed was a son of an Arab from Acheh who married the sister of Dato' Klana Bahi. Abdul Rahman's appointment as Dato' Klana was not popular and throughout his career he seems to have relied to some extent on foreign mercenaries. His principal opponent was Dato' Bandar Tunggal (Abdullah bin Ahmad). The Dato' Klana was a better diplomatist and the Dato' Bandar was a better fighter. So the struggle went on until 1874.

The foreign relations of this period were a reflection of the internal differences. The Dato' Klana was in passive alliance with Tengku Kudin, the Selangor viceroy, and with Bendahara Wan Ahmad of Pahang, who tried to bring the Dato' Klana into the Pahang war of 1862-3. This friendship with Wan Ahmad precluded cordial relations between the Dato' Klana and the Maharaja of Johore, whose sphere of influence extended to Rembau and Sri Menanti. The Dato' Bandar supported the rebels in the Selangor war and one of them, Raja Mahmud, came to fight for the Dato' Bandar in the Sungei Ujong war of 1874. The Dato' Klana was on better terms with the British authorities in Singapore than the Dato' Bandar was.

The coastal belt of Sungei Ujong north of Linggi had for some time past been part of Selangor rather than Negri Sembilan. The administrative centre in the middle of the nineteenth century was the mining village of Lukut founded by Raja Busu of Selangor.

The territory extended from Lukut to Sungei Raya near the mouth of the Linggi. Lukut became a semi-autonomous state under the protection of the Sultan of Selangor; it had 200 Chinese miners as early as 1824. The founder of the settlement, Raja Busu, was killed in a Chinese revolt. He was succeeded by Raja Jumaat who governed well and made Lukut a model state for his time. The last Selangor headman, Raja Bot, was bought out when Lukut was included in Sungei Ujong. Something of the fort at Lukut still remains.

Sungei Ujong was significant to the authorities in the Straits Settlements because it produced tin, and sheltered pirates and participants in civil wars. From before 1850 pressure had been brought to bear on the Dato' Klana to suppress the illicit toll stations on the Linggi. Various efforts were made to comply with this request. In 1874 a treaty was made between the Dato' Klana and Dato' Muda Linggi on one side, and the British government on the other, whereby in consideration of assistance the local chiefs promised free passage up and down the Linggi to traders. No doubt the Dato' Bandar stood to lose more by this than the signatories of the treaty, and in any event he was no Anglophile. He started a war and the Dato' Klana, aided by a small detachment of British troops, came out the victor. Dato' Bandar Tunggal was defeated and deposed; his place was taken by one Ahmad, an ally of the Dato' Klana in the fighting, who was to prove an equally redoubtable upholder of the independence of the office. Some years before the Dato' Klana had quarrelled with Tengku Antah who claimed the office of Yang Di-Pertuan on the death of the last holder in 1869. Tengku Antah attacked Sungei Ujong in 1876. He was defeated, fled to Johore and was eventually restored as Yang Di-Pertuan of Sri Menanti, not of Negri Sembilan. In consequence it was necessary to have separate British officers in charge of Sungei Ujong and Jelebu, and of Sri Menanti, Johol, Rembau and Tampin. By treaties of 1887, 1895 and 1898 a unified Negri Sembilan was built up again, and the union cemented by the installation of Yang Di-Pertuan Besar Mohamad by the four Undang in 1898.

The advent of British protection brought several changes in Sungei Ujong. The process of unification made it necessary to fit the Dato' Bandar, hitherto an almost independent ruler, into the constitution of a single state. After an unsuccessful experiment at what came to be called in Africa Indirect Rule, i.e. administration through the hierarchy of customary chiefs, the attempt was abandoned; government headmen, appointed after consultation with the Dato' Klana, together with British District Officers, took over the executive functions of local government. The old customary revenues of the Dato' Klana, Dato' Bandar and the waris were

commuted into fixed allowances. A sort of State Council was set up for Sungei Ujong alone in 1878, but this was later merged in the State Council of the re-united Negri Sembilan.

The Constitution

The constitution of Sungei Ujong is decked out in the familiar garb of the 'adat perpateh with a territorial ruler set over a group of clan chiefs. But this raiment was donned only a century and half ago and it has never been a very good fit.

The 'adat perpateh presupposes a society divided into groups and sub-groups according to matrilineal descent. The 'adat does not fit easily on to a community built up by successive waves of immigrants who settled down under territorial chiefs. The cloak of 'group' and 'clan' can be cast over such a society but it seems incongruous. The fact is that the actual course of events in Sungei Ujong was very different from the orthodox account of the origin of an 'adat perpateh constitution.

The legend of Sungei Ujong runs that the first Malay immigrants found the Sakai in possession of the land. The Sakai admitted certain Malay chiefs to intermarriage and so created the line of the Biduanda or waris clan which inherits from its aboriginal ancestresses the right to provide a governor of the territory and to receive its revenues. Hence it is that the Undang is drawn from the waris group and that new settlers must pay dues to the waris group for the vacant land which they take up. The waris are also entitled to the revenues of customs and markets. It has already been suggested that the waris may be descended from the first Malay families to settle in Sungei Ujong but that their title derives from their feudal overlord, the Bendahara of Malacca or Johore.

The legend continues that the later Malay immigrants accepted the claims of the waris groups and the authority of their Undang but demanded recognition of their own clan chiefs as authorities within the clans for the settlement of clan questions under the custom. This relationship usually crystallised in the form of a Council of Chiefs which the Undang must consult on matters of importance. With the reservation that the clans were territorial and not lineal groups in origin this part of the legend fits the history of Sungei Ujong well enough. But the distinction between waris and other clans has never been as clear-cut as it is in, for example, Rembau.

The result of this process of development is a society consisting of matrilineal groups and sub-groups, both waris and other clans. Each clan and sub-clan has a chief, chosen from among the members of the clan and holding authority only over the members of the clan. The Undang, however, is a territorial ruler, drawn from the waris clan but with authority over all, waris or clansmen or foreigners, who are within his boundaries. His authority is subject to the rule that he must consult his council of chiefs and he may not interfere in matters within the chiefs' jurisdiction unless he has been invited to deal with the matter on appeal.

The story of Bendahara Sekudai and his children who founded the waris has already been given. The later immigrants instead of remaining separate units, as they have done in other states of Negri Sembilan, became attached to the waris as additional sub-clans. Their status varies in different cases. The consequence is that instead of two dinstinct classes, waris and other clans, standing in constitutional opposition to each other, the system comprises the waris, divided into two clans owing to the historical accident of the Dato' Bandarship, each clan having an accretion of sub-clans descended from Sumatran immigrants of various epochs.

This arrangement grew up on a territorial basis. The founder families had recognised territories. Later settlers who came into the territory of either half of the waris accepted the overlordship of the chief of that half of the waris. The waris chief admitted the right of the new arrivals to have their own headman provided that the headman accepted the orders of the waris chief. The terminology used to describe this arrangement is partly words of the strict 'adat perpateh used in an extended sense and partly words of local usage in Sungei Ujong. The waris chiefs are called 'Lembaga' which means clan chief and is not entirely correct when applied to a territorial chief. The most privileged families who claim descent from the children of Bendahara Sekudai are called 'waris'; these groups alone have the right to provide the lembaga, subject to rules of rotation between sub-groups in the waris itself. The less privileged groups are called 'suku' or 'persukuan,' meaning 'clansmen'. The whole group of waris and suku subject to one lembaga, and the territory within which they reside, is called 'lingkongan': perhaps 'circle' would be a fair translation. One of the customary sayings is "lembaga berlingkongan"—the group chief has his circle of subjects and territory—; so far as can be discovered this saying is peculiar to Sungei Ujong. The lembagas form an Undang's council of "Lembaga Tiang Balai". In addition there are one or two chiefs, independent of the lembagas, who are under the immediate control of the Dato' Klana. These chiefs are called "Dato' bergajah tunggal'. Lesser chiefs of sub-

clans, who are subjected to a lembaga, are called "ibu bapak" or "tua".

A full account of the various waris and allied groups is given later. Here it may suffice to describe briefly the components of the Sungei Ujong constitution before coming to the way in which the constitution works. The Undang of Sungei Ujong is the Dato' Klana Petra. He is the nominal leader, lawgiver and judge of his people. He is the Sungei Ujong representative among the Rulers of Negri Sembilan, in whose name the government is carried on. In the exercise of his functions he consults with the Dato' Shahbandar who himself exercises certain functions of an Undang towards the Waris di-Ayer. This may be left for later consideration. After consulting with the Dato' Bandar the Dato' Klana should take the advice of his Council of Lembaga Tiang Balai. This Council should consist of:—

Dato' Andalika Mandulika of Waris Di-Darat

Dato' Sri Maharaja Di-Raja of Waris Di-Ayer

Dato' Akhirzaman of Waris Rantau

Dato' Amar Penghulu of Waris Ulu Klawang

But the Dato' Amar Penghulu is no longer eligible to sit in the Council because he is a Jelebu chief. The place of the Dato' Amar Penghulu is filled by either one of the Dato' Bergajah Tunggal who are

Dato' Penghulu Muda of Labu

Dato' Dagang of Paroi

The waris of Sungei Ujong are as follows:—

Waris	*Territory* (lingkongan)
Waris Di-Darat	Mukims of Pantai, Ampangan, Lenggang, Setul and part of Seremban.
Waris Di-Ayer	Mukims of Rasah, Labu and part of Seremban.
Waris Rantau	Mukim of Rantau.

But in major constitutional questions the Waris Rantau is reckoned to be affiliated with the Waris di-Ayer. The Waris di-Darat includes two separate sections, the Waris Klana and the Waris Dato' Andika. There is therefore a rough balance between the two major groups, one of which has the right to provide the Dato' Klana and the other the Dato' Bandar. Both claim descent from

the children of Bendahara Sekudai, and each jealously resists any attempt by the other to assert any superiority. The proverb runs

Hilang di-Darat di-Ayer mencharikan

Hilang di-Ayer di-Darat mencharikan

Laksana mata hitam dengan mata puteh

Telor sa-biji sama di-tatang, pesaka satu sama di-bela

This proverb is quoted particularly to express the idea that the Dato' Klana and Dato' Bandar are joint holders of the office of Undang, and that each is automatically regent for the other by a rule of 'survivorship' if either office falls vacant. Such a proposition cannot be accepted in full. The Waris Rantau claims descent from the son of an Undang, and therefore a descendant of Bendahara Sekudai, who married a Sakai Chief's daughter. By the customary standards they are waris, but their standing is lower than that of the other two waris.

Women are eligible as members of these waris to take part in their deliberations and even to hold office. In practice they are rarely appointed to hold office. At the present time a sister of the late Dato' Klana is Dato' Laksamana; there was no eligible adult male at the time when she was appointed.

Appointments to all group, waris and clan chieftainships are made by election of the members of the group subject to confirmation by the higher authority above the office to be filled. In the case of a chieftainship over a clan made up of several sub-clans of equal status there is usually but not always a rule of rotation (giliran), whereby the office is held in turn by members of the different sub-clans, each appointed for life and each succeeded by a member of the sub-clan next in rotation. Sub-clan chiefs are elected by the clansmen from among their own number; sub-clans (perut) are generally not sub-divided and no question of rotation arises, but if there are subdivisions (ruangan) there will usually rotation. The appointment is not effective unless and until the clan chief in whose clan the sub-clan is included confirms the appointment. A group or waris chief (lembaga) is chosen by the sub-clan chief of the group who must first consult their clansmen and represent their views. The appointment must be approved by the Undang. The proverb runs:—

Bulat suku menjadikan ibu bapak
Bulat ibu bapak menjadikan lembaga
Bulat lembaga menjadikan penghulu
Bulat Undang menjadikan raja

In practice an election consists of a preliminary meeting of a few elders and influential people whose recommendation is then put forward to a full meeting of the electors.

All elections are subject to a rule that the electors cannot reach a valid decision unless they are unanimous (kebulatan). In Sungei Ujong, Rembau and Jelebu this rule is construed to mean that any minority, even if it be only one person and even its motives are merely family or clan partisanship, may veto the will of the majority. It has been suggested that the proper interpretation of the rule is that after there has been full discussion and the matter comes to a vote the minority must then record its acceptance of the majority view by voting with them. In the Kuala Pilah District, where the 'adat perpateh in its purest form is much more firmly rooted than in Sungei Ujong, it has long been the practice to hold elections by majority vote. After general discussion of the rules of rotation which apply and of the eligibility of the candidates proposed, the meeting is called upon to line up behind the candidate of their choice; heads are counted and it is assumed without more ado that the minority will accept the candidate who has the most voters. It is a pity that this system is not generally adopted elsewhere in Negri Sembilan.

In assessing the merits of the candidates in these elections the electors consider three things chiefly, in addition to their own family ties with the candidates. These are:—

Saka

Baka

Sharat Memerentah

Saka is clan right which is inherited from one's mother in a matrilineal society. Examination of a candidate's saka is a fairly simple matter of scrutinising his family tree on the distaff side to ensure that he really is of a fully eligible branch of his clan and that his female forebears were before him. In some circumstances an adoption in a pedigree is a bar and there are cases of branches of clans, eligible by birth, which have been disqualified from holding office either permanently or for a number of cycles of the rotation, because of some offence against the custom. In order that there may be no doubt about saka, written genealogical tables, going back a century and a half or more, are kept by chiefs and produced in case of argument. Baka is a more complex conception; it is both hereditary characteristics and the lustre of a good family name or of inherited wealth. It relates more particularly to the paternal side of the pedigree but so far as my enquiries go it seems that

male ascendants in the maternal line are also taken into account. Great weight is given to holding of office by an ascendant; it is held to show an hereditary suitability for office in the family. One may wonder if in this attitude there is any trace of a belief in the magic powers attributed to tribal chiefs in some pagan races, such magic being an almost physical characteristic which will be inherited by the children. Sharat memerentah is personal capacity for rule. Deformity, even if slight, or madness would be a bar. One of the most important aspects of sharat memerentah is knowledge of the custom, which is rightly considered an essential qualification for customary office. Candidates do not attend election meetings themselves and there is no question of any catechism to test their knowledge. But elders can speak from their knowledge of a candidate's upbringing. A well-brought up child has been taken to clan meetings ever since it was of school age; parents would be criticised for failing in their duty if they neglected to bring their children to these meetings. As a young man the candidate may have studied the custom under the instruction of some elderly expert. He may have aired his knowledge by speaking at previous meetings when it was proper for him to speak. In modern times many other more obvious qualifications are looked for. An education at the Malay College at Kuala Kangsar is considered such an important factor that an Undang has been known to say that he must have a voice in the selection of boys from his area who are to go to the College, because this may in time to come affect the choice of a successor to the Undangship. A successful career in the government service, especially in the senior services, is a useful qualification. Devoutness, the pilgrimage to Mecca, religious study and a Syed's descent from the Prophet may also enter into consideration. But devotion to Islam does not always make a successful upholder of the customary law. Finally it may be remarked that in Sungei Ujong where so many waris are related to Sumatran families, consideration of heredity very quickly carries the meeting across the water to the dignities and titles of a country little known to the British enquirer.

This question of elections has been described at some length since it is one of the aspects of the customary law in which the government is much concerned if the office which is being filled carries the right to a political allowance. All importance offices come into this category. The decision of the electors or of the authority next above the vacant office, to whom the right of appointment passes if the electors are not unanimous, considered in the State Executive Council and if approved there, the allowance is paid. Any disputed election therefore leads to the receipt of several petitions from disgruntled candidates. The possible grounds of objection are many—decisions on eligibility and rotation are the most usual. A matter which

gives rise to much dissatisfaction on occasion, without being a breach of any rule, is the tendency of certain families to monopolise high offices which in theory should rotate round a cycle of separate clans. The rule of baka, which has been stated, encourages the holders of office to intermarry so that the children of such family alliances have a distinguished pedigree on both sides. The practice may reach a point where a chief marries a woman of the group from which the next holder of his office may be drawn, always provided that such intermarriage is permissible, and hopes that his son by mother right and paternal lustre will succeed him.

Two examples may serve to conclude consideration of elections and the rules of personal suitability for office. The present Dato' Andika of Waris di-Darat, who was elected as long ago as 1911, is a Syed and through his mother the grandson of Dato' Klana Syed Abdul Rahman. From his father he inherits high rank in the Sumatran kingdom of Langkat (?) and is therefore addressed as "Engku". The late Dato' Klana Ma'amor bin Kassim C.B.E. was appointed in 1891 at the age of about 11 when his personal qualities can hardly have been known. But he was a grandson of a Dato' Andika and his mother was Telaga Undang. When he grew up he married the daughter of the Dato' Bandar and grand-daughter of his predecessor, Dato' Klana Lela Setia Mohamed Yusof, who was a woman of the other half of the Waris Klana. The sons of this marriage were therefore eligible for appointment to the office of Dato' Klana upon the the death of their father. One of them was a strong but unsuccessful candidate at the election in 1945. Dato' Klana Ma'amor also had three daughters, all of whom married men who were sons of immigrants of good birth from Sumatra. One of these sons-in-law later became Dato' Bandar. Any of the grandsons of the Dato' Klana through his daughters are eligible to succeed at the next alternation but one.

In primitive law justice is a matter between groups rather than individuals, and criminal law is merged with civil in one system of compensation by the wrongdoer's group to the group of the sufferer. This is complicated by the fact that a married man belongs to his wife's group for some purposes and to his own for others. A stranger who is outside all groups cannot have justice except as an act of grace. He is an outlaw and all men's hands may be raised against him with impunity. Under the hierarchy of the 'adat perpateh recourse to justice begins at the lowest level which has jurisdiction to deal with the case and proceeds on appeal to higher levels.

The law is binding on all within the polity; no one can reject it or contract out of it and no one can be denied their rights. The

law must be applied with reason and according to precedent. In a simple dispute the case begins with an investigation by one's fellows. If the facts are not clear beyond doubt the case goes to the clan chiefs. If the facts are really obscure or the application of the law is doubtful the case goes to the lembaga of the group. The lembaga can give a final decision or remit the matter to the Undang. The Undang decides cases on appeal and holds original hearings of cases too serious to be tried by the lesser authorities.

The stress is on the proper progression up from the lower authority to the one next above—

Naik menjunjong turun bertangga

and in executive matters the order must come down in the same fashion. It is a breach of the custom for a higher authority to trench uninvited on the jurisdiction of his inferior just as much the reverse would be. Some matters come direct to the lembaga or the Undang because no lesser authority is competent to deal with them. For example the serious crimes (pantang) can only be tried by the Undang in Council whereas lesser offences which are merely forbidden (larang) may be tried at a lower level. There are two reasons for the progression upwards; decision on especially difficult cases and the award of the severer penalties are the perquisite of the higher authorities. The clansmen and the clan chief apply clear law to clear facts, the lembaga resolves cases where the facts are in doubt and the Undang is the last authority on the customary law. The Undang alone can award the death penalty; execution is by the kris behind the shoulder blade through a pad of cotton as in the theory this does not shed blood. It is the prerogative of the Yang Di-Pertuan Besar to order execution by beheading with the sword. The lembaga can enforce his orders with bonds.

For most injuries there was compensation from the clan of wrong-doer to the clan of the wronged. For the killing of a clansman a member of the slayer's clan was given in substitution. Disputes about property must often have turned on the right to chattels rather than injury to them.

In modern times the legal and judicial system of the customary constitution has been superseded by other arrangements on the western model. Only in a very limited sphere of clan discipline and property do the old rules now have any working application.

The revenues of the state were formerly shared between the Dato' Klana, Dato' Bandar and the waris. The waris were entitled to the revenues of land and forest, timber and grazing and to the

dues paid by incoming settlers for the land they took "wherever the water is sullied and the stick smokes, the turning waterwheel and the echoing cave". The Dato' Klana had the revenues of the gambling tax, of monopolies, head tax and court fines. To the Dato' Bandar went the revenues of river and ports, shops and markets. But the Dato' Klana also could tax these things within his territory.

Under the settlement of 1849 the Dato' Klana, Dato' Bandar and Dato' Muda Linggi made a special arrangement for the division of the revenues of the Linggi river traffic, which were probably the mainstay of their treasuries. The agreed division was one third each to the three rulers of the dues on ships and merchandise entering and leaving the mouth of the Linggi. The Dato' Klana and Dato' Bandar took halves of the dues on ships, boats and merchandise passing along the river further upstream or landing at their river ports. The court fines were to be divided into three shares between the Dato' Klana, Dato' Bandar and the waris.

The arrangements for the sharing of the tin revenue in the 1830's are described by Newbold. The Dato' Klana and the Dato' Bandar each had the right to buy three baharas of tin at each time of smelting for a price $6 below the prevailing market price and to exact a due of $6 per month from each mine. The Dato' Muda Linggi took $1 per bahara on tin in transit down the river. The Chinese merchants of Malacca were at this time paying a premium of $2,500 per annum for the exclusive right to mine in Sungei Ujong. The Dato' Muda Linggi took $1,000 of this for himself and his three subordinate chiefs took $100 each. The Dato' Klana's share was $800 and the Dato' Bandar's $400. In addition the Yam Tuan claimed the right to levy a duty of $2 per bahara on tin in transit at Linggi and assigned the right to the Yam Tuan Muda of Rembau whose efforts to collect his dues led to some of the fighting of that era. In addition to direct revenue from tin there was revenue from dues on Sumatran slaves imported to work in the mines. The rate of duty is said to have been $4—$6 per slave on about 20 slaves per annum.

The officers of the Dato' Klana and Dato' Bandar and the minor local chiefs collected these revenues in the first instance, retained a fixed proportion and sent the rest in to the major chief. In some cases the collector's share was one half but this may not have been universal. The major chief was often cheated of his fair share. In the era of British protection these fluctuating revenues were commuted into fixed allowances, some of them payable to the holders of certain offices and others in the form of 'waris allowances' for distribution among the waris. At the time of the

first commutation the recipients were probably the gainers by the change, the more so as the new regime had relieved them of the burden of defence, law and order and other obligations which they had discharged to greater or less degree before by expenditure from their share of the revenues. In the course of 70 years the value of money has declined and the general revenues of Sungei Ujong have increased. From time to time the amount of the allowances has been raised but not in full proportion to the factors just mentione. The last re-assessment of political allowances took place about 1920. The present allowances of Dato' Klana (1,500 p.m.) and of the Dato' Bandar (1,000 p.m.) are still very substantial. The allowances of the minor chiefs are much smaller and do not exceed $50 p.m. in any case; many of them receive $48 or $24 p.m. which seems to be a survival of the old valuation of a bahara (400 lbs) of tin at $24 in Sungei Ujong. The waris allowances are $435 for the Waris di-Darat and $430 p.m. for the Waris di-Ayer. The waris allowance of the Waris di-Darat is paid by the Treasury in specified shares to certain persons, who are family heads, and they make a further distribution to individuals. In the case of the Waris di-Ayer the whole allowance is received by the Dato' Bandar who divides it according to settled rules. These waris allowances have become a kind of corporate annuity. It is said that originally each family in the waris had an equal share, but in the course of time the number of descendants in each has differed and led to subdivision of shares, so that it is impossible to trace the original allocation. Some of the beneficiaries now receive only 20 cents p.m. Male and female children inherit their mother's share and divide equally, but the males have a life interest only.

Tenure of land under the 'adat perpateh was never very firmly established in Sungei Ujong. The artificial nature of the 'clans' may have contributed to this. The late Dato' Klana Ma'amor bin Kassim obtained agreement early in the twentieth century for reversion to the rules which apply in other states of Malaya. Tenure proper is based on the Torrens system but customary rules of distribution come into play on the death of a landholder. These rules are probably not pure Muslim law but a combination of that law and Malay custom. The whole question of land tenure in Sungei Ujong requires investigation.

Dato' Klana and Dato' Bandar

The Dato' Klana is the Undang of the territory (luak) of Sungei Ujong and the principal (imam) among the four Undang of Negri Sembilan and their spokesman on ceremonial occasions such as the enthronement of the Yang Di-Pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan. In Sungei Ujong he is in name the supreme executive,

legislator and judge whose decrees (sabda) must be obeyed. But in the exercise of these functions he must consult his Council of Lembaga Tiang Balai and obtain its concurrence. In modern times many of his customary duties have faded away in face of the western type of government introduced under the treaties. In matters of custom and the Moslem religion he is still the ruler in fact and in all other matters his influence with his people can be immense. Even though his day to day duties are now often limited to settling the niceties of a disputed election or the management of a religious charity it should not be supposed that the Dato' Klana is not a figure of political significance. As a member of the State Executive Council he is closely associated with the conduct of the State government, as imam of the Undang he will often convene and preside over meetings of the four Undang to discuss matters of common interest to them, and in many matters his opinion and support is sought by government officials through informal discussions. Prestige and influence must always depend in considerable measure on the personality of the holder of the office. But at all times the Dato' Klana is to his own people as much a spokesman and champion of themselves as any 'citizen deputy' of a more ostentatiously democratic regime. An example may be taken from the adjoining state of Jelebu where, in the troubled times of September-October 1945, nothing induced the electors to reach unanimity in the choice of a new Undang with alacrity so much as the general desire to have a champion of their interests as soon as possible.

The Dato' Klana is an elected ruler but the choice of candidates and the roll of electors is strictly limited. The right to provide a Dato' Klana is limited to the Waris Klana, which is a section of the Waris di-Darat. The Waris Klana itself is divided into two sub-clans, called Perut Hulu and Perut Hilir which for the last century have taken it in turns to provide the Dato' Klana. The alternation was not always strictly observed in more turbulent times, but the existence of the rule is undisputed and deviations from it are explained by a further rule that if the sub-clan whose turn it is has no really suitable candidate, then the new Undang may be chosen from the same sub-clan as his predecessor, if indeed that sub-clan hasa suitable candidate. The election procedure is simple in theory but beset with difficulties in practice owing to the rule of unanimity.

The electors are the male and female members of the Waris Klana including sub-clan heads. The electors' choice requires the concurrence of the Council of Lembaga Tiang Balai. On the death of the previous Dato' Klana the authority to set the constitutional process in motion vests in the Dato' Andika, lembaga of the Waris di-Darat in which the Waris Klana is included and senior member

of the Council of Lembaga Tiang Balai. The Dato' Andika summons the Waris Klana and the other members of the Lembaga Tiang Balai to the balai of the Undang in order that a successor may be elected. At this stage the Council of Lembaga Tiang Balai has authority to carry on the government in place of the Undang. There is no question of a Regency so long as the late Dato' Klana lies unburied; the office is not yet vacant. According to strict theory there is no occasion at all for the appointment of a Regent. A new Dato' Klana should be elected before his predecessor is buried. The proverb runs "'Adat bertanam Undang dengan dengan menanamkan."

When the Waris Klana is assembled in conclave it appoints a committee of three to consider the names of suitable candidates. This committee consists of one representative of the two sub-clans, di-Hulu and di-Hilir, with a third member drawn from either subclan who should be an elderly person chosen for his expert knowledge of the custom. The committee can only make a recommendation if it is unanimous. If the committee is not unanimous there is deadlock. If the committee makes an unanimous recommendation and the Waris are divided then the recommendation of the committee prevails. The nomination of the waris is then conveyed by the heads of the two sub-clans, the Dato' Johan and the Dato' Maharaja Lela, to the Dato' Mandika who brings it to the Council of Lembaga Tiang Balai. The Council includes the heads of the three major waris groups of Sungei Ujong and its concurrence in the nomination sets the seal on it. The chosen candidate is proclaimed and enters on his duties by conducting the funeral of his predecessor. At the time of his proclamation the leading chiefs make obeisance to him. The full ceremony of enthronement comes months or years later.

The whole procedure of the election, with its safeguards and checks, is likely to produce a deadlock at the first stage of deliberation among he Waris Klana. The committee was no doubt intended to overcome that difficulty, but the dissensions of the Waris are carried into the committee. It can hardly be expected that electors will reach an unanimous decision on the merits of the best candidate when the less deserving candidates, if such can be distinguished, have relatives among the electors. But the funeral of the late Dato' Klana cannot be indefinitely postponed. The solution is to appoint a temporary Undang or Regent (Pemangku) who will conduct the funeral, carry on the Undang's duties, and arrange in time for the choice of a permanent successor. The Regent need not be of Waris Klana and is never drawn from that group. An outsider is more likely to be impartial and he can have no hope of succeeding to the office permanently.

The Regency is a very vexed question. The Dato' Bandar and the Waris di-Ayer quote the proverb "Hilang di-Darat di-Ayer mencharikan" and claim that the Regency passes as of right to the Dato' Bandar. The Waris di-Darat, basing their claim on precedents prior to 1870, press with equal vehemence for recognition of the Dato' Mandika, senior member of the Council, as automatic choice for the Regency. The fact is that the precedents conflict for reasons explained hereafter. In the twentieth century the choice of a Regent is an open question; on grounds of precedent the Dato' Bandar and Dato' Andika have the strongest claims for consideration.

The precedents of the last three elections are

Election of	*Regent*
Dato' Klana Mohamad Yusof (c. 1881)	probably no Regent
Dato' Klana Ma'amor (c. 1891)	Dato' Bandar
Dato' Klana Mohamad Kassim (1946)	Dato' Andika

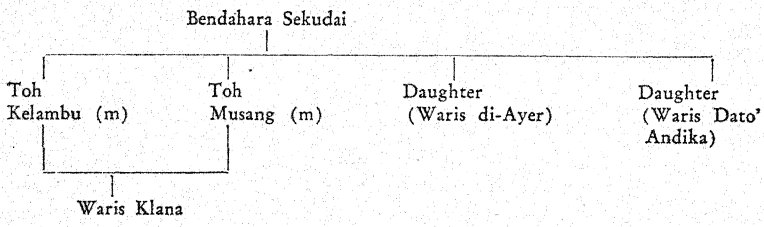
The more reliable oral tradition is that there was no Regent in 1881 as the election was concluded without delay, but waris di-Ayer source say that the Dato' Bandar was regent on that occasion.

The Regent once appointed convenes further meetings of the electors which may lead to an unanimous nomination. In the last two elections the electors have been quite unable to put forward a candidate. The power of appointment then passes to the Regent. It is probable that this transfer of power is automatic but in 1946 the electors were induced to sign a document empowering the Regent to make an appointment on their behalf. This at least eliminates the possibility of subsequent disputes. The Regent must make his appointment from the sub-clan which is eligible to provide the next Dato' Klana. Provided that rule is observed the Regent's appointment must be accepted.

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century the Dato' Andika acted as principal minister to the Dato' Klana in addition to his duties as lembaga. It was then decided to create the office of Dato' Laksamana Laut which like the Dato' Klana's own office should be filled alternately by a member of the two clans of the Waris Klana. It is claimed for the office that the Dato' Laksamana is automatic successor (bakal) to the Dato' Klana. Sending and Syed Abdul Rahman succeeded from Dato' Laksamana to Dato' Klana but there has been no other case in nearly a century since then. The rule is no longer in force. The Dato' Laksamana carried a spear before the Dato' Klana in his progress by land, and unfurled a black flag on the prow of his ship when he went by sea. Envoys

from Sri Menanti should come first to the Dato' Andika who sends them on to the Dato' Laksamana, who in turn arranges for them to have audience with the Dato' Klana. The office is a complete sinecure and by recent tradition should be held by a brother or close relative of the Dato' Klana. A sister of the late Dato' Klana was appointed to the office, in default of any brothers, during his lifetime.

The Waris Klana claims descent from two sons of Bendahara Sekudai:—



The early part of the list of Dato' Klanas (and Penghulus) is obscure and improbable but the usually accepted version is:—

1. Toh Kelambu
2. Toh Musang
3. Toh Selat
4. Toh Danoh Buaya
5. Penghulu Kadim
6. Penghulu Pandak
7. Penghulu Chantek or Rumah Gadong
8. Dato' Klana Bador (floruit c. 1760) Perut Hulu
9. Dato' Klana Leha („ c. 1780) „ Hulu
10. Dato' Klana Bahi („ c. 1800) „ Hilir
11. Dato' Klana Kawal („ c. 1830) „ Hulu
12. Dato' Klana Sending („ c. 1850) „ Hulu
13. Dato' Klana Syed Abdul Rahman (from c. 1872—c. 1881) „ Hilir
14. Dato' Klana Lela Setia Mohamed Yusof (1881—1889) (deposed) „ Hilir
15. Dato' Klana Ma'amor bin Kassim, C.B.E. (1889—1945) „ Hulu
16. Dato' Klana Mohamad Kassim bin Dato' Andika Haji Abdul Rashid (1946—) „ Hilir

The Dato' Bandar's office can only be explained by reference to its history. According to the tradition the Sultan of Johore in 1715 created the office of Shahbandar and conferred it on the Dato' Raja, lembaga of Waris di-Ayer, who was authorised to collect customs, port and harbour dues along the Linggi river. There is evidence, however, that the Sultan of Johore had a Shahbandar in Sungei Ujong as early as the middle of the seventeenth century and it is conjectured that the office goes back to the era of the Malacca Sultanate. Possibly it did not come to be hereditary in a locally domiciled family until the middle of the seventeenth century.

The rise of the Dato' Shahbandar and the vain effort of Dato' Klana Leha to weaken the office by separating it from the Dato' Raja's office have been mentioned. Whatever the constitutional anomalies of the position the Dato' Bandar in the middle of the nineteenth century was an independent ruler on the middle Linggi. There were two possible solutions; either the Dato' Bandar would become an independent ruler de jure of a territory carved out of Sungei Ujong and thereafter quite separate from it, or he would come to some accommodation with the Dato' Klana whereby the two became joint rulers or the Dato' Bandar became again subordinate to the Dato' Klana. Between 1849 and 1874 the first solution was given a trial and it led to incessant war. If Dato' Bandar Tunggal had allied with the British instead of fighting them, another state might have been added to modern Negri Sembilan. As it was Dato' Klana Syed Abdul Rahman was recognised as Undang of all Sungei Ujong in 1874. During the last years of Dato' Klana Mohamad Yusof, who was eventually deposed because of unsoundness of mind, and the succeeding years up to 1898 of Dato' Klana Ma'amor's minority, Dato' Bandar Haji Ahmad, who was a very able man, achieved something like equality with the Dato' Klana, which was the easier because he was for years Regent for a minor. In the twentieth century the office of Dato' Bandar has lost ground again. It may be said that he is now a sort of junior partner to the Dato' Klana with functions limited to his own group, the Waris di-Ayer.

Such an arrangement is unknown to the 'adat perpateh. Both Malay and British authorities have thought it better not to attempt too close a definition. The first definition is contained in a pact between the Dato' Klana and Dato' Bandar, dated 10th November 1874, witnessed by the leading chiefs and by Mr. W. A. Pickering. This pact was made when the arrival of British reinforcements had begun to turn the scale against Dato' Bandar Tunggal in the Sungei Ujong war. It provides for the appointment of Ahmad bin Mohamad Ali as Dato' Bandar, and binds the Dato' Klana to act in consultation with the Dato' Bandar.

> "apa kala ada hal ehwal atau apa² perbuatan beta melainkan hendak-lah beta muafakat bersama² dengan Dato' Shahbandar."

In 1878 Captain Murray, Resident of Sungei Ujong, set up a small Council in which the Dato' Bandar and Dato' Muda Linggi were the Malay members. The decisions of the Council required the approval of the Dato' Klana. The effect of this arrangement was to subordinate the Dato' Bandar to the Dato' Klana in some measure. In 1891 Dato' Bandar Haji Ahmad became Regent for the Dato' Klana, who did not come of age till 1898. When the Federated Malay States treaty came to signed in 1895, Dato' Bandar Haji Ahmad signed and sealed it as Regent for the Dato' Klana and as Dato' Bandar. In 1898 the Ruling Chiefs drew up an agreement which they and Yang-Di-Pertuan Besar Mohamad signed. In this agreement there is a reference to the four Undang including "the Dato' Klana and Dato' Bandar of Sungei Ujong." This is as far as Dato' Bandar Haji Ahmad ever got in obtaining recognition as co-Undang with the Dato' Klana. In the first thirty years of the twentieth century Dato' Klana Ma'amor, an equally remarkable man, was able firmly but quietly to re-assert his position as sole ruler of Sungei Ujong. It was the easier because Dato' Bandar Haji Ahmad became infirm and senile before his death in 1928 at the age of about 100. But to the end he maintained his claim. The following passage is from a letter to the British Resident, Negri Sembilan, which he wrote, or had written for him, in 1922

> "ada-lah di-katakan Undang itu bagi luak Sungei Ujong ini ia-lah Dato' Klana Petra dan Dato' Bandar, dan jikalau tumboh apa² hal di-dalam Waris di-Darat habis oleh Dato' Klana Petra dan jikalau tumboh pula apa² hal di-dalam Waris di-Ayer habis oleh Dato' Bandar, tiada boleh ganggu menganggui kedua pehak-nya."

Since 1898 no Dato' Bandar has signed a treaty affecting Sungei Ujong, although claims to the right to do so have been made. The Dato' Bandar's claims to equality with the Dato' Klana and to hold the office of Undang jointly with him is not accepted.

Apart from the realities of the situation under constitutional law it is necessary to consider the working practice of the relations between Dato' Klana and Dato' Bandar. The relationship between the two has always depended a great deal on the personalities involved. In any event they must cooperate if the constitution is to work at all. Relations must be close "laksana mata hitam dengan mata puteh". The proverb

telor sa-biji sama di-tatang, pesaka satu sama di-bela goes too far, for the reasons which have been stated. The Dato' Bandar does not share the office of Undang, but it is true that in respect of the Waris di-Ayer he does exercise some of the powers of an Undang. The passage from the letter of 1922 which has been quoted is accurate in its latter part. Neither Dato' Klana nor Dato' Bandar interferes in the other's waris. The proper procedure for approval of appointments in the waris di-Ayer is that the Dato' Bandar presides at any general meeting at which the appointment is made or announced. The new chief makes obeisance to the Dato' Bandar first. Then the Dato' Raja, lembaga of the Waris di-Ayer, brings the new chief before the Dato' Klana in his Balai to do obeisance and be accepted. Finally the Dato' Klana informs the government that the appointment has been made.

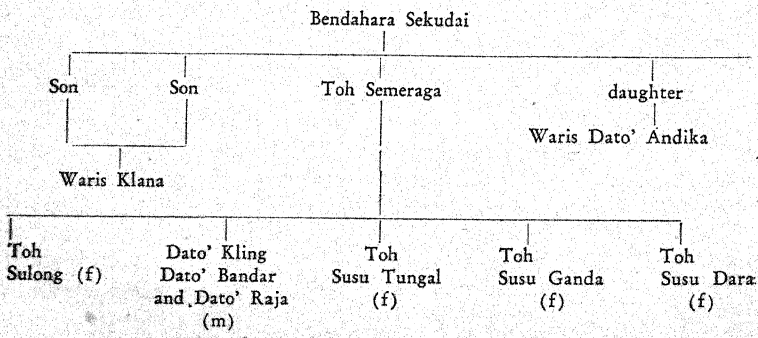
The Dato' Bandar's position is affected by the fact that the Dato' Raja, lembaga of his own Waris di-Ayer, is a member of the Dato' Klana's Council of Lembaga Tiang Balai. The Dato' Raja can carry a matter to the Dato' Klana in Council instead of to the Dato' Bandar. On occasion it is convenient that there should be this channel of communication without the question of the Dato' Bandar's precedence arising. In theory the Dato' Raja could by this means admit the Dato' Klana to control of the domestic affairs of the Waris di-Ayer. In practice this does not happen and any Dato' Raja who did so would be in trouble not only with the Dato' Bandar but also with his own waris. It may be added that as the Dato' Bandar has no Council his decisions are of less weight than the Dato' Klana's and are not called sabda.

The Dato' Bandar is now generally treated as one of the group of dignitaries who are styled 'Chiefs of District' in the Annual Estimates. This group includes the territorial chiefs who owe allegiance to the Yang di-Pertuan Besar, and the Dato' Muda Linggi. Like the other Chiefs of District the Dato' Bandar makes formal obeisance at Sri Menanti upon his own appointment to office, or the accession of a Yang di-Pertuan Besar, or at the triennial ceremony. At the installation of the present Yang di-Pertuan Besar in 1933 the Dato' Bandar took precedence after the four Undang and before the other 'Chiefs of District'. At the ceremony of 1898 the Dato' Bandar took precedence with the Dato' Klana and before the other three Undang. The unusual situation of that epoch has been explained above. In recent times up to 1941 the Dato' Bandar was not a member of the Council of the Yang Di-Pertuan Besar and Undang. Under the constitution of 1948 he is the only Malay chief to be an ex-officio member of the Council of State, but he is not a member of the Executive Council in which the Rulers sit.

The coalescence of the office of Dato' Bandar into the constitution of a re-united Sungei Ujong in 1874 was effected at the expense of lesser chiefs. Up till then relations between the Dato' Klana and Dato' Bandar had generally been hostile. There were two camps and the lembagas of Waris di-Darat and Waris di-Ayer were each deputies for their territorial chief. When the Dato' Bandar was brought in as the near-equal of the Dato' Klana he displaced the Dato' Andika, lembaga of Waris di-Darat, as the deputy and first choice for Regent in an interregnum. This was probably inevitable but the process was forced on by a combination of Dato' Klana Syed Abdul Rahman and Dato' Bandar Ahmad to defraud the Dato' Andika of that time, who was elderly and no match for such an astute pair. The story of the first political allowance is an example of what happened. The sum of $200 per month was granted in commutation of the old customary revenues. The money was paid to the Dato' Klana who gave half to the Dato' Bandar; each distributed part of his share to the chiefs of his waris. Nothing was given to the Dato' Andika who was kept in ignorance for many months of the existence of the allowance. At length he found out about it, petitioned the Resident and was referred to the Dato' Klana, who finally arranged that he should have $10 p.m. from his share and $5 p.m. from the Dato' Bandar's share. There is some bitterness among the Waris Dato' Andika at the way in which the Dato' Andika has been ousted from his former position as deputy to the Dato' Klana. But whatever the sting of defeat the battle has been lost.

The relative standing of these dignitaries can be gauged from the salute of guns to which they are now entitled. The Dato' Klana has always had a salute of five rounds. The Dato' Bandar long ago had a salute of four guns and so did the Dato' Andika. The Dato' Bandar has since been promoted to five rounds, and his lembaga, the Dato' Raja, to four rounds. Lesser lembagas have always had three rounds.

The Dato' Bandar and the Waris di-Ayer claim descent from Toh Semeraga, a daughter of Bendahara Sekudai



It is related that Toh Semeraga married a man of Acheh called Rambutan Jantan or Lebai Mamat. Their son, Dato' Kling, was was the first Dato' Bandar and the title has been inherited since then by the descendants of his four sisters. The legend does not merit serious examination. The division of the Waris di-Ayer into four clans is of recent origin and the four daughters of Toh Semeraga with their unusual names were probably invented at that time. At present there are four clans of the Waris di-Ayer and the Dato' Bandar is drawn from them in rotation:—

Clan (perut)	*Latest Dato' Bandar*
1. Nenek Susudara	Abdul Rahman
2. Susuganda	Abdul Kadir
3. Tunggal	Abu Bakar (now in office)
4. Nenek Sulong	Haji Ahmad

The mode of appointment to the office of Dato' Bandar is similar to that of the Dato' Klana. The whole Waris di-Ayer takes part in the election subject to the guidance of the clan chiefs. The electors are the adult members of the Waris. If they achieve unanimity and make a choice at all the nomination is referred to the Dato' Raja, lembaga of the Waris, who must obtain the formal concurrence of all the chiefs of the Waris, convened for that purpose. If there is no unanimity the power of appointment passes to the Dato' Klana, who is automatically regent for the Dato' Bandar during an interregnum.

The traditional list of Dato' Bandars is:—

1. Dato' Bandar Kling
2. Dato' Bandar Lujar
3. Dato' Bandar Sangkut
4. Dato' Bandar Karang
5. Dato' Bandar Bangkil
6. Dato' Bandar Nahar

(1–6) also held the office of Dato' Raja

7. Dato' Bandar Megat—originally held the office of Dato Raja also but was deprived of it
8. Dato' Bandar Tedoh
9. Dato' Bandar Lebai
10. Dato' Bandar Tunggal (Abdullah bin Ahmad) (1849—1874)
11. Dato' Bandar Haji Ahmad bin Mohamad Ali (1874—1928)
12. Dato' Bandar Abdul Rahman
13. Dato' Bandar Abdul Kadir
14. Dato' Bandar Abu Bakar bin Haji Osman

The Dato' Bandar has two officers (orang besar). The Dato' Panglima Besar is head of the Dato' Bandar's retainers (juak). The Maharaja Khatib is the usher and herald at formal meetings in the Dato' Bandar's balai.

The Waris of Sungei Ujong

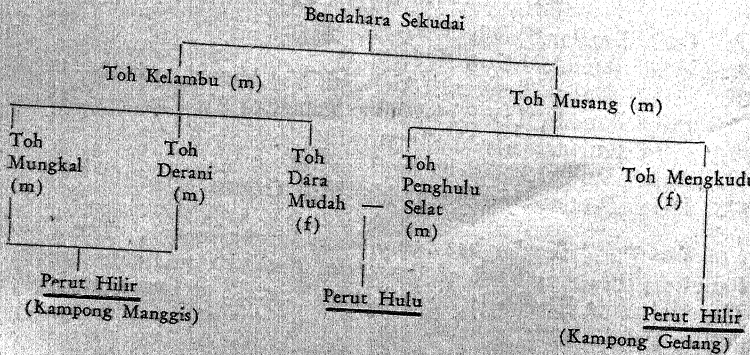
The structure and organisation of the Waris is so irregular that each requires separate description.

The Waris di-Ayer and the Waris Rantau are reasonably compact but the Waris di-Darat is made up of two distinct groups claiming different lines of descent from Bendahara Sekudai. In describing each Waris it will be convenient to mention the groups of suku or persukuan which reside in the Waris territory and accept the authority of the Waris lembaga.

The rules of exogamy applicable to the Waris are also irregular. Marriage within the following groups is prohibited and marriages between individuals of any two of them is permissible—each of the sub-clans of the Waris Klana, the whole waris Dato' Andika, each of the three suku of Pantai, the whole Waris di-Ayer, the whole Waris Rantau, each of the lesser groups of suku. In the time of Dato' Bandar Haji Ahmad the Waris di-Ayer for a time permitted marriage between members of two different sub-clans of the waris. This has since been given up and the Waris di-Ayer becomes again a single exogamic unit.

Waris di-Darat. This waris comprises the Waris Klana and the Waris Dato' Andika (also called Waris Pantai). In addition to groups of later origin the Waris di-Darat has under its authority the "three tribes" of Pantai, which although not Waris are of considerable antiquity and high standing. The Dato' Klana is drawn from the Waris Klana. The Dato' Andika, lembaga of the whole Waris di-Darat, is drawn from the Waris Dato' Andika. The territory of the Waris di-Darat is the Mukims of Pantai, Ampangan, Lenggeng, Sefful and part of Seremban. The boundary through Seremban is marked by the tomb of Toh Kelambu at Rahang and the watershed south-west of the town of Seremban between the Labu valley and the Linggi valley.

Waris Klana. The Waris Klana claims descent from two sons of Bendahara Sekudai:—

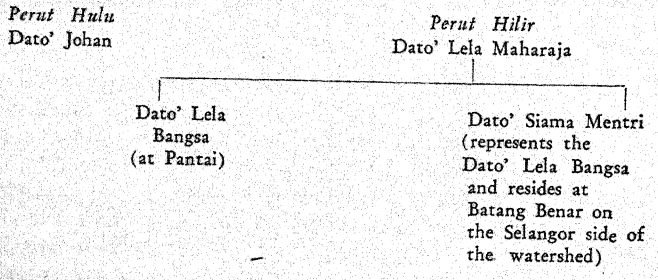


The tradition is that the two brothers Toh Kelambu and Toh Musang came to Pantai and founded the settlement there. Toh Kelambu made his village upstream near the foot of the hills, at what is now the Ninth Mile on the Seremban-Jelebu road. Through his daughter, Toh Mudah, descend the upstream clan, perut Hulu. Toh Musang settled a mile further downstream, where the valley is broader, near the site of the modern village of Pantai. The people of this settlement are called the dawnstream people, Perut Hilir. Toh Kelambu was the first Penghulu; Toh Musang succeeded him and his son Toh Penghulu Selat was the third holder of the office. The two sons of Toh Kelambu found that there was no room for them in their father's settlement and they were obliged to move. Toh Derani settled at Setul (Mantin) and Toh Mungkal at Beranang (Lenggeng). Later the descendants of Toh Mudah called back the descendants of her brothers to come to Pantai. Some of them did move back but there was no room for them in the Perut Hulu territory to which by kinship they belonged. So they settled in the downstream area and founded Kampong Manggis. Although the people of Kampong Manggis were Perut Hulu by origin they were Perut Hilir by residence and they have always been reckoned part of Perut Hilir. In addition to the Kampong Manggis element the Perut Hilir included the descendents of Toh Musang through his daughter, Toh Mengkudu, who dwelt at Kampong Gedang and were named after it. In consequence Perut Hulu consists of the descendants of Toh Dara Mudah and Toh Penghulu Selat: it has never been a very large group. Perut Hilir comprises two quite distinct groups, Kampong Manggis which is relatively numerous (about 60 adults at the present time) and Kampong Gedang which has always been very small.

One may well doubt the legend's authenticity but it does correspond with the present groupings. At the election of the Dato' Klana in 1946 the twofold composition of Perut Hilir gave rise to a conflict which held up a decision for some time. It was the turn of Perut Hilir to provide a Dato' Klana and there was a dispute between the two sections, each of which claimed that it alone could fill the office on this occasion. Kampong Manggis pointed out that since the title of Dato' Klana was adopted and the rotation between Hulu and Hilir introduced every Dato' Klana of Perut Hilir had come from Kampong Manggis; therefore Kampong Manggis alone could provide a Dato' Klana. The historical assertion on which their claim was based is correct; the genealogies show that Bahi, Syed Abdul Rahman and Mohamad Yusof were all of Kampong Manggis. The people of Kampong Gedang claimed that they were fully eligible to provide a Dato' Klana, that Kampong Manggis and Kampong Gedang should be treated as two separate divisions with a rotation between them, and that having been denied their rights for so long they must be allowed to find

the new Dato' Klana from among their number this time. They based their claim to be eligible on their undisputed descent from a daughter of Toh Musang and on the fact that the third, fourth and seventh in the list of Penghulu Mentri had been men of Kampong Gedang. This latter assertion cannot be checked because the detailed genealogies do not go back beyond the nineteenth century. They explained the fact that no Dato' Klana had ever been drawn from Kampong Gedang by their numerical weakness in days when might was right: it is said that at the time when Dato' Klana Bahi, the first of Perut Hilir to bear the title, was appointed the choice had to fall on a man of Kampong Manggis because Kampong Gedang at that time consisted of one adult, Toh Puru, a woman. The truth, in so far as one can speak of truth in this context, lies between the two extremes; Kampong Gedang is eligible for the office of Dato' Klana but there is no rule of alternation between Kampong Manggis and Kampong Gedang. Either can provide a Dato' Klana when it is the turn of Perut Hilir, without regard to the previous incidence of the office between them. There is a good, logical case for an alternation between two groups of different descent, but logic is not the strong point of the constitution of Sungei Ujong. In 1946 the choice fell on a a man of Kampong Gedang whose grievance was thus redressed.

Each of the two perut of Waris Klana has its own head (tua). Perut Hilir has settlements outside Pantai and is the more numerous of the two. It has two subordinate local headmen. The structure is



In the absence of the Dato' Klana, who now resides permanently at Ampangan, and of the Dato' Andika, the Dato' Johan is the senior chief at Pantai. In certain rare circumstances he may claim the honours of an Undang. His permission is required before a buffalo may be slaughtered at a wedding anywhere in Sungei Ujong.

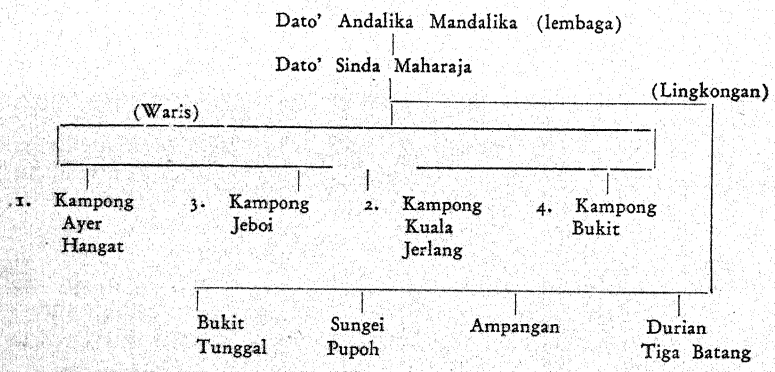
The Waris Klana has one other unusual office styled "Telaga Undang". The office is held by a woman of Perut Hulu, and descends from mother to eldest daughter without any selection or

appointment. The last three holders have been the mother, sister, and niece of the late Dato' Klana Ma'amor bin Kassim. It is related that the office was founded late in the eighteenth century when the title "Dato' Klana" was instituted and that it was made a monopoly of the Perut Hulu because Dato' Klana Bdor, the first to bear the title, came from that clan. In view of the suspect Bugis connection of the Dato' Klana Bandar the question arises whether the Telaga Undang was also created in connection with the temporary Bugis hegemony of Sungei Ujong. It seems unlikely that a feminine office would be a direct Bugis importation, but it may have been the result of some compromise between Bugis invader and local Malay. The Telaga Undang resides at a certain place in the Ninth Mile Pantai village but the present house is not of any great antiquity. The functions of the Telaga Undang are to act as an arbitrator in any disputes at Pantai which the Dato' Andika may refer to her. The title is explained by reference to this task; she is the well which cleanses the turbid dispute. Another explanation is that she represents Perut Hulu from which the office of Dato' Klana first sprang. Both explanations smack of the village elder's etymology which occurs in so many Malay "explanations". In the ceremonies on the Hari Raya days special honours should be paid to the Telaga Undang at her dwelling. Immediately after the Undang's salute of five guns has been fired at his Balai an answering salute of five rounds is fired at the house of the Telaga Undang. The Undang and his chiefs should pray at the mosque and then proceed to the house of the Telaga Undang. As they approach an Undang's salute is fired and when they reach the house the Hari Raya prayer is said again. Finally the Telaga Undang entertains the Dato' Klana and the chiefs to a feast. If the Dato' Klana is absent from Pantai on such a day the ceremony is performed by the leading chiefs. The late Dato' Klana Ma'amor bin Kassim executed an agreement dated 10 May 1902 whereby he bound himself and purported to bind his successors to pay an allowance of $251 per month to the Telaga Undang in perpetuity. It is considered that this obligation died with the late Dato' Klana.

Waris Dato' Ondika or **Waris Pantai.** This waris claims descent from Toh Sri Menai, daughter of Bendahara Sekudai, who married a man of Terachi called Perdana Damping. The official genealogy given in the late Dato' Klana's book relates that Toh Sri Menai had no children of her own but that she adopted a son, to whom was given the title Andalika Mandalika. This title is now born by the head of the Waris di-Darat. The group from which the lembaga is drawn claims descent from Toh Sri Menai. But they vigorously deny that the son of Toh Sri Menai was only an adopted and not a natural son. This point is of more constitutional importance than appears on the face of it. Adoption may under the custom be a complete bar to a claim of status or rights

based on descent from a forebear above the adoption link in the genealogy. If the adoption story is accepted then the Dato' Andika and his group is of lower status than the Dato' Bandar and Dato' Raja and their group, the Waris di-Ayer, which descends without adoption from another daughter of Bendahara Sekudai. The waris Dato' Andika go further than mere denial of the adoption story; they claim that the proper title of their group is "Waris Memangku Dato' Klana" which, interpreted in constitutional terms, means 'the waris entitled to provide a Regent for the Dato' Klana'. It is scarcely profitable to assess the probability of the adoption story. The whole dispute has the look of having arisen since 1874 when the Dato' Bandar, for reasons which have nothing to do with genealogy, began to oust the Dato' Andika from his position as second only to the Dato' Klana.

The Waris Dato' Andika resides in the Mukim of Pantai with an extension into Ampangan (Kampong Jeboi is at Mile 3 on the Seremban-Jelebu road). The waris chiefs, the waris and the attached groups are as follows:—



The Division of the waris into four sub-clans was agreed in the time of the last Dato' Andika (before 1911) but there has not yet been a complete rotation round the four divisions which would render the arrangement more or less indisputable. Before the division into four sub-clans there were only two, Ayer Hangat and Kuala Jerlang.

The Dato' Andika is lembaga of the whole Waris di-Darat, of which this group is part; the Dato' Sinda Maharaja is his deputy. Both are drawn by rotation from the four sub-clans of the waris in the sequence shown by numbers above. The traditional list of holders of the office of Dato' Andika is:—

1. name not known
2. Lantor
3. Tebu Ambar
4. Dengot
5. Lali
6. Jaya
7. Segar
8. Ulang
9. Aling
10. Lembeng
11. Gentam
12. Minal
13. Chantek
14. Haji Abdul Rashid (Kuala Jerlang)
15. Syed Junid (Kampong Jeboi)

The Waris Dato' Andika provides two of the retainers of the Dato' Klana,

Dato' Juansor
Dato' Meraja

who are drawn from the Bukit Tunggal section of the associated groups. The Dato' Juansor is the senior of the two and the Dato' Meraja succeeds automatically when the higher post falls vacant. The Dato' Andika has retainers on his own; five who bear no title but who carry some article of his insignia, and five with the titles:—

Panglima Toro
Panglima Bebas
Panglima Muda
Panglima Garang
Panglima Dalam

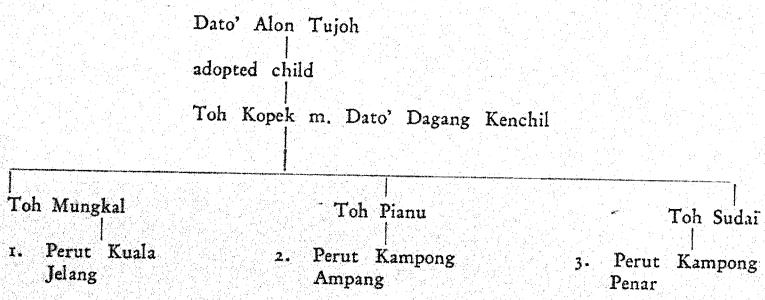
The Panglima Toro is appointed from the waris and the remainder from the linkongan. If the linkongan are unable to provide suitable holders of the offices then the waris may fill them. In fact two of the five offices have been vacant for many years.

The Sungei Pupoh section of the linkongan were once true waris but were expelled for refusing to pay a fine and later readmitted as linkongan. They are not eligible to hold any office but their customary wedding payments (mas kahwin) are the same as those of the waris.

Tiga Suku. There are three minor clans, each under a lembaga, which form part of the Waris di-Darat group without being waris. They are evidently of relatively early origin in the settlement of Sungei Ujong and it may be that they represent the Malay settlers who arrived at the same time or soon after the early settlers who claimed to be waris. It will be seen that the legends of these clans include as founders a Sakai and a follower of Bendahara Sekudai. The tradition evidently accords them equal antiquity with the waris. There is a proverb "urat tonggang waris yang dua pehak, sayap suku yang tiga" which again is significant as treating them as part of the original polity of Sungei Ujong. The territory of all three clans is at Pantai. The clans and their lembaga are

Clan (suku)	*Lembaga*
Suku Semelenggang	Dato' Mentri
Suku Batu Hampar	Dato' Maharaja Inda
Suku Biduanda	Dato' Raja di-Muda

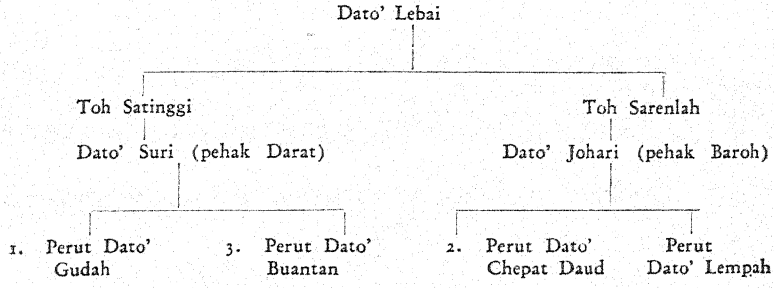
Suku Semelenggang. The legendary founder of the clans is Dato' Alon Tujoh, a follower of Bendahara Sekudai, who came to Sungei Ujong in search of his wife who had been cast forth alone upon the sea in a boat after incurring the displeasure of the Sultan of Johore, her adoptive father. She came ashore in Sungei Ujong and was carried away to Jelebu. When Alon Tujoh was at the mouth of the Linggi some Sakai from Kenaboi came there to trade bringing a trinket which Alon Tujoh recognised as the property of his wife. When he had found his wife they settled at Pantai in the territory of Perut Hulu. Their grand-daughter, Toh Kopek, dwelt at Kampong Penal and had three daughters from whom the three clans of the group descend:—



The Dato' Mentri, lembaga of Suku Semelenggang, is chosen by rotation from these three clans in the sequence shown. The legend runs that a former holder of the office got the title 'Toh Umbi' or 'Toh Pikir' because when he went with the Penghulu (i.e. Dato' Klana) to Pedas to do homage to Raja Melewar he sat in pensive silence throughout the proceedings. The title 'Dato' Mentri' was conferred later. The Dato' Mentri is an officer of the Dato' Klana, bearing the title Imam Perang Kanan in that capacity. Since his clan is grouped with the Waris di-Darat the Dato' Mentri is subject to the Dato' Andika: since his people live in the territory of Perut Hulu of the Waris Klana he is also reckoned to hold the status of a sub-clan chief under the Dato' Johan for local Pantai affairs.

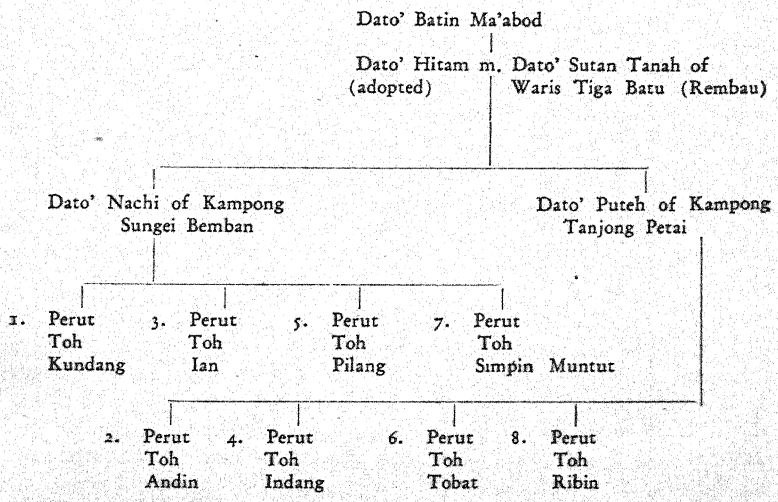
Suku Batu Hampar. It is related that the founder of this group came from Pasai in Acheh but had entered the Batu Hampar tribe in Menangkabau before coming to Sungei Ujong. In his travels he seems first to have gone to Johore after leaving Menangkabau. He became Khatib and Mudin to the Sultan who bade him go forth and convert the heathen in Negri Sembilan. After a

period of proselytising in Jelebu he moved to Pantai with his wife, a woman of Jelebu, and settled at Kampong Tinggi midway between the territory of Perut Hulu and Perut Hilir. After various moves his descendants finally settled down around Kampong Denai, in upland and lowland sections each of which has been subdivided to give four sub-clans in all:—



The head of the tribe is drawn in rotation from the four clans in the order shown. He originally ranked as a clan head only but with the growth of the group he was promoted to the status of a lesser lembaga. His title is Dato' Maharaja Inda.

Suku Biduanda. It will be observed that in Sungei Ujong the word Biduanda is not reserved for the waris clans as it is in other parts of Negri Sembilan. Here it is used of a non-waris clan but of legendary Sakai origin. The legendary founder was Dato' Batin Ma'abod who adopted a daughter from whom descend the two major divisions of the group, each of which is divided again to form four sub-clans:—

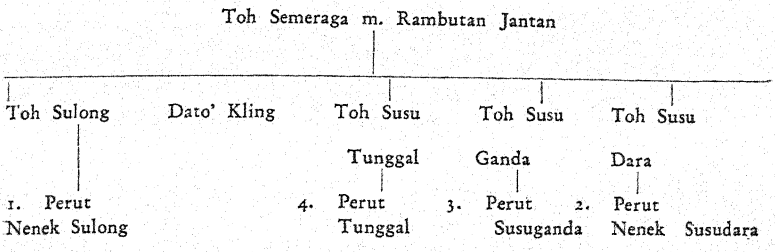


The lembaga of the group, Dato' Raja di-Muda, is drawn in rotation from the eight clans in the order shown; in actual practice there seems to have been some irregularity. Two of the Dato' Klana's retainers, the Lenggam Berbut and the Singa, are drawn from this clan. The office of Singa is limited to the Tanjong Petai half of the group. The group also provides, by rotation among the clans, the Monkin of the mosque of Pantai.

Minor groups attached to the Waris di-Darat. There are several minor groups, some of which have a clan head with a special title and others provide a retainer for the Dato' Klana. In brief the particulars are:—

Location of Clan	*Clan Head*	*Other Information*
Setul	Dato' Andatar	This group claims descent from Toh Sapil who began the settlement at Setul. There is only one clan or division. It is an offshot of the waris but not eligible for high office.
Lenggeng	Dato' Lela Perkasa	This group claims descent from Batin Kamat. It is divided into four clans
Lenggeng	Dato' Dagang	—
Paroi	Dato' Dagang	The Dato' Dagang of Paroi is bergajah tunggal and comes under the direct control of the Dato' Klana. He can on occasion sit in the Council. The office is said to have been created after Raja Melewar came on a visit to Sungei Ujong and found no one at Paroi to receive him.
Pantai	—	There are three or four offshoots of the waris Klana which are not eligible for the office of Dato' Klana because of an adoption in their pedigree. One of these groups descended from Toh Chobong and Pa Tunang provides the Chinchang, a retainer of the Dato' Klana.
Ampangan	Dato' Amar Setia	This office was created by the late Dato' Klana Ma'amor bin Kassim for his son by a Sumatran wife. It carries a political allowance.

Waris di-Ayer. The Waris di-Ayer claim descent from Toh Semeraga, a daughter of Bendahara Sekudai, who married Rambutan Jantan and had one son, Dato' Kling, and four daughters. Dato' Kling was the first holder of the combined office of Dato' Bandar Dato' Raja and the four daughters are the ancestressess of the four clans of the waris. The genealogy is:—



It is improbable that the four sub-clans, and in consequence the story of the four daughters, is very old. Dato' Bandar Haji Ahmad writing in 1922, when he was over 90, stated "waris di-Ayer ini asal kedatangan-nya itu choma satu perut". This evidence is suspect because in his letter the Dato' was arguing, with considerable historical justification, that there is no established rotation of sub-clans in the Waris.

The lembaga of the Waris di-Ayer is the Dato' Sri Maharaja di-Raja. This office was separated from the office of Dato' Bandar by Dato' Klana Leha towards the end of the eighteenth century. When first separated the two offices were held by brothers and this situation has, not without criticism, recently repeated itself. There is no rule against both offices being held by members of the same sub-clan of the Waris di-Ayer. There is now an established rotation round the four sub-clans for the office of the Dato' Bandar but there is no such rotation for the office of Dato' Raja, which may still be filled by a member of any sub-clan without regard to the previous distribution of the office between sub-clans. This is illogical but it is so. The precedents show that after the office of Dato' Raja was separated from the office of Dato' Bandar it was held by six successive members of Perut Nenek Sulong. More recently it has been held by two members of Perut Tunggal in succession. It is alleged that in 1923 the State Council ruled that a rotation should be instituted but owing to loss of pre-1942 records it is impossible to check the truth of this. Meanwhile each occasion for an appointment to the office leads to acute controversy. The last election was in 1946.

The Dato' Muda of Labu is a "dato' bergajah tunggal" who comes under the direct control in theory of the Dato' Klana. In practice he is treated as second in status to the Dato' Raja, from whose Waris he is drawn. The legend runs that Toh Mongkon of the Waris di-Ayer came to Dato' Klana Leha and sought permission to open up Labu for settlement. Permission was given and the settlement prospered. In the time of Dato' Klana Kawal the title "Dato' Penghulu Muda" of Labu was conferred on a grandson of Toh Mongkon. The Dato' Muda is in effect the head of the

Waris di-Ayer in the downstream part of Labu towards Nilai. He has a deputy styled Dato' Paduka Besar. Both these offices are held by members of Perut Tunggal of the Waris di-Ayer. The Perut is divided into two sections and the offices alternate between them.

The principal group officer of the Dato' Raja, as lembaga of the Waris di-Ayer, is the Dato' Paduka, who is the channel of communication between the waris and the lembaga. The Dato' Paduka must be present in the Balai when the Dato' Raja gives decisions and no dispute may be brought before the Dato' Raja without prior reference to the Dato' Paduka. The Dato' Paduka has a deputy called the Dato' Mentara. Both are drawn from Perut Susuganda.

The heads of the four Perut of the Waris di-Ayer are:—

Perut	*Sub-clan Head* (ibu bapak)
Nenek Sulong	Dato' Sri Amar Raja
Susudara	Dato' Sri Amar Mentri
Susuganda	Dato' Paduka
Tunggal	Dato' Mentri Penghulu

It may be convenient to list the many offices of the Waris di-Ayer:—

Office	*Sub-clan from which drawn*	*Duties and Status*
Dato' Bandar	All four by rotation	As described above
Dato' Raja	All four without rules of rotation	Lembaga
Dato' Muda	Perut Nenek Sulong	Lembaga of Labu Hilir and Dato' Bergajah tunggal
Dato' Panglima Besar	Perut Nenek Sulong	Dato' Bandar's officer (orang besar balai). Head of the the orang besar Balai
Dato' Paduka Raja	Perut Susuganda	Orang Besar Balai and ibu bapak of the whole Waris
Dato' Mentri Penghulu	Perut Tunggal	Orang besar balai and Sub-clan head
Dato' Sri Amar di-Raja	Perut Nenek Sulong	ditto
Dato' Sri Amar Mentri	Perut Nenek Susudara	ditto
Dato' Paduka Besar	Perut Tunggal	head of the waris at Nilai (Labu Hilir) and deputy to the Dato' Muda
Dato' Mentara	Perut Susuganda	head of the waris at Labu Hulu
Dato' Perdana Mentri	Perut Tunggal	head of the waris and of the persukuan in Labu Hulu
Dato' Bentara Jijan		head of orang dagang (immigrants) at Sungei Jijan
Maharaja Khatib Memprang	Perut Nenek Sulong	Dato' Bandar's officer
Panglima Sutan		ditto
		head of Dato' Bandar's retainers

In addition to these offices there are the following heads of the lesser non-waris groups (persukuan) attached to the Waris di-Ayer:—

Headman	*Tribe*	*Locality*
Dato' Paduka Mentri (himself a waris)	Biduanda Klang	Labu
Dato' Senara Muda	ditto	Kuala Sawah and Rantau
Dato' Lela Bangsa	ditto	Labu
Dato' Senara Pahlawan	Acheh	Labu
Dato' Baginda Raja	Paya Kumboh	Labu Hilir
Dato' Jendara	Tanah Datar	Labu Hilir
Dato' Paduka Senara	Tanah Datar	Labu
Dato' Malim Bongsu	Batu Hampar	Labu Hilir
Dato' Mendika Mentri	ditto	Labu
Dato' Rangkai Bongsu	Tiga Batu	Labu Hilir
Dato' Juan	Semelenggang	Labu Hilir
Dato Mentri	ditto	Labu Hulu
Dato' Sati	Mungkal	Labu Hilir

These are old established groups. The fact that they all reside at Labu indicates that their forebears arrived after the beginning of the nineteenth century when settlement at Labu began. The clan names show that they came from Sumatra.

The very recent immigrants who have come into the territory of Waris di-Ayer are classed in four very heterogenous groups:—

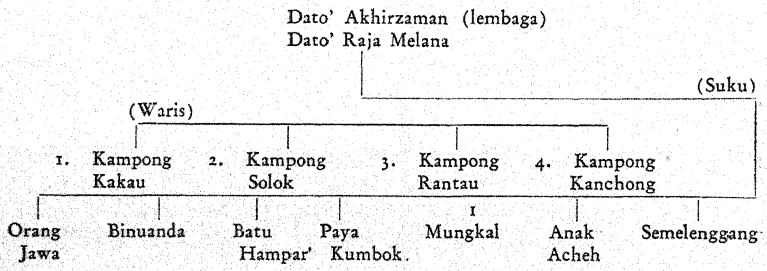
Headman	*Tribe*
Waris clan chief of the locality in which they settle	Anak Lingkongan
Dato' Empat	Anak Sumatra
Dato' Dagang	Anak Jawa
Dato' Serempu	Anak Lingkongan at Labu Hilir

The structure of the Waris di-Ayer and its allied groups is a good illustration of the growth of the "clan" system in Sungei Ujong. The original settlers formed the waris which is the hard core of the group. The waris acquired a title to an area in Sungei Ujong; they were not in sufficient numbers to settle all over the territory but even the unoccupied land (tanah mati) in their area was theirs. This original waris was centred on Rasah in the Linggi valley. When the Sumatran immigrants began to arrive in large numbers there was an overflow into the Labu valley. Certain members of the waris moved over there to become local headmen; the Sumatran Malays settled in their own villages with their own local chiefs, who in time achieved recognition and were granted high flown titles. In the present age immigration conti-

nues and the newcomers are absorbed into four groups, the titles of which might be freely translated "Sumatran immigrants, Javanese immigrants, immigrants miscellaneous, and immigrants miscellaneous at Labu Hilir."

Waris Rantau. The Waris Rantau claim descent from a founder who was sent by an early Penghulu Mentri to settle at Rantau, where he married a woman of the Sakai. One version of the legend says that the founder was a son of the Penghulu of that time; another version makes him a man of Waris di-Ayer who married a Sakai woman from Lenggeng. Even the name of this shadowy founder is not related.

The territory of the Waris Rantau is Rantau and Kuala Sawah. In addition to Waris proper there are allied groups (suku or lingkongan). The structure is:—



The first six holders of the office of Dato' Akhir were drawn from one sub-clan which suggests that the present division into four sub-clans is of fairly recent origin. The present Dato' Akhir has informed the writer that Kampong Kanchong has been divided in two to make five sub-clans in all and that he himself follows a Dato' Akhir of the first half of Kampong Kanchong and is of the second half. But all the other evidence is that the present Dato' predecessor was of Kampong Rantau and that Kampong Kanchong has not been divided. The matter requires further investigation.

The Dato' Melana is deputy and automatic successor (bakal) to the Dato' Akhir. The office of Dato' Melana, like that of Dato' Akhir, rotates round the sub-clans in the other shown. But in order that the succession may follow according to rule, the rotation of the Dato' Melana is subject to the rule that the holder of the office must always be drawn from the sub-clan which is to provide the next Dato' Akhir. An example may serve to make the application of the rule clear. The present Dato' Akhir is drawn from Kampong Kanchong and the present Dato' Melana is drawn from Kampong Kakau. If the present Dato' Akhir dies first, he will be succeeded by the Dato' Melana and a new Dato' Melana will be drawn from

Kampong Solok. But if the present Dato' Melana dies first, his successor, like himself, will be drawn from Kampong Kakau so that this clan may still have the succession in due course to the office of Dato' Akhir.

The Dato' Akhir is a Lembaga Tiang Balai, that is a member of the Dato' Klana Council. But the Waris Rantau is often reckoned to be associated with the Waris di-Ayer. The Waris Rantau provides no officers or retainers for either the Dato' Klana or the Dato' Bandar. The Dato' Akhir's own retainers (hulu balang) are:—

Hulubalang	*Drawn from*
Penglima Sultan	Suku Paya Kumbok
Penglima	Suku Mungkal
Penglima Perang	Waris clans by rotation
Penglima Bebas	Suku Batu Hampar

The waris sub-clans have no clan heads with any distinctive titles which also suggests that the division into four is not ancient. The heads of the attached groups are

Sub-clan headman	*Suku*
Raja Melana	Biduanda
Sri Amar Raja	Batu Hampar
Sinda Maharaja	Paya Kumbok
Senara Bongsu	Mungkal
Kaya Mentri	Anak Acheh
Orang Jawa	Dato' Dagang

The traditional list of the holders of the office of Dato' Akhir-zaman is:

1. Pasar
2. Renjau
3. Bongkok
4. Kahar
5. Lajim
6. Mi'in (Kampong Kakau)
7. Simbok (Kampong Solok)
8. Jamat (Kampong Rantau)
9. Haji Yassin bin Sulaiman (Kampong Kanchong)

The list is shorter than some of the others and suggests that the office was created about the middle of the eighteenth century or a little later.

Linggi

For centuries the river Linggi was the main highway in and out of Sungei Ujong and it is only in the present century that road and rail communications have deprived this historic route of trade and migration of its previous importance. Yet it is worthy of note that the Malay rulers of Sungei Ujong never sought to hold the mouth of the Linggi which was the gateway to their state. The land at the river mouth was either uninhabited or in the occupation of strangers. Perhaps it was fear of pirates which kept the Malays inland once they had arrived. The history of the Linggi estuary is the explanation why the territory is not truly part of Sungei Ujong and yet inseparable from it. For this reason it has been thought best to relate its history and custom separately from the rest.

The name "Linggi" is said to come from the stern of a ship (linggi). The story goes that the founder of the modern settlement found part of a ship when he was exploring in 1783 and so the country takes its name. This story must be doubted if only because the river was being called 'Linggi' at least half a century before 1783. In the records of the seventeenth century the lower Linggi is called the river "Penagie" or "Panagim". By 1720 the name "Linggi" had come to be applied to the river below Simpang. Later still the word 'Linggi' came to mean the river as far upstream as Seremban; to this day it has penetrated no further. "Penajis" is now used only of a tributary of the Linggi which flows in from Rembau. Like so many other place names in Sungei Ujong "Linggi" must be left unexplained. It may be that it was brought in by the Bugis, since its use coincides with the appearance of the Bugis in this part of Malaya. But this assumption still leaves open the question whether it does derive from 'linggi' meaning the poop of a ship or from some other source. It is said that in Hindustani 'linggi' means those who bear the mark of Shiva, but it seems unlikely that a word of Hindu religious significance was brought into use some three hundred years after the majority of the Malays ceased to be Hindus.

The early history of Linggi is a story of trade with the interior rather than settlement at the estuary. When there were Sultans in Malacca, traders and miners went in and out of Sungei Ujong by this route but it is unlikely that there was any settlement at the mouth. Aorording to the Sejarah Melayu there was a string of settlements along the coast from Cape Rachado to Bukit Jugra. The coast further south is not mentioned—possibly it was taken for granted as part of the surroundings of Malacca. The Bendaharas, who even then had local control of Sungei Ujong, may have had a headman or a customs collector at the river mouth but it is

more likely that Klang was then the centre of administration of the northern territories of Malacca.

In the history of this era occurs the shadowy tale of the unsuccessful rebellion of Sheikh Ahmad, also called Ahmad Majanu. Almost all that is known of him is written on his tombstone, which is the centre-piece of the "Pengkalan Kempas stones" or "Keramat Sungei Udang". Around the tomb are carved stones which may have been put there before the tomb itself. It may be that the place was holy to the worshippers of some pre-Islamic religion and that they worshipped there. The difficulty about this supposition is the word "Allah" in Arabic script carved in relief on one of the stones. Unless the masons who first carved the stones left a convenient blank panel in the middle of their design the carving "Allah" can hardly be a later addition.

At the foot of the tomb itself is a square stone pillar through which a hole has been pierced big enough to admit a man's hand and wrist. There used to be an ordeal by oath in which a man was challenged to swear to the truth of his statement with his arm through the hole. It was believed that if he swore falsely the stone would close on his arm and he would be unable to free himself. On the opposite sides of the pillar are inscriptions in Arabic and another script similar to that found on monuments in Sumatra of the same era. The inscriptions in Arabic record that Sheikh Ahmad was buried there in the year corresponding with A.D. 1467, in the reign of Sultan Mansur Shah of Malacca. The other inscriptions relate that Ahmad Majanu set out and came down the river to play a trick at the time when the king, Tun Barah Kalang, was a child, that he was caught and that he and his followers died a low death having lost their cause. R. J. Wilkinson suggested that Tun Barah Kalang was Bendahara Tun Perak formerly of Klang, but not a child in 1467. There is a passage in the Sejarah Melayu which tells how Bendahara Tun Perak lost his half share in Sungei Ujong to Sri Nara di-Raja, who shared it with him, because his local headman, Tun Tukal, governed so badly that the people of the interior would no longer come out of the country. The suggestion made is that Tun Tukal by his maladministration caused a local revolt of the people of the country, Malay traders as well as Sakai. Sheikh Ahmad may have led the revolt which was suppressed by Tun Tukal with unnecessary severity. In consequence the Sakai broke off relations with Malacca and the tin trade down the Linggi, and the attendant revenues of the trade ceased to flow. For this Tun Tukal lost his post and his life, and Tun Perak lost his share in Sungei Ujong.

Whatever explanations is adopted there remains the difficulty of Sheikh Ahmad's tomb. When a revolt fails the victors do not

usually erect a monument to the leader of the losing side. Perhaps in the revulsion against Tun Tukal the followers of Sheikh Ahmad were, as a conciliatory gesture, allowed to commemorate him. It is also puzzling that there should be inscriptions in two different scripts which are neither identical nor completely different in their content, as though they were written independently about the same subject. If the rebels were Sakai and immigrants they may have preferred to pay their tribute separately.

It has been suggested that Sheikh Ahmad himself was a Sumatran trader, and also that he was by origin an Indian Muslim or an Arab. The tradition of Sungei Ujong tells the story that he was a holy man from Acheh who saved Batin Sibu Jaya from being turned to stone by the ogre Kelembai. This legend at least confirms that Sheikh Ahmad is remembered as a foreigner who championed the local aboriginees against an external danger. It is unlikely that history will ever provide more than this mere glimpse of a lost cause. At the present time the tomb of Sheikh Ahmad is become more of a Chinese than a Malay shrine. Chinese rubber tappers live round the place and it is they who burn candles and pray at the place on their feast days.

After the fifteenth century episode of Sheikh Ahmad, Linggi does not come into history for some considerable time. It was not the scene of any recorded event in the long triangular struggle between the Portuguese, Acheh and Johore. As late as 1613 A.D. there had been no considerable Malay immigration into Sungei Ujong according to D'Eredia. But the trade up and down the Linggi continued to be of importance. D'Eredia says that over 100 bahara of tin came out of Linggi each year and Schouten, writing after the Dutch capture of Malacca in 1641, records that the Portuguese had on occasion blockaded the mouth of the Linggi; he recommended that the Dutch should provide ships and men for the same purpose. By the time that the Dutch were in Malacca the Malay immigration had begun. According to the proverb "dull are the men of Menangkabau who have no footing on the sea" but in this case they pressed up the Linggi in search of tin, or padi land, or peace and quiet, or perhaps all these things. Linggi remained uninhabited. In the 1640's Bendahara Sekudai came to Sungei Ujong and stayed with the Sakai at Pengkalan Dian in Linggi. Here he married Batin Sibu Jaya. Later he moved upstream to Kuala Siliau and remained there for a space. Then, according to the legend, he went further inland to Rembau and Sungei Ujong. Nowhere does the legend mention any Malay settlement at the mouth of the Linggi. But the legends do throw an interesting light on the trade of that time. The story of Dato' Alon Tujoh, a follower of Bendahara Sekudai, who came in search

of his lost wife, tells that he met Sakai from Kenaboi who had come to the mouth of the Linggi to buy salt.

D'Eredia's map shows various places in the area of Linggi but unfortunately the map is probably inaccurate in this respect. D'Eredia puts "Lucoth" (Lukut) near the north bank of the lower Linggi, which is inaccurate if he means the Lukut of the nineteenth century near Port Dickson. He marks a place "Tuan formerly Berobe" on the coast between Linggi and Cape Rachado. "Berobe" mentioned by Ptolemy has been identified with Mergui in southern Burma. The Portuguese did not administer north of the Linggi river and it must be supposed that D'Eredia's information in this case was inaccurate hearsay.

One of the objects of Bendahara Sekudai's visit was to establish peaceful relations between Sungei Ujong and the Dutch, who wanted tin. In the latter part of the seventeenth century the Dutch did their best to monopolise the tin exports of Sungei Ujong but they were not very successful. The Dagh Register of 1663 mentions vessels from Johore shipping away Sungei Ujong tin. In the 1678 report of Balthasar Bort the force blockading the mouth of the Linggi is given as one yacht and one sloop with twenty-seven men, both sailors and soldiers. Two miles inland from the estuary there was a barricade across the river beyond which the blockading force was forbidden to penetrate. Bort says that the object of the Linggi blockade was to prevent food supplies from entering the interior so that the Menangkabau settlements might be weakened, and so be more easily overcome by the Dutch later on. If Bort's appreciation of the needs of the Malays in Sungei Ujong is sound the cultivation of rice can hardly have begun on any scale, despite the fact that the territory contains at least 5,000 acres of land which can be planted with wet padi.

In the eighteenth century Linggi became a focal point in the long wars between Raja Kechil and the Bugis. In 1721 Daeng Parani decoyed Raja Kechil and his fleet away from Riau by a feint attack on Linggi. It is not obvious why Linggi had become so important that Raja Kechil was prepared to leave his main base defenceless in order to save Linggi. His motive may have been to preserve control of the Linggi trade or his contacts with the Sumatran Malays of Negri Sembilan, who would be well disposed to his cause. It may also have been just one of those accidents of strategy which bring a Blenheim or a Marathon into the light of history for a moment.

In 1745 when Sultan Sulaiman contracted with the Dutch to restore their tin monopoly in his dominions when he should regain his lost territories, Linggi was important enough to be mentioned

with Selangor and Klang as one of the places to which the agreement referred. A few years later relations between Sultan Sulaiman and the Bugis came to such a pass that the Bugis abandoned the capital at Riau. It was Linggi which Daeng Kemboja chose to make his main base until he was strong enough to return to Riau. The Bugis force and their largest cannon were at Linggi from about 1753 to 1759. This seems to have been the first settlement at Linggi. But it was a mere temporary military base, of which no trace now remains and the site is forgotten. From Linggi the the Bugis launched their attacks on Malacca in 1756. The Dutch and their Malay allies drove Daeng Kemboja back to Linggi in May 1757, forced him to abandon his ships and besieged him there until he capitulated in December of the same year. The Malays, the Bugis and the Dutch entered into various agreements for the settlement of their differences. It appears that Sultan Sulaiman so much wanted to get the Bugis out of Linggi that he was prepared to cede the territory to the Dutch if they could get Daeng Kemboja out. The Bugis being in possession could make unconditional offers, and they promised the Dutch the monopoly of the tin exports of Linggi. Soon after, in 1760, the Bugis leaders returned to Riau and Linggi passes out of the history of their wars.

At the time when the Bugis community was obliged to leave Riau a brother and sister, members of one of the leading families, migrated to Telok Ketapang near Malacca where there was already a Bugis settlement. This is the first record of Dato' Awaludin and Dato' Srilah, the ancestors of the modern Waris Linggi. The tradition of Linggi relates that in 1775 Dato' Awaladin, Dato' Srilah and their followers moved to Rembau and settled at Kampong Penajis. They came in peace but they can hardly have been popular. Kampong Penajis was a stronghold of Menangkabau feeling, to which Raja Melewar had come on his first arrival in Negri Sembilan five years before. There was a long tradition of hostility between the Bugis and the Sumatran Malays which was exacerbated by the difference in their customs. On occasion the Bugis married relatives on their mothers' side (nikah bersanak ibu atau sapupu) which was incest among the Menangkabau communities. So Dato' Awaladin and his party decided to move away to a settlement of their own. According to the tradition both the Undang of Rembau and the Dato' Klana of Sungei Ujong were well disposed towards them, but neither would permit a Bugis settlement in the middle of the Sumatran villages of their territories. But Dato' Klana Leha did offer the vacant land on his side of the lower Linggi. This Dato' Klana Leha had tried other means to weaken the position of his too powerful subject, the Dato' Bandar, and a rival settlement lower down the Linggi may have been another move in the same strategy.

The Linggi legend relates that Dato' Awaladin sailed down the Linggi in search of a site for the first village in his new territory and landed for the night at Pengkalan Kundang. At dawn the next morning the rays of the sun shone through the leaves of the trees on to his face. This was a propitious omen and he chose the place as the site for the settlement. Later he discovered the poop (linggi) of a wrecked ship in the sand and so the settlement got its name. Dato' Awaludin, Dato' Srilah and their followers moved to Linggi in 1783 and established themselves with the blessing of the Undang of Rembau and the Dato' Klana of Sungei Ujong—the settlement was said to be "beribu ka-Rembau berbapak ka-Sungei Ujong."

In spite of such auspicious parentage the settlement at Linggi did not prosper. The padi crops failed and the settlers became discouraged and returned to Rembau. But in 1798 Lebai Dolman, a grandson of Dato' Srilah, persuaded his people to move back and this time the venture prospered by its entrepot trade.

The boundaries of the territory granted by Dato' Klana Leha were Kuala Selebu as the upstream limit on the Linggi, Bukit Tiga and Sungai Serban downstream, and Tampin Kechil, opposite Permatang Pasir, as the inland limit. The village of Kuala Linggi was not founded till 1833 when more settlers arrived from Langat. The settlement acknowledged the authority of a ruler drawn from the descendants of Dato' Awaludin and Dato' Srilah. It is said that the first two rulers bore the title "penghulu" and that Mohamad Katas was the first to be called "Datọ' Muda", because for many years he deputised for his aged father-in-law and predecessor, Abdul Rahman, on whom the Dato' Klana had conferred the title of "Dato' Linggi". Until modern times there was no clan structure and descent on both sides was recognised for political and social purposes.

The wars of the 1830's gave Dato' Muda Mohamad Katas an opportunity to establish his position in Negri Sembilan. Saiyid Shaaban, son-in-law of the Yam Tuan Muda of Rembau, was a personal enemy of Mohamad Katas. Soon after his successes in the Naning war Saiyid Shaaban allied with Nakhoda Lop, a rebel subject of Mohammad Katas, and attacked Linggi. Mohamad beat off this attack and carried the war into Rembau. Saiyid Shaaban, exasperated with the Undang of Rembau who would not help him in the trouble he had brought on himself, turned on the Undang who joined forces with Dato' Muda Mohamad Katas and brought in Dato' Klana Kawal of Sungei Ujong as an ally. The ultimate result in this part of Negri Sembilan was the abolition of the office of Yam Tuan Muda of Rembau, and the creation of

Tampin as a separate territory. Dato' Muda Katas came out on the winning side.

For the next forty years the history of Linggi and of the other states which bordered on the Linggi river was a sequence of struggles for the profits of the river traffic in tin. Chinese tin mining had begun and the revenue to be obtained from tin vastly increased. In this era of war and intrigue the lesser rulers of Negri Sembilan had to be adroit in order to survive. Selangor extended to Lukut, including Cape Rachado and Sungei Raya, and laid claim to Linggi itself, but this claim was not admitted. Every minor chief and pirate who had a stockade on the banks of the Linggi levied dues on the passing craft, which brought on the heads of the Malay rulers castigation from the British authorities in the Straits Settlements. In 1849 the trouble between the Dato' Klana and Dato' Bandar of Sungei Ujong came to the point of war and in the settlement which followed it was provided that the Dato' Klana, Dato' Bandar and the Dato' Muda Linggi should take equal shares in the dues on vessels and merchandise entering and leaving the mouth of the Linggi. In the 1850's the Dato' Klana, prodded by the authorities in Singapore, tried to eliminate the illicit toll stations of the minor chiefs, especially the fort of one Lebai Kulop at Simpang Linggi. In the 1860's the threat of encroachment by Selangor receded owing to its civil wars but in 1870 Rembau saw fit to bring Selangor into the local squabbles by purporting to establish a Rembau-Selangor boundary at Simpang Linggi! Piracy and exaction of illicit dues on vessels in the Linggi became worse. When the Government of the Straits Settlements, acting under its new policy of limited intervention, made the Sungei Ujong treaty of 1874 its principal provisions dealt with free trade on the Linggi which was the main British interest in the area at that time.

During the half century up to 1874 the Dato' Muda Linggi was generally an ally of the Dato' Klana against the Dato' Bandar, but nonetheless they quarrelled with each other occasionally. The Dato' Muda had climbed to a position of almost independence. He signed the treaty of 1874 as a principal, and he was admitted to the small State Council of Sungei Ujong in 1878. He signed the Rembau treaty of 1883, and took part in the negotiations for the cession of Simpang Linggi 1877. Within his own state of Linggi he had been supreme authority and there was no appeal from his decisions which were final. He was "bergajah tunggal—menggenting putus, meliang tembus, memakan habis, membunoh mati" In the present century the office of Dato' Muda, like that of Dato' Bandar, has lost ground to the Dato' Klana whose juridical sovreignty over the whole territory has been re-asserted. In this age rulers do not govern and there is a natural tendency to conduct the government in the name of the dignitary in whom resides the

legal sovreignty. Offices of mere de facto authority suffer thereby. In this case, as in that of the Dato' Bandar, particular events played their part; the office of Dato' Muda Linggi was vacent from 1912 until 1932.

The Dato' Muda Linggi is not considered a vassal of the Dato' Klana, but the territory of Linggi is not an independent unit in Negri Sembilan. Linggi is deemed to be more or less part of Sungei Ujong without more exact definition. In the Estimates the Dato' Muda Linggi appears, like the Dato' Bandar and the Penghulu Tanah Mengandong, as one of the "Chiefs of District". He receives the largest allowance of chiefs in this category except the Dato' Bandar. The early connection of Linggi with Rembau is considered ended and the saying has been modified to "berbapak ka-Klana dan beremak ka-Bandar." The Dato' Muda Linggi does not attend on the Dato' Klana, as the subordinate chiefs do, on Hari Raya Puasa and other great occasions. The Sungei Ujong history says of the Dato' Muda Linggi "tiada beradat kedudokannya". Mr. R. J. Wilkinson wrote:—

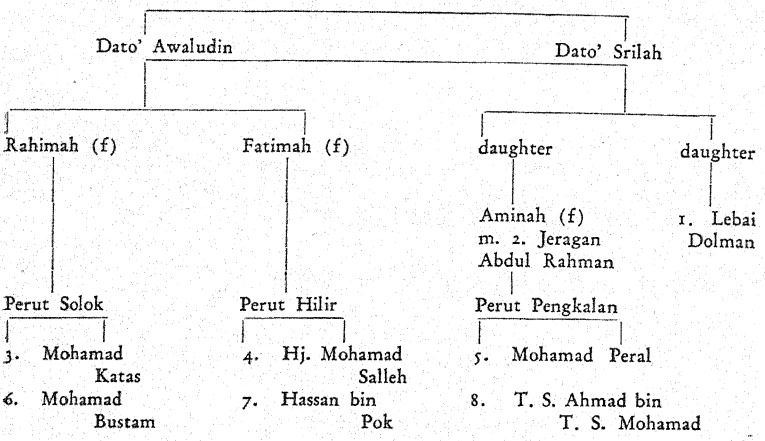
> "The Dato' Muda Linggi, who occupies a position of semi-independence in Sungei Ujong, usually settles the question of his precedence by staying away from the great audiences in which the issue might be raised."

Until modern times there were no rules to define the mode of succession and appointment to the office of Dato' Muda Linggi. The holders of the office have been:—

1. Lebai Dolman
2. Jeragan Abdul Rahman (d. 1824)
3. Mohamad Katas (son-in-law of No. 2)
4. Haji Mohamad Salleh (brother-in-law No. 3)
5. Mohamad Peral (son No. 4)
6. Mohamad Bustam (d. 1912)
7. Hassan bin Pok (1932—1936)
8. Hon'ble Tengku Syed Ahmad bin Tengku Syed Mohamad (1936 —)

As there was no clan system in the early days and no rules of exogamy there have been intermarriages between different lines of descent from the founders, which makes the relationship of the successive holders of the office a little complex. Lebai Dolman was a son of a daughter of Dato' Srilah. His successor, Jeragan Abdul Rahman, was his paternal uncle and also the husband of Dolman's cousin, another grandchild of Dato' Srilah. One of the three clans now established is descended from the union of Jeragan Abdul Rahman and the grand-daughter of Dato' Srilah. The

other two clans are descended from two daughters of Dato' Awaludin. The genealogical tree then is:—



This neat and equitable system of matrilineal clans and rotation of office is twentieth century invention which happens to fit the facts of the nineteenth century. Until 1932 there was no agreement about clans or the rules of descent and therefore there was no rotation as a conscious observance of an accepted rule. When Dato' Muda Mohamad Bustam died in 1912 there was no agreement in the waris Linggi about the rules governing the choice of his successor. Successive British Residents advised that the waris must make up their minds on the general issue before there could be any progress in selecting a new Dato' Muda. Owing to the diplomatic intervention of the late Dato' Klana Ma'amor bin Kassim C.B.E. the system set out above was eventually adopted and the office filled. The following rotation is now accepted:—

1. Perut Solok
2. Perut Hilir
3. Perut Pengkalan

The clans are based on matrilineal rules of descent. The acceptance of this rule by a group of Bugis origin is an interesting example of the persuasive effect of the neighbouring Menangkabau constitutions.

The mode of appointment of a Dato' Muda also follows the model of the 'adat perpateh. The Waris may appoint if they can achieve unanimity. If they are not unanimous the power of appointment passes to the Dato' Klana and Dato' Bandar jointly.

The Dato' Muda receives an allowance of $380 p.m. which represents his former revenues since commuted. He retains half

this allowance and divides the other half among the three lesser chiefs of the Waris Linggi who are

Dato' Panglima Besar
Dato' Panglima Perang
Dato' Laksamana

The titles of these offices indicate that they derive from the time when Linggi was a militant state. The three offices follow the same rotation as the Dato' Muda, but there is no rule against one clan having more than one of the offices at the same time if the rotation so requires. The offices are not clan headships but offices under the Dato' Muda (orang besar). When an office is to be filled the waris may propose a candidate but the final decision rests with the Dato' Muda who actually makes the appointment.

In addition to the three orang besar there are three local headmen, who represent the early civil administration of Linggi. These are:—

Dato' Jaya of Permatang Pasir
Dato' Bentara Setia of Pengkalan Durian
Dato' Kanda of Linggi

The Dato' Kanda is also master of ceremonies in the balai of the Dato' Muda. These headmen (ketua) are appointed by the Dato' Muda at the suggestion of the waris. There is no rule of rotation between clans in this case; the choice tends to fall on someone already resident in the area concerned. Holders of the offices must be drawn from the Waris Linggi. These headmen are subordinate to the orang besar through whom they must pass to bring a matter to the Dato' Muda Linggi.

Appendix A.

Funeral of a Dato' Klana and Election of a Successor (1945-1946).

Funeral of a Dato' Klana. The late Dato' Klana Ma'amor bin Kassim, C.B.E., died suddenly on 15th December 1945. As the Waris were unable to agree upon the choice of a successor the Dato' Andika was appointed Regent and conduct the funeral on 17th December.

After the ritual washings had been done the body of the late Dato' wrapped in a white shroud was laid out on the floor of the principal room of his Balai where a considerable number of mourners had gathered. When the funeral procession was to begin the body was carried out to the forecourt and placed on a bier of five tiers made of trunks of the betel nut palm. A coffin of the type called "Long betol" was placed over it; this coffin consists of three planks joined at angels of about 135° which form a cover but no bottom. The bier was raised aloft on the shoulders of bearers and a man sat upon it with a basin full of copper half cent pieces which he scattered in handfuls to the crowd on the way from the Balai to the mosque. It is said to be lucky to have one of these coins. As the bier moved off from the Balai there was a little wailing by the women; as the procession moved down the road a salute of guns was fired from the ancient muzzle-loader used for this purpose. On its progress the bier was surrounded by the Undang's retainers (juak) carrying the emblems of their office, including the black standard and the umbrella. Behind the bier walked over a thousand mourners, all men with white bands on their songkok. A son and brother of the Yang Di-Pertuan Besar, many Malay notables and the local head of the British Military Administration walked in the procession. The grave was in the compound of the Ampangan mosque, which had been begun by the late Dato's father and completed by himself; it was for this reason that interment in the grounds of the mosque was permitted. The niche (liang) in the grave was in the centre and not in the side wall, possibly because the soil was crumbling or because of the type of coffin used. There was little ceremony about the actual interment. Prayers had been said in the mosque some time before the funeral took place; the usual prayer was said at the grave.

Election of a Dato' Klana. Upon the death of the late Dato' the right to provide a successor passed to Perut Hilir of Waris Klana as the late Dato' had been of Perut Hulu. But within Perut Hilir there was a vigorous dispute about issues which have already been discussed in this paper. Election meetings were held on 16th and 17th December but no agreement could be reached. The nominating committee of three presided over these proceedings. It is considered that the two clan representatives on the Committee should if possible be the two clan heads, the Dato' Johan and Dato' Lela Maharaja, but on this occasion unsoundness of mind and ill-health prevented these two chiefs from attending. The Committee was constituted as follows:—

a woman of Perut Hulu (aunt of the Dato' Johan)
a man of Perut Hilir (a younger brother of the Dato' Lela)
a retired penghulu, who was a member of Perut Hilir, chosen for his knowledge of the custom.

The funeral had been fixed for the afternoon of 17th December and could not be postponed any longer but it could not go forward without a new Dato' Klana or a Regent to conduct it. The Senior Civil Affairs Officer, who stood

in the place of the British Resident under the then existing British Military Administration, was present as a mourner at the forthcoming funeral. He suggested and the Waris Klana agreed that a Regent should be appointed. After discussion which turned on issues quite unconnected with the custom it was decided that Dato' Andika should be appointed Regent.

In January 1946 there were further election meetings but it was still not possible to achieve unanimity. The Waris finally decide to remit the power of appointment to the Dato' Andika as Regent. This delegation was expressed in a written document and signed by the principal members of the Waris. The delegation of the power of appointment to the Dato' Andika caused further dissatisfaction among the Waris di-Ayer, who were already unhappy that the Dato' Bandar had not been appointed Regent and who now stoutly maintained that if the power appoint a new Dato' Klana was to be remittel to any one it must be to the Dato' Bandar. The Waris Klana and the remainder of the Waris di-Darat would not agree to this.

The dispute was further complicated by the lack of a Dato' Raja, lembaga of the Waris di-Ayer. It has been explained that although the primary power of selection rests in the Waris Klana, or their delegate, the appointment does not become valid until it has been ratified by the Council of Lembaga Tiang Balai, of which the Dato' Raja is a member. Unless the Dato' Raja gave his concurrence the appointment might be, and in the case certainly would be, disputed by the Waris di-Ayer.

The position therefore was that the Dato' Andika as Regent was empowered to nominate a Dato' Klana but this could not be acknowledged as a valid appointment without a new Dato' Raja being first appointed. It must here be explained that the previous Dato' Raja had just died and the power to appoint a successor had been remitted to the Dato' Bandar by the Waris di-Ayer which could not reach unanimity among themselves. The first step in the necessary sequence of events had to be taken by the Dato' Bandar who was not altogether content with the situation as it then was. Other reasons not material in this context also made him reluctant to act.

Deadlock continued until March 1946 when the Senior Civil Affairs Officer called together the Dato' Bandar and the Dato' Andika and a compromise was reached. It was agreed that the Dato' Andika should decide who should become the next Dato' Klana but the Dato' Bandar would announce the appointment and the two together would then lead the new Dato' Klana forward and seat him on his dais. It has been said since, that the Dato' Andika gave up to the Dato' Bandar the power to make the selection. From personal knowledge the writer records that this was not true; the Dato' Andika made the selection and the Dato' Bandar merely announced it.

A meeting of the chiefs and of the Waris was convened in the Dato' Klana's Balai on 26th March 1946. The Regent had stated that on the night before he hoped to have dreams which would indicate the most suitable candidates from among whom to make his choice. At the meeting itself he made his choice by a form of divination. A charcoal brazier was placed on the highest step of the Undang's dais. The Regent sat cross-legged on the righthand side of the brazier and facing it. He broke a little incense over the burning charcoal and a wisp of smoke went up. This smoke he studied intently and called into his mind in turn the candidates of whom he had dreamed the night before. The name in his mind when the column of smoke first wavered towards him was the name of the man to be chosen as the new Dato' Klana. After a few minutes contemplation the Dato' Andika rose, came down from the dais, and whispered into the ear of the Dato' Bandar. The Dato' Bandar made a speech of some length on

constitutional questions and concluded by announcing that Inche Mohamad Kassim bin Dato' Andika Haji Abdul Rashid had been chosen to be Dato' Klana Petra. In parenthesis it may be explained that the new Dato' Klana was the son of a *former* Dato' Andika and was not a close relative of the Regent.

The new Dato' Klana was led forward by the Dato' Andika and Dato' Bandar and seated on the middle of the bottom step of the dais, facing the Waris in the balai and flanked on either side by his retainers and the chiefs of Sungei Ujong. The Regent came forward on his knees in the formal fashion of a menghadap to a ruler and then read to the Dato' Klana a brief statement of the constitution of Sungei Ujong, which the Dato' Klana then promised to observe. He has subsequently signed the text of this statement, a copy of which is appended hereto.

The chiefs of sungei Ujong then came forward in due order and made obeisance in token of their acceptance of the new Dato' Klana. The Dato' Bandar did not do so and the Dato' Muda Linggi was not present. A much more elaborate ceremony of enthronement (tabal) must take place when rice is more plentiful and lavish feasting can be sanctioned.

Address to the new Dato' Klana read by the Dato' Andika on 26th March 1946.

"Adat Istiadat di-dalam Luak Sungei Ujong, Negri Sembilan.

Ia itu siapa jua menjadi Undang Luak Sungei Ujong hendak-lah menjalankan atau memakai 'adat istiadat (peraturan) ini.

1. Di-anjak layu di-chabut mati dua perkara
   (a) 'adat yang berlukis berlembaga bertunggal berpemarasan
   (b) hukum yang berhadis berperman dan kitab yang berlapaz berma'ana.

2. Lembaga Tiang Balai
   1. Dato' Andulika Mandulika
   2. Dato' Maharaja di-Raja
   3. Dato' Akhirzaman

dan menchukupi ampat dengan salah sa-orang daripada dato' yang bergajah tunggal.

3. Dato' bergajah tunggal ia-itu bukan-nya Lembaga Tiang Balai.
   1. Dato' Muda Labu
   2. Dato' Dagang Paroi

4. Undang memerentah di-dalam luak, lembaga memerentah di-dalam lingkongan, tua memerentah di-dalam suku, ibu bapa memerentah anak-buah-nya.

5. Chari-charian dalam anak buah; kusut menyelesaikan terhak kapada ibu buapa. Tidak habis pada ibu buapa pulangkan kapada tua, ia itu salah memberi benar-nya, terhak kapada tua. Tidak habis pada tua di-sampaikan kapada lembaga. Bertunggul di-tarah jika kesat di-mempelasi. Jika habis pada lembaga kata sudah perbuatan habis. Jika tidak habis pada lembaga di-sampaikan kapada Undang, ia itu keras minta takikkan and tinggi minta sigaikan kapada Undang.

6. Sah batal kapada lembaga; hidup mati kapada Undang; tali pengikat pada lembaga; pedang memanchong pada keadilan.

7. Undang dudok kapada 'adat Undang. Lembaga dudok kapada 'adat lembaga. Tua dudok kapada 'adat tua. Ibu buapa dudok kapada 'adat ibu buapa dan anak buah dudok kapada 'adat anak buah.

8. Tua di-dalam waris Undang
   (a) Waris Ulu Dato' Johan tetap di-Ulu sahaja.
   (b) Waris Ilir Dato' Maharaja Lela tetap di-Ilir sahaja.
   Ibu buapa-nya Dato' Lela Bangsa, Dato' Siama Mentri, tetap di-Ilir sahaja.

Appendix B.

Unpublished Agreements relating to Sungei Ujong.

Agreement of 1874. In November 1874 the Sungei Ujong war was nearly ended; Dato' Bandar Tunggal was about to be defeated and it was necessary to regulate relations between the Dato' Klana and the new Dato' Bandar. A photostat copy of the Agreement quoted below, which shows the signature and seals of Dato' Klana Syed Abdul Rahman and of Dato' Bandar Ahmad, is extant in the possession of the present Dato' Bandar.

"Negri Semenanjong Tanah Melayu Perentah Dato' Klana Petra serta Dato' Shahbandar.

TARIKH Sannah 1291 kapada lima haribulan Shawal. Bahawa dewasa ini pada menyatakan maka ada-lah beta Tengku Klana Petra Abdul Rahman mengukohkan kebulatan sakalian waris^2 antara dua pehak di-darat dan serta di-ayer——— Dato' Raja serta Dato' Menika dan Dato' Paduka serta dengan Raja Hussin dan Mentri serta Imam Perang Haji Abu Bakar telah muafakat-lah mereka yang tersebut itu mengukohkan ikrar serta tanda tangan hadap-berhadapan beta daripada beta pun menerangkan chap keterangan beta kepada Penglima Besar Ahmad bin Haji Mohamad Ali jadi Shah bandar memerentahkan pesaka atoran tua^2 dahulu^2 yang tidak boleh menukar atau mengubahi sekali^2. Shahdan lagi ikrar pada janjian beta kepada Dato' Shah Bandar apakala ada hal hal ehwal atau apa^2 perbuatan beta melainkan hendak-lah beta muafakat bersama^2 dengan Dato' Shah Bandar.

Dan yang Dato' Shah Bandar pun apa perbuatan-nya melainkan hendak-lah muafakat dengan beta baharu-lah jadi. Peratoran tua^2 yang demikian itu-lah Klana dengan Bandar daripada memerentah negri.

Sah-lah dengan nyata-nya perbuatan yang tua^2 demikian itu, maka membuboh-lah waris^2 dato'^{2} yang punya nama^2 di-bawah shatar ini.

Wakatabuhu Haji Abdul Rauf bin Abdul Latiff.

Tanda tangan keterangan Dato' Raja	X	
Tanda tangan keterangan Dato' Menika	X	
Tanda tangan keterangan Dato' Peduka	X	
Tanda tangan keterangan Raja Hussin	X	
Tanda tangan keterangan Mentri	X	
Tanda tangan keterangan Imam Perang Haji Abu Bakar	X	
Tanda tangan Dato' Juan	X	10.11.1874
Tanda tangan Raja Sulong	X	
Tanda tangan Dato' Lela	X	
Tanda tangan To' Raja di-Muda Mohamad	X	
Tanda tangan To' Menjinda	X	
Tanda tangan Penghulu Dagang Paroi.	X	

Witness Sd. W. A. Pickering
10.11.1874"

(The seals of the Dato' Bandar and Dato' Klana are at the head of the agreement)

Agreement of 1878. The original of the agreement cited below is in the possession of the present Dato' Bandar. It bears the seal of Dato' Klana Abdul Rahman and of the Resident of Sungei Ujong and is signed by both. Despite the internal evidence that the text may not have been drafted by a Malay (possibly Captain Murray drafted it) it appears to be genuine. The Jawi is written with a practised hand.

"Bahawa sa-sunggoh-nya suatu perhimpunan meshuarat telah di-adakan oleh government Sungei Ujong supaya menimbangkan sa-tiap[2] perkara dan hal negri ini. Ada pun perhimpunan meshuarat itu ia itu Tuan Resident dan Dato' Muda Linggi dan Dato' Bandar Ahmad dan dua Kapitan China. Maka perhimpunan meshuarat ini akan dudok pada tiap sa-bulan sakali dan segala perkara yang di-muafakatkan itu akan di-sembahkan ka-hadapan Tengku Klana Petra supaya beroleh kebenaran-nya.

Tertulis kapada 3 hari bulan May 1878.

(Sealed and signed) Abdul Rahman (Dato' Klana)
Murray (Resident of Sungei Ujong)."

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June 1949

Papers relating to Trengganu

by

M. C. ff. Sheppard
A. H. Hill
C. A. Gibson-Hill

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CONTENTS

Volume 22, part 3, published June, 1949.

Contents iii

Council for 1949 v

Editorial & Notice to Contributors vi

A short history of Trengganu, *by* M. C. ff. Sheppard, *M.B.E., E.D.* 1

The weaving industry in Trengganu, *by* A. H. Hill, *M.A., B.Sc.* 75

Wayang Kulit stories from Trengganu, *by* A. H. Hill, *M.A., B.Sc.* 85

Cargo boats of the east coast of Malaya, *by* C. A. Gibson-Hill, *M.A.* 106

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Editorial

This issue, which forms the third part of Volume 22 (1949), is devoted to papers relating to Trengganu, including a short history of the State by Mr M. C. ff Sheppard, M.B.E. The fourth and final part for the year will consist of papers on the find of gold images at Sambas, in Borneo; the contributors will include Dato Sir Roland Braddell, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, Dr H. G. Quaritch Wales and Mr Tom Harrisson.

The first part for the year was devoted to miscellaneous papers by 14 different authors, and the second to a paper on Sungei Ujong by Mr J. M. Gullick. These were distributed to members together in May. Any members of the Society who did not receive copies should communicate with the Honorary Secretary, c/o the Raffles Museum, Singapore.

The following papers on Trengganu subjects appear in earlier numbers of the Journals of the local branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Bĕrkluat. "Bĕrkluat, a Trengganu custom," by A. L. Hoops, J.S.B.R.A.S., no. 85, April 1922, p. 215.

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Kĕri. "A Trengganu Kĕri," by T. Kitching, J.M.B.R.A.S., vol. 8, pt, 2, 1930, p. 318, 2 plates.

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"A Trengganu vocabularly," by P. A. B. McKerron, J.M.B.R.A.S., vol. 9 pt 1, 1931, pp. 123-128.

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"An early Malay inscription from Trengganu," by Major H. S. Paterson, J.M.B.R.A.S., vol 2, pt 3, 1924, pp. 252-258, 2 plates.

Notice to Contributors

In the interests of economy contributors are asked to keep their papers as brief as possible, to avoid the use of foot-notes and to correct and return their proofs with the minimum delay. Contributions should be type-written, on one side of the paper, double-spaced and with good margins. Contributors are supplied with twenty-five reprints of their papers, free, shortly after the publication of the Journal (Rule 20). Additional copies can be provided on payment, if these are asked for when the paper is submitted, or when the galley proofs are returned to the Honorary Editor.

A Short History of Trengganu

by M. C. ff SHEPPARD, M.B.E., E.D.

(*Received, March* 1949)

I.

Early History & the Telanai Tradition.

Modern research in Malayan pre-history has established the fact that the cradle of the Malay race was somewhere between Yunnan and Cambodia and it is probable that during the neolithic and megalithic periods several waves of migrants passed down the peninsula, some settling on its hospitable river banks and coast, others passing on to Sumatra, Java and beyond.

No attempt has yet been made to look for prehistoric relics in Trengganu, but it is reasonable to assume that one of the channels of migration was down the east coast of Malaya, and that at a very early date there were settlements in Trengganu similar to the one which set up slab graves in the Tembeling valley. Whether the migrants of this period travelled by land or sea it is scarcely conceivable that they would make homes in Pahang and ignore Trengganu.

The Proto-Malay was a natural seafarer, and the yellow sands and numerous river mouths of the Trengganu coast must have presented an irresistible attraction to him, while the tin and gold which were to be won a short distance inland provided him with the means to barter for Cornelian beads and magic amulets which Indian traders brought on their way to China, probably some centuries before the Christian era.

Ptolemy's map of the Malay Peninsula, which is believed to have been drawn in Alexandria late in the 2nd century A.D. from information supplied by Indian sailors, shows two ports on the east coast which he named Perimoula and Kole. The first of these may have been intended to correspond to the mouth of the Trengganu river and the latter has been tentatively identified by Dato Sir Roland Braddell with Kemaman. Whether these identities are correct or not, the map establishes the fact that when Ptolemy drew his map the east coast of Malaya was already a port of call for traders travelling between India and the Far East.

Not long after this pioneer work in Eastern cartography was completed a prosperous Malay kingdom came into prominence in the area which would now be described as South Siam and North Malaya. This kingdom of Lankasuka owed its prosperity to trade, and in particular to its possession of sources of raw material then,

as now, in great demand—gold and tin. Some of its supplies may well have been drawn from Trengganu.

Records of this early Malay kingdom are so fragmentary and rare that it is not yet possible to discover when Trengganu first assumed independent identity, but there are references in Chinese annals and records of the thirteenth century A.D. which provide evidence of an important trading centre on the Trengganu river at that time. TSCHAU JOU KUA, writing in 1225, mentions TONG-YA-NONG (登牙儂) and KI LAN TAN as two ports on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula and placed them as dependencies of SAN FO TS'I (Srivijaya, Palembang). Pelliott, writing in 1904 (Vol. 4, p. 344), gives a number of Chinese versions of the name: he includes TING KO NOU (丁噶呶) from a source entitled HAI KOUO WEN KIEN LOU; TING KO LOU and TING KIA LOU (丁加羅) from a source referred to as the YING HONAN TCHE LIO; TING KIA LO (丁咖囉) from another source named HAI LOU, which may refer to the HAI LU SUI SHIH compiled by Yeh T'ing-Kuei in 1149 A.D. Little more than a century after Tchau Jou Kua, WANG TA YUAN mentioned Trengganu and recorded in 1349 the existence of human sacrifices to wooden images, probably to Kali, the Hindu Goddess of Death in that region.

Following closely on this fragment of information comes a reference from a very different source. The kingdom of Majapahit in East Java embarked on a campaign against her Malay trade rivals at Tumasek or Singapore about 1360, and subsequent to its successful conclusion published a list of vassal states or trading centres which were claimed to be included in the spoils of conquest. This list, which was prepared in 1365 in the Nagarakretagama, includes not only Trengganu but also Paka and Dungun, two rivers in the south of the state which in modern times can boast nothing larger than a fishing village apiece, though both have rich mining areas up stream which are worked to this day.

Majapahit influence which probably dates back to this period, has been traced in Kelantan in the present century and since Trengganu and two other rivers or villages were considered worthy of inclusion in the Javanese record, while a Chinese chronicler of the same century describes religious practices in this area, it is reasonable to assume that the Javanese invaders penetrated to the east coast of Malaya and that when they did so they found a well established community of considerable size.

Support for this assumption has fortunately been discovered during the present century and it is now clear that at a date which cannot be later than 1386 A.D. there was a Malay kingdom in Trengganu which had already adopted Islam as its state religion

and had as its ruler one who was styled Raja Mandulika and Sri Paduka Tuhan. The source of this information is a stone fragment, discovered near Kuala Berang, some 24 miles inland from Kuala Trengganu, about 1897 by an Arab trader and tin prospector Sayid Hussin bin Ghulam al-Bokhari and subsequently described by Mr H. S. Paterson, M.C.S. (J.M.B.R.A.S., 1924). The inscription on this stone is the oldest known Malay text in the Arabic script, and is the earliest contemporary record of Islamic influence in Malaya.

While Indians and Arabs traded and settled on the West coast of Malaya, seafaring Khmers from Cambodia and Chinese were probably regular visitors to the east coast for many centuries before the Raja Mandulike promulgated his code of Muslim laws; and the exceptional talent as craftsmen for which the Malays of Trengganu and Kelantan have long been famous may in part be due to Khmer influence both before and after the builders of Angkor were overrun by the Thais in 1292.

Unfortunately the stone fragment tells us very little about the kingdom of Trengganu or its ruler, but it is possible that his hereditary title was Telanai. He is so referred to in the 25th Malay Annal a century later, and this name has such ancient associations that further research may well show that rulers bearring this title had exercised authority at least on the Trengganu river for several centuries before the foundation of Malacca.

This title appears in Sumatran legend, and in an inscription on a statue to Buddha erected in South Siam in 1186 as well as three times in the Malay Annals, and deserves further comment. In the Third Malay Annal, a descendant (possibly a son) of the legendary ruler of Palembang, Demang Lebar Daun, is given the title of Telanai of Bentan or Tun Telanai when he is created ruler of Bentan, after marrying the queen of this island kingdom. This is the lady who is credited with the introduction of the Nobat (a set of musical instruments, usually eight in number, which has been the exclusive prerogative of Malay royalty for many centuries). She is also stated to have visited Siam. We are told that this title was subsequently held by the descendants of Demang Lebar Daun in Bentan, and it reappears in the Thirteenth Annal as the name of the eldest son of Tun Perak, the great Bendahara of Malacca, who at this later date (C. 1456) held Bentan as his fief. Perhaps it is more than a coincidence that when Sultan Mansur Shah wished to send an envoy to Siam he chose the fifteenth century Tun Telanai.

The third reference in the Malay Annals occurs in the 25th Annal and describes how in 1478, on the accession of Sultan Aladin Shah as ruler of Malacca, the "Telanai Trengganu" came

to pay homage to his overlord. Before we follow the subsequent history of this unfortunate individual it is worth digressing to mention the other two recorded references to a Telanai. Dr F. M. Schnitger, in his *Forgotten Kingdoms of Sumatra* mentions a legendary king of Jambi named Sutan Telanai. His son who was apparently rebellious, was cast into the sea in a chest and found his way to Siam where he was received by the king, and later led an expedition against his father and killed him. Whether the ruler's title was hereditary is not stated, but the association with Siam which recurs each time the name appears is intriguing, and it takes on a further significance when we consider that the title also appears in an inscription on a bronze satue of Buddha, erected in 1183 A.D. at Grahi in what is now the Malay area in South Siam. The holder of this title was the governor of Grahi, and the order for the erection of the statue was given by a king bearing a Malay name, which according to M. G. Ferrand is identical with that of the kings of "Malayu" (Jambi). Dr George Coedès has pointed out that Grahi formed the northern limit of the possessions of the Malay empire referred to in 1225 by the chronicler Tchau Jou Kua as San-fo-tsi, and corresponds to the site of Jaiya, one time capital of the Malay empire of Sri Vijaya.

Until further evidence is discovered it is not possible to establish a definite link between Trengganu and twelfth century Siam on the one hand, or with the Sumatran kingdom of Jambi on the other; but further research may show that there was already a Malay kingdom in Trengganu (probably Buddhist) before the empire of Sri Vijaya shifted its capital to Sumatra in the 8th century A.D., and that the title of Telanai which had already been created in North-Eastern Malaya, was carried across to Sumatra and was later handed on by Demang Lebar Daun when he founded Tumasek.

The conversion of Trengganu to Islam preceded that of Malacca by at least a quarter of a century, but where those who introduced the new religion came from is a matter for conjecture. Placed on an established trade route, Trengganu undoubtedly gave shelter to the same type of Arab missionary trader who preached Islam in China in the seventh century and who preceded Marco Polo to the east coast of Sumatra in 1292.

As Malacca grew in wealth and power throughout the fifteenth century her sultans claimed overlordship of neighbouring Malay kingdoms, in some cases in rivalry with the ruler of Siam. The Eleventh Annal tells us that Sultan Mohamed Shah (C. 1390-1414) claimed that his kingdom extended to the west as far as Bruas and to the north as far as Trengganu, and Sultan Mansur Shah sent an expedition to Pahang in 1459 under the leadership of Tun Perak, the Bendahara, which brought back the Siamese

viceroy a captive and replaced him by a Malay warrior chief named Tun Hamzah, Sri Bija Diraja. We know also from the 18th Annal that when Sultan Mansur exiled his eldest son, Raja Ahmad, whose mother was a daughter of the former Siamese viceroy, he sent him to Pahang as its first sultan, and allotted him a stretch of territory "from Sedili Besar to Trengganu".

Up to this time it is probable that the Mohammedan ruler of Trengganu, the Telanai, exercised independent authority over a river kingdom based on Kuala Trengganu, but with a second stronghold either at Kuala Berang or further up stream, without interference either from Siam, Pahang or Malacca. He may have paid some nominal form of tribute to Malacca in the fifteenth century, but there is nothing to indicate that he was in any way subject either to Siam or the Siamese viceroy of Pahang before the latter's defeat in 1459. One may infer from his action on the death of Sultan Mansur and the accession of Sultan Aladin late in 1477 that he regarded Malacca, and not Pahang, as his overlord, whatever opinion to the contrary might be held by Raja Mohamed, elder brother of Sultan Aladin, who seized the Pahang throne soon after his father's death.

The 25th Annal tells us of the Telanai's visit to Malacca, probably early in 1478. He arrived to pay homage and stayed as a guest of Sultan Aladin long enough to be described as a close friend. He proved to possess exceptional skill with the spear, splitting coconuts as they hung on the palm. This proficiency recalls the account given by D'Eredia, writing in 1600, of Proto-Malay sea tribes who were said to have inhabited the coastal areas of Malaya prior to the founding of Malacca. These men he said used pointed javelins called *saligi* and pursued fishes with such accuracy that they could tranfix them in the depths of the sea and used no other weapon.

News of the Telanai's visit to Malacca and his friendly reception was carried to Raja Mohamed (now Sultan Mahmud), the ruthless usurper in Pahang. He was still fiercely indignant that he had been passed over in favour of his younger brother for the Malacca throne, and he chose to regard the Telanai's action as a direct insult. Shortly after the Telanai returned to his own country, Sri Akar Diraja, captain of the guard at the Pahang court and a son of Tun Hamzah, the former Malay governor of Pahang, was despatched to Trengganu with orders to kill him. Sri Akar's first act on arrival was to summon his victim to come and meet him and when the Telanai refused to do so, as being contrary to Adat (custom), he sent a body of cut-throats to murder him. How many other members of the Telanai's family were killed at the same time we are not told, but the 25th Annal relates that three of his grandsons, whose names are given as Megat

Sulaiman, Megat Hamzah and Megat Omar, escaped to Malacca and reported the actrocity to Sultan Aladin, who ordered them to be cared for. Clifford recorded in 1895 that "the descendants of this ancient family (Megat) are still found in Trengganu, and the tradition that they were once the dominant class is preserved in that State."

According to the Hikayat Hang Tuah, a sixteenth century collection of legendary adventures which cannot claim to possess the same historical value as the Malay Annals, Sultan Aladin seriously contemplated waging war on his brother to avenge the Telanai, but was dissuaded by the Bendahara. This account goes on to describe how Hang Tuah was sent to the Pahang court and how he contrived the death of a near relative of Sri Akar Diraja by having him stabbed in the Sultan's presence without punishment, thus apparently re-establishing the moral superiority of Malacca.

Whether this 'face saving' episode occurred or not, it is clear that the Telanai family ceased to rule Trengganu in 1478, and the 25th Annal states that Sultan Mahmud of Pahang rewarded Sri Akar Diraja with the vacant position, and that his descendants were still ruling in Trengganu when the Annals came to be recorded at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The new ruler, like his ill-fated predecessor, also came of very ancient Malay stock being descended from the 'Muntah Lembu' tribe, which claimed to trace its origin back to the old Sumatran Malay court, the home of Demang Lebar Daun.

The link between Bentan and Trengganu appears to have survived as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century, though its precise significance is not clear. The 28th Annal describes how Raja Isap, son of Raja Tuban of Indragiri (in Sumatra) was driven out and fled to the Riau islands where he found a raja named Maharaja Trengganu. Raja Isap married the Maharaja's daughter and succeeded him as Raja of Lingga when he died about 1507.

There is little to be gleaned from the Malay Annals about the descendants of Sri Akar but it would appear that he or one of his successors assumed the title of Raja. The 24th Annal contains an account of a "Raja Trengganu" named Raja Mohamed, son of a Trengganu princess who had married the Raja of Kelantan. He came to Pahang as a suitor for the daughter of Sultan Mansur Shah of Pahang who reigned c. 1497-1515, but he was not considered a suitable match and had to be content with one of the ruler's second cousins.

It is not until 1587 that we hear of Trengganu taking any part in the struggle between the Malays and the Portuguese. When

the Portuguese attacked Johore in that year the Sultan summoned the Rajas of Trengganu, Indragiri, and Kampar to his aid, but although Trengganu men formed part of the defending force of ten thousand, they were unable to prevent Dom Paolo de Lima from destroying Johore Lama.

In the century which followed, the shifting fortunes of the southern Malay kingdom, engaged alternately in suicidal struggles with Sumatran states or with the Portuguese, do not seem to have been shared in any way by Trengganu. Even when first Johore and then Pahang were overrun by the Achinese, the former in 1564, 1618 and 1620, the latter in 1617, 1620 and 1635, Trengganu escaped their unwelcome attentions, and subsequently became a popular refuge for fugitives.

In spite of this isolation Trengganu appears under the title of TING CHIA HSIA LU (TENG KA HA LO in Hokkien: TING KA HA LOU in Cantonese) in the WUPEI CHI charts which were probably based on information collected during Cheng Ho's voyages to Malaya in the fifteenth century, and were prepared between 1511 and 1601. These charts also include Pulau Tenggul (off Dungun) and several island groups off Trengganu and Kelantan. Trengganu appears in Linschoten's map of 1623, where it is referred to as PEREGENAOU. This latter map also shows CAPAS, P. REDAM and some islands named FONCIAM, sited where the Perhentians lie. It is of interest to note that though Linschoten shows CALANTAO and PATANE, PADRAM (Batu Pahat) and MUAR, neither Pahang nor Johore are included.

During the seventeenth century the dispossessed rulers of Johore took refuge in the Riau islands on several occasions, and after the sack of Batu Sawar by Jambi in 1673 this area was energetically prepared for the reception of Sultan Ibrahim of Johore by Laksamana Hitam. The latter's greed for power which led him to marry his daughter to the Sultan's heir, and to secure the position of regent when the Sultan died in 1685, caused his fellow chiefs to combine against him, and he fled to Trengganu in 1688, remaining there till his death. Soon afterwards Tun Mohamed, son of Bendahara Tun Rantau, became so unpopular at Riau that he too retired to Trengganu, and twenty years later the first of the new line of Bendahara-Sultans chose Trengganu for his place of exile.

II

Foundation of the Sultanate (1718—1764).

Whether by chance or intention Trengganu continued to keep aloof from Malay politics in the early years of the eighteenth

century. While in Johore the last of the Malacca line, Sultan Mahmud III, was murdered in 1699 and was replaced by Bendahara Habab Abdul Majid, there is at present no indication that this milestone in Malay history ruffled the calm in the northern state.

When Sultan Abdul-Jalil (ex-Bendahara) was driven from Johore by Raja Kechil (who claimed to be the posthumous son of Sultan Mahmud III) in 1718 he followed the example of his cousin, Tun Mohamed, and took refuge in Trengganu, accompanied by many members of his family and a number of Johore chiefs.

He seems at first to have intended to remain there and he is known to have conferred titles on a number of his supporters, in particular the title of Paduka Maharaja on his younger half brother Tun Zainal Abidin, but we are told that the Trengganu *mentri, orang besar and hulubalang* would not accept his authority and after a stay of about a year he moved south to Kuala Pahang. while he was in Trengganu a number of Johore rajas and chiefs who had left Johore for Malacca when Raja Kechil seized the throne came to visit him there, including another of his brothers Tun Mahmud, Orang Kaya Indra Bongsu, but they too found the atmosphere uncongenial. Captain Alexander Hamilton visited Trengganu while Sultan Abdul-Jalil was there and describes him as "a poor distrest King who by his senseless devotion to superstition ruined his country and his family". It is clear that the Sultan commanded no respect either in Johore or Trengganu, and his religious devotion was regarded as a sign of weakness in an age when rulers no less than their ministers maintained their position largely by force of personality and arms.

Captain Hamilton visited Trengganu twice, in 1719 and again in 1720. He describes the capital as consisting of about a thousand houses, not built in regular streets but scattered, ten or twenty in one place. He states that the products of the country were pepper and gold. He found that the town was partly peopled with Chinese who had "a good trade of three or four junks yearly, besides some that trade to Siam, Cambodia, Tunquen and Sambas". Hamilton came to Trengganu to dispose of part of his cargo and to procure a new one (he states that "the kind King", i.e. the Sultan, assisted him to do both) : it must therefore have been a trading centre of some considerable size. He adds that "the King several times asked me if I thought the English might be persuaded to settle a colony in his country, that Pahang might be made a place of great trade if there were shipping and stock to carry off the pepper and tin. I told him I could give him no encouragement to believe they would. He told me that when I came to Bombay I should acquaint the Governor of the desire he had to live under the protection of the English."

Ex-Sultan Abdul Jalil was murdered at Kuala Pahang in 1721 by the order of Raja Kechil, and his son Tengku Sulaiman, born after the Bendahara was made Sultan and therefore entitled to a raja's title, was taken a captive to Riau. From there he sent an invitation to the Bugis warrior chief, Daeng Perani, and his four brothers, who had established themselves in Selangor, to come and drive out Raja Kechil. The Bugis who saw in this invitation an opportunity to extend their sphere of influence, invaded Riau, Raja Kechil's new capital, in 1722 and drove him out and proclaimed Tengku Sulaiman Sultan of Johore and Pahang. On the advice of his non-royal elder half brother Bendahara Tun Abbas, the young Sultan gave to Daeng Merewah the third of the five brothers, the important title of Yam Tuan Muda and to another brother, Daeng Menambun, (the second eldest) the title of Raja Tua, and married his sister and his aunt to two of the Bugis brothers.

The circumstances leading to the accession of the first Sultan of Trengganu are difficult to establish. Trengganu oral tradition, which was referred to by Clifford in 1895 and survives to this day, is at variance with the account recorded by the Bugis historian Raja Ali Haji in his 'Tuhfat al-Napis', which was written in Riau.

All sources are agreed that Tun Zainal Abidin, younger half brother of Sultan Abdul Jalil was the first Sultan, but according to Trengganu historians he was placed on his throne through the friendly influence of the Queen of Patani, whose name is given as Nang Chayam, whereas the Bugis historian claims that it was the Bugis Raja Tua from Riau who installed him, at the request of Sultan Sulaiman, Tun Zainal Abidin's nephew. According to the Tuhfat this event took place in 1725.

The Patani tradition is so strongly held that it must be recorded. During the early part of Sultan Abdul Jalil's reign, when he was still taking an active interest in the government of his kingdom, a warrior named Wan Derahman won fame and honours and thus became the object of court jealousy. He was falsely accused of intimacy with one of the Sultan's "gundek" (concubines) and a plot was hatched reminiscent of Othello, in which a silk handkerchief served as convincing evidence of infidelity. Wan Derahman had adopted the young Tun Zainal Abidin, who was one of the family of sixteen brothers and sisters, and the youth was brought up in the company of the warrior's sons. Biding his time, Sultan Abdul Jalil arranged an expedition to some islands on which he was accompanied by all his chiefs. At a given signal certain chosen followers fired a salvo of guns at Wan Derahman's boat. The warrior was taken completely by surprise but quickly determined to resist. In the confusion his

swivel gun was inefficiently loaded and the shot, when fired, fell scarcely a dozen yards from the boat. Interpreting this as a bad omen, Wan Derahman decided to resist no further and gave orders to flee. His son Wan Abdullah and Tun Zainal Abidin were in another boat nearby and they followed his example. Followers of the Sultan set off in pursuit and eventually succeeded in over taking the fugitive off the coast of Trengganu and he was executed near Kuala Takir. Corroborative details in support of this story are stated to be traceable from local place names. The boatmen, who were referred to as *gegelang* (gegelam), were killed at the headland since named Tanjong Gelang; the head boatman who held the rank of "Batin" was executed at a spot which has since been known as *"Telaga Batin"*, and the scene of Wan Derahman's death named *"Telok Dato"* is to this day regarded as a *"kĕramat"* or shrine, where fishermen believe that they receive supernatural aid from the Dato who was innocent of the crime for which he was punished. The boat containing the murdered warrior's son and Tun Zainal Abidin had become separated earlier in the journey and sailed on to Patani, unaware of Wan Derahman's fate.

Learning of the identity of the young visitor, Nang Chayam, the Queen of Patani, gave him accommodation in her palace and treated him like an adopted son. When nearly a year later Sultan Abdul Jalil discovered the whereabouts of his half brother and sent an escort to bring him back the queen refused to part with him unless Sultan Abdul Jalil came in person. The Sultan is said to have visited Patani and to have married the queen, who like her sixteenth century counterpart in England, had previously remained unwed, but Tun Zainal Abidin remained in Patani, apart from a short visit to his brother's capital, until he was of age.

Some arrangement had been agreed on during the Sultan's visit as to the distribution of the Johore territories, and Trengganu had been named as Tun Zainal Abidin's heritage. When news of the death of the Sultan Abdul Jalil eventually reached Patani, the queen decided to implement this arrangement and gave orders that a Sultan's regalia should be prepared. When this was ready she despatched Tun Zainal Abidin with a following of eighty Patani families and he was proclaimed Sultan of Trengganu. The followers are said to have settled in a kampong which to this day is named Kampong Patani.

Prior to his arrival the administration of the Trengganu river mouth was in the hands of a Johore chief named to' Raja Kilat, and when Tun Zainal Abidin was first installed he settled some 20 miles inland near Kuala Berang. As time passed he moved towards the coast and eventually built a fort on Bukit Kledang,

named 'Kota Lama', inside which he was eventually buried, together with his Patani wife, who was a cousin of the queen and who was given the title of 'Che Puan Besar'. The Bugis account makes no reference to Patani, and claims that Sultan Sulaiman, some three years after he had secured his throne in Riau through an alliance with the Bugis, sent one of the five brother chieftains, Daeng Menambun, to instal his uncle, Tun Zainal Abidin, as first Sultan of Trengganu in 1725. Sultan Zainal Abidin could trace his descent back to the first Bendahara of Malacca, Tun Perpateh Besar, uncle of Sultan Mohamed Shah, and the present Trengganu ruling house has thus a pedigree stretching back to the fourteenth century.

According to tradition Sultan Zainal Abidin had four sons by his Patani wife: they were named Ku Tana Wangsa, Ku Tana Ali, Ku Tana Ismail and Ku Tana Mansur. When the youngest of the four was born Dato Pulau Manis, an elderly chief, prophesied that the child would be a great ruler and would free the sea of pirates and insisted that he should be given the name of Mansur. While still very young the child showed remarkable powers and was credited with invulnerability, and when the Sultan died in 1733 the three elder sons, with unprecedented generosity waived their claims to the throne in favour of the young prodigy, Mansur, who was then only seven years of age. Sultan Zainal Abidin was buried on Bukit Kledang and was given the title of "Marhum Bukit Nangka".

The affairs of Trengganu were controlled by Tun Husain the Bendahara, while Tun Dalam or Tun Kechil, as Mansur was generally referred to, grew up. The status of this Trengganu Bendahara, probably the first and last of his line, may be assessed from the fact that when Sultan Sulaiman of Riau paid a visit to Trengganu in 1735, after building a wall round his father's tomb at Telok Kandang, Kuala Pahang, he married his nephew, Tun Abdul Majid, then a youth of about 15, to one of the Bendahara's daughters. This Tun Abdul Majid who afterwards became Bendahara of Pahang, died at the great age of 82 and was the direct ancestor of the present Pahang ruling house. Sultan Sulaiman was accompanied on this visit by the new Bugis 'Raja Tua' Daeng Kemboja and during this visit news was received that Raja Kechil was threatening to attack Trengganu: a fort was hastily constructed but the attack did not materialise. After a stay of about 2½ months Sultan Sulaiman returned to Riau and when Raja Kechil made an unsuccessful attack on his headquarters Maharaja Denda of Trengganu was sent with twenty pikuls of saltpetre, made partly of bat-guano as a contribution to the Riau armoury. In 1737 when Raja Alam son of Raja Kechil, who carried out his expeditions from Siak in Sumatra, had been soundly defeated, there were great celebrations in Riau; and Sultan

Sulaiman felt sufficiently secure to turn his attention to his young cousin in Trengganu.

Mansur, who now used the title of Yang di-pertuan Kechil of Trengganu was invited to Riau in 1739, and was married to Raja Bulang, daughter of the Bugis Yam Tuan Muda, Daeng Chela. Later the same year he was invited to pay a second visit and was married to Raja Bakul, Sultan Sulaiman's own daughter.

There was at this time a series of visits by Trengganu notables to Riau, including Nakhoda Ali, bringing letters from the Temenggong, the Dato Dungun, Tun Nara Wangsa, Raja Mohamed, Enche Punat, who is described as an emissary from the Trengganu Bendahara, Tun Abdul Rahman and Tun Abdul Majid the son-in-law of the Bendahara.

In the following year (1740) Sultan Sulaiman paid another visit to Trengganu accompanied by his son Raja Ibrahim, Tun Sulong Muda, his nephew Tun Abdul Majid, Tun Pasang, Tun Hassan Indra Bongsu, and many chiefs and warriors. When they arrived they found twenty-nine ships from Palembang anchored in the river mouth and soon after his arrival he ordered a census to be taken of all houses at Kuala Trengganu and up river. Seven weeks later Long Pandak came from Kelantan, accompanied by Enche Ahmad, to pay his respects and Sultan Sulaiman gave Long Pandak the title of Dato Sri Maharaja.

When the Sultan had spent five months in Trengganu he seems at last to have felt sure enough of his position to announce the conferment of the title of Sultan of Trengganu on his son-in-law and cousin Tun Dalam, who now took the name Sultan Mansur Shah. This young man was to rule for fifty-four years, a length of reign seldom equalled in Malay history, and was to play a prominent part in the affairs of the Johore empire. The accession ceremonies were attended by Long Pandak of Kelantan who was subsequently escorted back to his state by Maharaja Denda of Trengganu.

Sultan Sulaiman prolonged his stay in Trengganu for another six weeks before setting off on his return journey to Riau. After calling at Pulau Kapas and Dungun he spent a month in Pahang. Long periods of absence from their capitals by these two Sultans does not appear to have interfered with the management of state affairs and Sultan Mansur, though so recently installed, accompanied his royal father-in-law to Riau. Tun Hussain the Bendahara of Trengganu escorted the two Sultans as far as Pahang and remained there with them until they left for Riau. One of Tun Hussain's sons sailed with the Sultan, as did the Bendahara Tua of Pahang and a number of Trengganu chiefs.

After an absence of two years and two months Sultan Mansur returned to Trengganu but again visited Riau three years later in 1746. It was now more than twenty years since Sultan Sulaiman had invoked the aid of the five Bugis brothers and their chain-clad warriors to re-establish the Bendahara dynasty and to resist the attacks of Raja Kechil. The price of his security proved to be payable with compound interest and the Malays of Johore and Riau found that as time passed more and more power and authority was grasped by the Bugis brothers and their followers. Sultan Sulaiman appears to have inherited some of his father's weakness of character and to have made little independent effort to check the Bugis encroachment, but his son-in-law Sultan Mansur was of different mettle. During his long stay in Riau Sultan Mansur watched with growing impatience the way in which Malay interests and authority were subordinated, and observed the autocratic ways of Daeng Chela, the third senior of the five brothers, who had married Sultan Sulaiman's sister and had been made Yam Tuan Muda in 1728 on the death of his elder brother Daeng Merewah. When Sultan Mansur revisited Riau in 1746 it may have been more than a coincidence that Daeng Chela died suddenly six days after his arrival and he quickly became the leader of the Malay party in Riau who wished to see the power of the Bugis greatly reduced. In this he had the support of both the Bendahara of Pahang and Temenggong of Johore, but since new and influential appointments at Court had been created and filled by Bugis, and trade was largely in their hands, and since they still retained the support of Sultan Sulaiman, the Malay opposition met with little success. Bugis independence was characterised in their selection of Daeng Kemboja, son of Daeng Perani, the eldest of the original five brothers, as Yam Tuan Muda. This selection was made not in Riau but in Selangor where the Bugis had settled in large numbers, and the new Yam Tuan Muda only came to Riau for confirmation more than two years later.

From 1746 for nearly fourteen years Sultan Mansur was content to leave the affairs of his Kingdom in the hands of his ministers and taking up his residence in Riau, accompanied by a considerable following of Trengganu chiefs and warriors, he devoted his energies to the task of dislodging the interlopers from Riau. A golden opportunity to gain the support of Sultan Sulaiman for this policy seemed to have presented itself when Raja Buang, also known as Sultan Mahmud, of Siak came to Riau to ask for assistance to recover his throne from which he had been driven by his half brother Raja Alam. Both were sons of Raja Kechil, but Raja Buang's mother was Tengku Kamariah, sister of Sultan Sulaiman, whereas Raja Alam's mother was a Sumatran lady. Sultan Sulaiman agreed to help his nephew and called on Daeng Kemboja to provide boats and fighting men, but Daeng Kemboja refused to assist. It had become clear to Sultan Mansur that

there was only one means of freeing Riau of the Bugis, and that was by an arrangement with the Dutch at Malacca. As a first step he persuaded Sultan Sulaiman to go with him to Malacca and ask the Dutch to join them in an attack on Raja Alam, promising them trade facilities in Siak as the price of their support. The Dutch agreed and the combined force reinstated Raja Buang while Raja Alam fled to Siantan.

Unfortunately before this alliance could be strengthened Raja Buang, finding the presence of a Dutch trading station at Pulau Kentong uncongenial, murdered the factor and drove out the Dutch. To make matters worse Raja Alam showed signs of renewing his warline activities using Siantan as his base, and Sultan Sulaiman decided that he must be ejected from there also. It was obviously no time to ask for further Dutch assistance, but reinforcements they must have, so swallowing their pride the two Sultans turned again to Daeng Kemboja, who was still at Riau, and asked him for fighting men. The Bugis Yam Tuan Muda once again refused to support an attack on Raja Alam, although his father Daeng Perani had originally driven out Raja Kechil. He was well aware of the resentment which the Bugis had aroused among the Riau Malays, but he knew that in war Riau was still incapable of achieving victory without his aid and he decided to leave his vascillating victim to discover this unpalatable truth for himself.

The two Sultans decided to proceed with their attack and for five months carried on a desultory campaign against Raja Alam without success. At last even Sultan Mansur agreed that they must have outside aid and they made a further urgent request to Daeng Kemboja. This time he consented and arrived from Riau with five hundred Bugis in 1749. In the ensuing battle the total casualties on both sides amounted to over four hundred, but Raja Alam was decisively beaten and he fled to Matan leaving all his arms and possessions behind.

While Sultan Sulaiman and Sultan Mansur remained in Sumatra to attend the reinstatement of Raja Buang, Daeng Kemboja returned to Riau and arranged to strengthen his position still further by two marriages. He already exercised considerable influence over the young heir to the Riau throne, Tengku Abdul Jalil, also known as Raja di Baroh and he now arranged for him to marry Tengku Puteh, the daughter of the late Yam Tuan Muda Daeng Chela and niece of Sultan Sulaiman. Almost simultaneously he gave his sister in marriage to Raja Alam. When Sultan Mansur returned to Riau he found his enemy more firmly established than ever and he could no longer rely on Sultan Sulaiman for any support. Daeng Kemboja's belated assistance against Raja Alam coupled with the new ties of marriage had destroyed any

chance of his continued sympathy for an anti-Bugis policy and from now on Sultan Mansur realised that he must act independently.

The Malay chiefs readily joined in a campaign to make Riau too uncomfortable for Daeng Kemboja and the Trengganu men who mustered a considerable body staged large scale disturbances in the town three or four times each month, laying the blame on the Bugis whom they accused of attempting to burn the fort, or of wishing to fight. These incidents invariably occurred at night when it was impossible to identify the instigators, and though enquiries which were led by Daeng Kemboja and the Bendahara did not substantiate the Trengganu accusations, Sultan Mansur persisted in his war of nerves. Before long his efforts bore fruit and Daeng Kemboja made a formal request to Sultan Sulaiman for permission to leave Riau but it was refused. Encouraged by the success of his policy Sultan Mansur organised further disturbances and Daeng Kemboja's patience came to an end. Packing all his possessions, he had them loaded into boats and comparing himself to a sack which was full and overflowing, he bade farewell to Sultan Sulaiman and sailed for Linggi, leaving his cousin Raja Haji, son of Daeng Chela, to look after Bugis interests in Riau.

Turning his attention to Raja Haji, Sultan Mansur renewed his nocturnal activities, and when a Dutch warship arrived he tried unsuccesfully to persuade the captain to remove Raja Haji. When the Bugis chief heard of this he assembled his warriors and prepared to fight. Both the Trengganu men and the Bugis manned their boats, but before they could join battle Sultan Sulaiman heard what had happened and summoned Sultan Mansur to the palace. Almost speechless with rage he threatened to abdicate and made it a condition that if he were to remain as ruler of Riau Sultan Mansur must go to Linggi and bring back Daeng Kemboja and arranged for a fresh pact of friendship with the Bugis.

Reluctantly agreeing, Sultan Mansur sailed north accompanied by Raja Haji but instead of going direct to Linggi he called at Malacca, allowing Raja Haji to precede him. Sultan Sulaiman probably accompanied Sultan Mansur on this visit to Malacca and made a trade agreement with the Dutch by which they were given the right of free trade in Riau and a tin monopoly in Klang and Linggi, he then returned to Riau leaving Sultan Mansur behind. This resourceful ruler decided to follow up the trade agreement with a proposal for military aid against the Bugis whom he accused of planning to seize Johore, and he succeeded in persuading the Dutch to join in an expedition against Linggi. A plot to capture Raja Haji narrowly failed and in the defence of Linggi Raja Haji was wounded and was carried in a litter to Rembau,

where Daeng Kemboja was already installed, leaving Linggi deserted.

It was obvious that Sultan Sulaiman would strongly disapprove of his attack on the Bugis, Sultan Mansur therefore decided to return to Trengganu and if possible to take his father-in-law and Tengku Abdul Jalil with him, and thus allow the storm to blow over in their absence. His plan almost succeeded: Sultan Sulaiman agreed to accompany him, though Tengku Abdul Jalil refused, and most of the Trengganu men and their families and many members of the Riau court were already in their boats waiting to sail when a trading vessel arrived from Malacca and disclosed the true position. Sultan Mansur immediately gave orders to his followers to put to sea and set sail himself without taking leave of his father-in-law. The gamble had failed and from now on he determined to leave Riau to take care of itself. In his absence Sultan Sulaiman, now more than sixty years old, came to terms with the Bugis and made a fresh agreement with Daeng Kemboja by which their old ascendency was restored.

It soon became clear that this action was exceedingly ill advised. Sultan Sulaiman died in 1760 and his son Tengku Abdul Jalil survived him by only a few months. Daeng Kemboja had gone on a visit to Selangor after Sultan Sulaiman's death, accompanied by Sultan Abdul Jalil and his nine year old son Tengku Ahmad and while they were there the new Sultan was suddenly taken ill and died, to be followed to the grave a few weeks later by his elder son. The Malays of Riau openly accused the Yam Tuan Muda of poisoning them but they were powerless to prevent Daeng Kemboja from declaring Sultan Abdul Jalil's second son, Tengku Mahmud, an infant aged one year, as Sultan and himself as guardian. The Malay party would have preferred Sultan Abdul Jalil's brother, Tengku Abdul Kadir, but Daeng Kemboja packed the court with armed men and stifled any opposition.

The Bendahara, Temenggong and other Malay leaders then wrote to Sultan Mansur calling on him to help them to drive out the Bugis. They also wrote to Pahang and to Raja Ismail, who had succeeded his father Raja Buang as Sultan of Siak in 1760. But Sultan Mansur had learnt his lesson and though Raja Ismail paid a special visit to Trengganu to try and secure the services of the Trengganu fleet he could obtain nothing except fair words and he eventually made an unsuccessful attack on Riau without the hoped for reinforcements.

Daeng Kemboja was now all powerful in Riau: the pro-Malay Bugis Raja Tua retired to Palembang and the Bendahara Tun Hassan withdrew to Pahang, leaving the Yam Tuan Muda to

conduct a lucrative trade in tin, opium and cloth with the Dutch and English. Had the Trengganu Sultan's policy of friendship with the Dutch been followed consistently this would never have occurred and the Malays might have freed their island kingdom permanently from Bugis control.

III.

Independence & Expansion under Sultan Mansur I (1764—1793).

Though Sultan Mansur was determined to avoid further entanglement in Riau affairs he saw in Raja Ismail of Siak a valued ally for a policy of expansion to the north, and when this courageous warrior prince sent a relative to ask for one of the Trengganu princesses as his bride he returned a favourable answer.

Raja Ismail, undeterred by a series of disasters, eventually sailed into the Trengganu anchorage one summer afternoon followed by a fleet of fighting vessels. Since his last meeting with Sultan Mansur he had been roundly defeated by the Bugis, driven from his Kingdom, befriended by the Sultan of Palembang, led an attack on Mempawa, and had captured and killed the chief of Siantan, and plundered the town. He had also been invited by Raja Haji, the Bugis warrior chief, to join him in an attack on his recent host the Sultan of Palembang, but had declined.

On arrival in Kuala Trengganu Raja Ismail and his men were allotted a separate kampong and preparations for the wedding were set in motion. He had brought with him three half brothers, Raja Abdullah, Raja Musa and Raja Daud, his full brother Raja Abdul Rahman and several sisters. When the day of the wedding arrived the bridegroom was carried in procession through the town with Raja Musa on his right and Raja Abdul Rahman on his left. When they reached the entrance to the palace compound they found that the young Trengganu rajas had played a practical joke on them; the gate was shut and barred. From inside they demanded a large sum of money before they would admit the Siak party. Raja Ismail was not in the mood for jesting and his face flushed with annoyance: seeing this Raja Abdullah who sat at the front of the bridegroom's litter carrying the sword of state leapt to the ground and shouted "if you Trengganu rajas do not open the gate I shall spring over the wall like a tiger and mĕngamok". Word of the dispute reached Sultan Mansur and he quickly ordered the gate to be opened, Raja Ismail then rode in state to the palace and bride and bridegroom sat together and were fed with scented rice following the ancient marriage ritual which survives to this day. The wedding was celebrated with public entertainments and feasting for a period of three months and when all the ceremonies

had been completed Raja Ismail made his home in his father-in-law's capital.

For some time previously affairs in the neighbouring state of Kelantan had engaged Sultan Mansur's attention. For a century or more there had been no central authority in Kelantan and power had been in the hands of local chiefs, but one of the objects of Long Pandak in coming to Kuala Trengganu in 1740, while Sultan Sulaiman was preparing to instal Sultan Mansur, was to gain his support and when he returned to Kelantan with the title of Dato Sri Maharaja he had gone far to establish himself as its new ruler. He was followed by Long Bahar and Long Drahman, the latter seizing power and murdering his rival, while Long Yunus, the young son of Long Bahar was taken to Trengganu for safety.

Sultan Mansur viewed the rapid rise of Kelantan from a vassal state to militant independence with natural concern, and when Long Yunus was of age he was installed as ruler with the help a large Trengganu force in about 1775. Raja Ismail and his Siak warriors accompanied this expedition, which included a fleet of one hundred Trengganu war boats and three thousand Trengganu fighting men. Sultan Mansur moved with his army, and both he and Raja Ismail were mounted on elephants. The Kelantan resistance was stubborn and the Trengganu casualties were heavy but the blunderbusses carried by the Siak men eventually turned the scale. The final attack followed an interval for the midday prayer: the Kelantan army held a ring of twenty-five forts and were estimated to be five thousand strong: surrounded by a body of 150 picked warriors Raja Ismail charged the enemy and in the hand to hand fighting which followed the Kelantan force were routed with heavy losses. According to the account of this campaign given in the Tuhfat al Napis, the Raja of Kelantan took an oath of allegiance after his defeat and was then allowed to resume his position. The account goes on to say that the Kelantan raja twice failed to observe the terms of allegiance and was twice defeated by Trengganu forces, led by Raja Ismail. From this it would appear that at first Sultan Mansur was content to allow Long Drahman to remain in power, after he had accepted the Trengganu ruler as his overlord, but he was eventually obliged to replace him by Long Yunus. To strengthen the link between the two states Sultan Mansur married his younger son Tengku Mohamed to the daughter of Long Yunus, and when the Kelantan ruler died it was arranged that Tengku Mohamed should succeed him.

Although he would have no further dealings with the Dutch or Bugis Sultan Mansur abandoned his policy of isolation in 1781 and accepted an invitation from Siam to take part in an attack on a neighbouring state, probably Ligor. The Siamese had already

overcome opposition before the Trengganu fleet arrived, but a portion of the spoils of victory, which according to tradition filled twenty boats, was presented to the Sultan.

Wishing to show his gratitude for the generosity of the Siamese Sultan Mansur consulted his officials as to the form which his gift should take and decided to send a gold and a silver flower, referred to as *"bunga mas"*.

This was the first time in the history of Trengganu that *"bunga mas"* was sent to Siam and it is clear that the gift was an entirely voluntary one and was not sent at the request of the Siamese. These flowers were despatched to Bangkok with an embassy in 1782 and were subsequently sent at intervals of three years.

Sultan Mansur's motive in creating this precedent was to establish friendly relations with the only power in his vicinity who might disturb his country's peace, and any suggestion that the *"bunga mas"* was a form of tribute has always been entirely repudiated by successive sultans and chiefs of Trengganu. In support of this view it is of interest to observe that although Siam had been independent of China for a long period the *bunga mas* was still being sent from Bangkok to Peking in 1820.

The Sultan's action was soon to prove embarrassing and in 1787 he wrote to Captain Light in Penang complaining that the King of Siam had given orders that the rulers of Trengganu, Kedah and Patani should go to Bangkok and do homage, and that when he refused to do so the king had sent an envoy who demanded a hundred pieces of cannon and a variety of rich articles. Later the same year the Sultan wrote again asking Captain Light to send two warships to protect him from Siamese aggression, and reported that the King of Siam had threatened that if the Sultan or his heir apparent did not go to Bangkok and do homage he would invade Trengganu. Fortunately these were empty threats, for Captain Light was unable to offer any assistance, and Sultan Mansur persisted in his firm refusal to surrender his independence.

Malay chiefs from Riau continued to appeal to Sultan Mansur for help against their Bugis masters, for Raja Haji who had succeeded Daeng Kemboja as Yam Tuan Muda in 1777, on the latter's death, lived in Riau and watched over the upbringing of young Sultan Mohamed, whom he married to the daughter of a Bugis chief, Bandar Hassan, in 1780. But Sultan Mansur knew from bitter experience that without Dutch assistance the Malays had no chance of success and for the present he declined to do more than write occasional letters to the Dutch at Malacca and Batavia

and to the English in Bengal, Madras and Ceylon, asking them to attack Riau and rescue Sultan Mahmud from the Bugis.

So long as Raja Haji and the Dutch remained on good terms Sultan Mansur's letters bore no fruit, but eventually a dispute arose over the share of an English prize ship loaded with opium, and captured by the Dutch in Riau waters as a result of information supplied by Raja Haji—probably the *Betsy*, whose captain was Captain Robert Geddes—and open war followed. The Bugis, led by Raja Haji, attacked Malacca in 1784 and for five months Malacca was besieged, but when reinforcements arrived the Bugis were driven off, Raja Haji was killed in action at Telok Ketapang, and an agreement was signed by Sultan Mahmud, and four Malay chiefs accepting a Dutch Factor in Riau and excluding the Bugis from all important state appointments.

If Sultan Mansur expected that this settlement heralded the end of Riau importunities he was doomed to disappointment: more probably he remained aloof with the sure knowledge that dependence on either the Bugis or the Dutch involved inevitable friction and unrest. The first Dutch factor, Abram Rhude, was an unfortunate choice: he was impatient, intolerant and ignored Malay *Adat*. After three years of uneasy association Sultan Mahmud sent to Tempasok and called in the Illanun, and the entire Dutch trading post was wiped out. The Malay population of Riau at this time was estimated at 50,000 but Sultan Mahmud fearing Dutch retaliation, gave orders that they were all to move to Lingga, leaving Riau deserted except for some Chinese labourers. He then set off for Kuala Trengganu and naively asked Sultan Mansur to make his peace with the Dutch. Many Malays from Riau came to Trengganu and others went to Kelantan while the Bendahara settled temporarily in Pahang.

About a year after the arrival of Sultan Mahmud a fleet of thirty war boats was reported to be approaching Kuala Trengganu, led by Syed Ali, grandson of Raja Alam and aspirant to the throne of Siak. Fresh from the sack of Singgora his intentions were far from certain and Sultan Mahmud hurriedly assembled a hundred boats in Trengganu bay and asked an English sea captain, who was at anchor awaiting a cargo of tin ore, to give assistance if necessary.

Although now an old man Sultan Mansur was with his fleet when Syed Ali arrived, and he had the royal barge rowed alongside the Siak flagship and invited his visitor to come on board. Syed Ali brought with him his three brothers and his war chiefs, and Sultan Mahmud and all the leading Trengganu rajas were present on Sultan Mansur's barge. In spite of an incident which nearly led to blows the visit passed off peacefully, though the hot heads

on both sides were spoiling for a fight. As Syed Ali came aboard the royal barge a young Trengganu Raja, Raja Musa, took hold of the visitor's leg as he climbed the ladder to the upper deck and tried to prevent him from mounting: Sultan Mansur fortunately saw what occurred and quickly ordered him to desist. After making obeisance to the Sultan and exchanging a few words the Siak brothers descended, and as he came down the ladder Syed Ali tapped the heads of many of the Trengganu rajas, who were seated below, with his left hand as if he was counting them. Tempers were high on both sides and as soon as he reached his fleet Syed Ali gave orders for the *kajang* covers to be removed from his guns. But Sultan Mansur was determined to avoid a fight and had himself rowed across to Syed Ali's boat, taking Raja Musa with him, and offered an apology for the discourtesy. Shortly afterwards the Siak men sailed away and a year later Syed Ali deposed Sultan Yahya, son of Raja Ismail, and made himself ruler of Siak. The deposed Sultan Yahya retired to Kemaman where he died.

About this time (1790) Sultan Mansur acceeded to the repeated request of Sultan Mahmud and sent an embassy to the Dutch at Malacca, consisting of three picked men, Sri Stia Wan Kubat, Enche Ismail and another. They met Peter Jacob Van Braam on a warship in Riau and the Trengganu letter was read to him by his interpreter, Che Abdullah son of Imam Lebai Pandak. The Dutchman laughed and shook his head and dictated a reply to Che Abdullah which was duly delivered to Sultan Mansur by his representatives.

Following ancient Malay custom which decreed that a letter from a neighbouring state must be received with great respect, the Dutch reply was carried in state to the *Balai Rong* in Kuala Trengganu and there read publicly. The Dutch had sent a short reply refusing Sultan Mansur's offer of mediation and a longer one in which Van Braam set out in detail the reason for his refusal which included a recital of Sultan Mansur's part in the relations between the Malays and the Dutch beginning from the original attack on Linggi in 1757. Only the short reply was read in public, the Sultan then went to Kuala Ibai and there assembled his sons and grandsons and read them the text of the longer document. This was couched in such language and contained so many impolite references to the Trengganu ruler that as soon as it had been read we are told that it was torn up and the fragments thrown to the dogs, but even they would not lick them. Not long afterwards the writer of the letter, Che Abdullah, arrived on a visit from Riau and had an audience with the Sultan. He received a sharp reproof for the phrases he had used and was told that if he wished to redeem his misconduct he must endeavour to make peace between Trengganu and the Dutch, then with a playful slap on Abdullah's back the old Sultan dismissed him.

In spite of his great age—he was then over seventy years old—Sultan Mansur was not prepared to swallow an insult of this nature and he immediately embarked on a scheme to organise a combined attack on the Dutch, inviting Johore, Lingga, Siak, Siantan, Indragiri, Solok and Rembau to join with him in this campaign. He had previously written to Captain Light urging him to attack the Dutch and had sent Captain Glass, who acted as chief intermediary between Trengganu and the English, with a letter to Bengal; unfortunately his ship the Prince Henry was wrecked and Captain Glass was drowned. The English, who were established at Penang, watched these activities with interest and it is recorded in the Penang Archives of June 1790 that the coalition mustered four hundred boats armed with six, nine and twelve pounders, and a land force of twenty thousand men. There was however no unity of command for Sultan Mansur was unable to lead the expedition in person on account of his age, and when he died in 1795, after a reign of fifty three years, the coalition broke up and the projected attack come to nothing.

The benefit of keeping aloof from Riau controversies during the latter part of his reign may best be judged by Trengganu's economic position at the time of his death. Captain Light, in a report to Lord Cornwallis written in June 1789, describing "the several countries with their productions surrounding Prince of Wales' island" entered under the heading "TRINGANO": Malay port, chief trade with China. Produces pepper, gold and some tin. Yearly exports thirty thousand Spanish dollars. This same account makes no mention of Kelantan and describes Pahang and Johore as "unfrequented", the latter having been "wholly destroyed by the Dutch." The English had hitherto obstinately declined to take sides in the dispute between the Malays and their enemies, to the great advantage of the Dutch who according to Captain Light held Malacca and even Batavia with such small garrisons that "the smallest exertion on our part would have occasioned their destruction." It is acknowledged, he continues, "that had even so small a force as two hundred men joined the Malays at Rhio, Malacca would have been lost and Batavia in the greatest danger". He added that "the Malays are no less astonished than the Dutch".

Two years after Sultan Mansur's death the British assumed control of Malacca and one of their first act was to recognise Sultan Mahmud as ruler of Riau-Lingga unconditionally (The Dutch had been negotiating with Raja Indra Bongsu for the same purpose but the price of their recognition had been sixty thousand dollars).

Meanwhile in Trengganu Sultan Mansur had been buried with full ceremony and had been given the posthumous title of Marhum Janggut.

His imposing grave stands close to the Abidin Mosque, built by his son and successor, in the centre of the town, and its metal

pinnacles and covering, which are ornamented with a yellow and pink floral design, described in Malay as *Kacha puri*, are said to have been ordered from China during the Sultan's lifetime. Raja Bulang, daughter of Daeng Chela, and the late Sultan's first wife, is buried by his side, but her grave is marked with orthodox stonework. Sultan Mansur was succeeded by his son Tengku Zainal Abidin who was already a man of middle age.

IV.

Civil War & the Conqueror (1793—1876).

Soon after the accession of Sultan Zainal Abidin II, who was also known as *Yam Tuan Mata Merah* (the Red-Eyed Ruler) affairs in Kelantan once more demanded attention. Long Yunus died in 1794 and although he had several sons of his own, it was arranged that Tengku Mohamed, brother of Sultan Zainal Abidin, who had married the daughter of Long Yunus, should succeed him. The sons of Long Yunus accepted this continued subjection to Trengganu with thinly veiled hostility, and when Sultan Zainal Abidin made it known that he intended Tengku Sulong, eldest son of Tengku Mohamed, to marry his daughter, they organised a rebellion and Tengku Mohamed withdrew to Trengganu. Although Raja Ismail and his fighting men were no longer available (he had died in 1781), the Trengganu army had no difficulty in suppressing the revolt and Tengku Mohamed was re-instated. An army of occupation which remained for five months, probably added to his unpopularity and before long he was once again obliged to take refuge at his brother's court. On this occasion Long Mohamed, the rival claimant, obtained the services of several thousand Chinese from Pulai and with their help defeated a combined Trengganu and Patani force. Sultan Zainal Abidin made one further attempt to maintain his position as overlord of Kelantan, but his army was again defeated and Long Mohamed, son of Long Yunus, became independent ruler of Kelantan in 1800 with the title of Sultan Muhammad I.

After a short and otherwise uneventful reign Sultan Zainal Abidin died in 1808 and was succeeded by his eldest son who took the title of Sultan Ahmad Shah. Sultan Ahmad was one of three brothers, the others being Tengku Abdul Rahman and Tengku Mansur, all three being grandsons of Sultan Mansur I's Bendahara. Tengku Ahmad and Tengku Abdul Rahman's mother, who was styled Enche Puan Besar, was the Bendahara's elder daughter and Tengku Mansur's mother was a younger daughter, and was styled Enche Puan Muda. No record remains of the male descendants of Trengganu's only Bendahara. When he died he was not replaced: with the lessons of Malacca and Johore fresh in his

memory Sultan Ahmad abolished the office and his successors did not revive it.

Sultan Ahmad's reign was uneventful and for more than ten years Trengganu remained in a state of isolation. Eventually the Riau ruler, remembering its reputation as a sure refuge for fugitives and dispossessed Sultans, determined to settle in Kuala Trengganu. Four years after his accession Sultan Mahmud, who had assumed the title of Sultan of Lingga since his re-establishment in Riau, died and was succeeded by his second son Tengku Abdul Rahman, the Bugis candidate, while the eldest son Tengku Hussain was absent from court.

The new ruler of Lingga had married Raja Anitah, daughter of Sultan Sulaiman and had a son by her, named Tengku Besar Mohamed. Raja Jaffar, son of Raja Haji, was Yam Tuan Muda at Riau and his principal adviser. After a period of nine years during which a rich revenue was collected from tin found on Sinkep and a Dutch Resident was accepted with his headquarters at Tanjong Pinang, Sultan Abdul Rahman decided to visit Trengganu and he set out in 1821 accompanied by his son Tengku Besar Mohamed, and a son of Raja Jaffar. Raja Jaffar accompanied the Sultan as far as Pahang where the Bendahara Tun Ali took over the role of chief escort. On arrival at Kuala Trengganu Sultan Ahmad Shah received him with every honour and allotted him a palace to accommodate his numerous followers. After a short time two royal weddings were celebrated: Sultan Abdul Rahman married a sister of Sultan Ahmad, and Tengku Besar Mohamed married Sultan Ahmad's daughter Tengku Teh.

Although Sultan Abdul Rahman had reigned for nine years he had not yet succeeded in obtaining possession of the ancient Johore Regalia, which Tengku Hamidah, fourth wife of the late Sultan Mahmud had clung to since his death, and it was partly a desire to conceal his embarrassment at this long delay which led Sultan Abdul Rahman to visit his royal cousin. He now settled in Trengganu as if for an indefinite stay.

Malacca had been temporarily returned to the Dutch by the treaty of Vienna in 1818 and its governor, Timmerman Thyssen, now decided to take the Johore Regalia by force from Tengku Hamidah. The Dutch then sent Yam Tuan Muda, Raja Jaffar, to Trengganu in a warship manned by 120 Dutchmen, and accompanied by a number of other boats, to arrange for the Sultan's return. After Sultan Abdul Rahman had been absent from Riau for over a year a son was born to Tengku Teh, wife of Tengku Besar Mohamed; this child was to succeed him eighteen years later as Sultan of Lingga and was named Raja Mahmud. The Dutch arrived soon after this event and as soon as they anchored a Malay

boat flying a yellow flag was seen approaching from the shore. When the colonel on board the warship learnt that it was the heir to the Lingga throne who was approaching, he fired a salute of guns. But Tengku Besar Mohamed, possibly inheriting the Trengganu resentment at the Dutch insult to his grandfather by marriage, showed a complete disregard for formalities and wore no baju when he came on board, with the result that the colonel cancelled his order for a second salute on his departure. The Yam Tuan Muda came ashore later in the day and called first on Sultan Abdul Rahman. The old feud between Trengganu and the Bugis evidently persisted, and Raja Jaffar next called on Enche Mariam, widow of Bendahara Koris of Pahang and only after he had done so did he go and pay his respects to Sultan Ahmad Shah. He then took up his residence with Sultan Abdul Rahman.

That night one of the Dutch boats was struck by lightning and the main mast was damaged. Timber for repairs was promptly supplied by Trengganu Malays the next morning and the Dutch sailed back to Riau. A few days later Bendahara Tun Ali arrived from Pahang and with the Yam Tuan Muda began preparations for the return of Sultan Abdul Rahman to Lingga. A fleet of over one hundred vessels was assembled and when the infant Raja Mahmud was forty days old the whole party sailed, arriving at Lingga on November 3rd, 1822.

Siamese interference in the affairs of Kedah and Kelantan led to the conclusion of a treaty between Lord Amherst, Governor of Bengal, and Siam on 20th June, 1826, which was negotiated and signed by Captain Burney on behalf of the East India Company and by Prince Ktom Menn Loorin Thaerakas. Article XII of the treaty read: "Siam shall not go and obstruct or interrupt commerce in the states of Tringano and Calantan. English merchants and subjects shall have trade and intercourse in future with the same facility and freedom as they have heretofore had...." This clause was speedily violated when the Raja of Patani took refuge in Kelantan in 1831, after a crushing defeat by the Siamese, and the Raja of Kelantan was compelled to surrender the fugitive and to send a large present of gold and gold dust to Bangkok, but Trengganu remained undisturbed, in spite of a rapid succession of rulers.

Sultan Ahmad Shah died in 1826. He was known as Almarhum Parit, on account of the Trench which he had made round his fort. The tradition of longevity among Trengganu rulers was then broken and four Sultans followed one another in the space of twelve years. Sultan Ahmad had three official wives and left three sons and two daughters. The eldest, Tengku Daud, was the son of the first wife; the second wife had no sons but a daughter, Tengku Kelsom, also known as Tengku Teh, who married Tengku

Besar Mohamed of Lingga. The third wife bore Sultan Ahmad two sons, the eldest Tengku Omar, the second Tengku Mahmud, and a daughter, Tengku Chik. This third wife was a Chinese girl, whose father came to Trengganu as manager of a party of travelling Minora players from the Kelantan-Patani area. News of the Chinese and of the beauty of his three daughters reached Sultan Ahmad and he summoned them to his capital where they were converted to Islam. The second daughter, who was the most beautiful, was renamed Che Hajar and, after marriage to the Sultan, was given the title of Enche Puan Besar.

It is related that when Tengku Omar was still a boy, an astrologer predicted that he would rule Trengganu, and pointed to a mole which had grown on his chest. Tengku Daud who was a few years older, resented this prophecy and bit off the mole a few days later. Sultan Ahmad was buried in the graveyard which is known as Makam Sheikh Ibrahim, not far from the present Government Offices, and 'Che Hajar, the Enche Puan Besar, his Chinese wife, was buried near by in the same walled enclosure. Tengku Abdul Rahman, a full brother of Sultan Ahmad was the first to succeed, but he died in 1831. Tengku Daud who followed was the eldest son of Sultan Ahmad, but he only reigned for forty days. There were then two rival claimants to the throne: Tengku Omar, Sultan Ahmad's second son, who had been appointed Yam Tuan Muda as soon as Sultan Daud succeeded to the throne, and Tengku Mansur, the only surviving brother of Sultan Ahmad, who was simultaneously given the title of Bendanhara Paduka Raja. At first the Trengganu chiefs attempted a compromise and Tengku Mansur was invited to assume the title of Yang di-pertuan Tua, with Tengku Omar as Yang di-pertuan Besar, but even in a state as unaccustomed to civil war as Trengganu, two rulers could not live side by side in one place. Tengku Mansur appointed as his chief officials his maternal uncles, 'Che Ku Omar and 'Che Ku Ahmad, while Tengku Omar gave the title on Mentri to his father-in-law, Tengku Ismail. Both sides kept a large body of armed retainers and lived in fortified positions, Tengku Mansur at Balek Bukit and Tengku Omar near Bukit Petri.

Tengku Mansur sent messengers secretly to Tengku Ismail offering him the post of Mentri and a large sum of money, if he would persuade Tengku Omar to withdraw. The offer was accepted and Tengku Ismail prevailed upon his son-in-law to disperse his followers, with an assurance that Tengku Mansur wished to make peace. As soon as Tengku Omar's fighting men had gone back to their homes, Tengku Mansur sent men to surround his fort and drove him out. Taking his young sister, Tengku Chik, with him, Tengku Omar retired first to Stiu then to Besut and eventually to Kemaman. Tengku Mansur was then installed as Sultan Mansur II.

From his headquarters at Kemaman, Tengku Omar organised piratical raids on traders visiting Trengganu and caused so much damage and injury that Sultan Mansur felt obliged to build several forts. When Sultan Muhammad Shah, who had succeeded Sultan Abdul Rahman as ruler of Lingga in 1832, visited Pahang, Tengku Omar who was his brother-in-law went to see him and Sultan Muhammad tried to effect a reconciliation. He sent two sons of Al Kaddi Engku Syed Mohd Zin to Trengganu with a letter which was read in the Balai. After consulting his chiefs, Sultan Mansur despatched a reply in which he stated that he could not agree to receive back Tengku Omar, though if Sultan Muhammad wished to send anyone else—"even a black man"—he would willingly receive him.

Sultan Muhammad accepted this reply as final and shortly afterwards visited Kemaman with Tengku Omar. Ever since Sultan Yahya of Siak had taken refuge there, his relatives had continued to reside in Kemaman. During this visit Tengku Omar referred the case of Tengku Mansur, a Siak raja who was accused of molesting one of Tengku Omar's women, to Sultan Muhammad for his decision. Sultan Muhammad ordered him to be executed and then returned to Lingga taking Tengku Omar with him.

Sultan Mansur II died in 1836 and was succeeded by his young son, a youth of fifteen, who was given the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah. Munshi Abdullah who visited Kuala Trengganu in 1836 describes him as irresponsible and unpopular, and Clifford states that the prince was known as *Yam Tuan Teilor*, a title indicating that he was afflicted by an impediment in his speech. The once prosperous kingdom, partly no doubt as a result of Tengku Omar's piracy, had fallen on evil days, and Tengku Omar, who was still in Lingga, saw his opportunity and set out for Trengganu with his brother Tengku Mahmud. Calling at Kemaman to collect reinforcements, he arrived off Kuala Trengganu early one morning. In a council of war he decided to make his landing at noon when he calculated that most of the men would be at sea, fishing, and the remainder would be sheltering from the heat. Leaving most of his men on board, he landed with only forty followers—Clifford gives the number as 25 fighting men—among whom Wan Omar, Wan Abdul Rahman and Wan Osman were his chief lieutenants. They took possession of Kota Tengku Selmah, also known as *Kota dalam bata* (the Brick Fort) without striking a blow and quickly rallied supporters. Sultan Mohamed would have withdrawn, but 'Che Ku Omar and 'Che Ku Ahmad, his father's uncles, were determined to resist. After a few days in which he assembled more allies, Tengku Omar attacked Bukit Petri, where Sultan Mohamed was established and succeeded in driving him and his grand-uncles out at the third attempt. The young Sultan and his followers fled first to Dungun, then to Besut,

where 'Che Ku Omar was killed by Wan Abdul Rahman, and then to Kelantan.

Munshi Abdullah's description of Kuala Trengganu written after his visit in 1836, gives a vivid picture of conditions which prevailed long after Baginda Omar's death. Houses sited in a haphazard manner, many of them with a small shop on the front verandah with women in charge; each house claiming two or three coconut trees; lanes narrow and crooked; piles of dried coconut husks underneath most houses to drive away mosquitoes; no schools; a large Chinese quarter with a Capitan China who spoke fluent Malay and dressed in Malay costume; fishing the main occupation of the male Malay population, who are described as being otherwise idle; the Sultan's palace made of stone and a flag pole on Bukit Petri; the Kora'an taught to small groups of boys; and very beautiful fishing boats: all these survived into the twentieth century.

The richest man in Kuala Trengganu, when Munshi Abdullah paid his visit, was a Chinese named Ah Cheng Koh who had been given the name of 'Che Salleh when he became a convert to Islam: he was said to be worth between twenty and thirty thousand dollars. Food was cheap: a goat cost a dollar but the local people seldom ate meat, preferring fish and vegetables. Trengganu's exports at that time were carefully listed: gold, tin, coffee, pepper, betel nut, silk cloth and fine sarongs interwoven with gold and silver thread, and minor products such as rotan, damar and buffalo ghee. Opium, thread and European cloth were stated to be the principal imports.

Peace was restored to both Trengganu and Kelantan in 1839 and both states accepted rulers who were to remain in power for the next thirty-seven years. The new Sultan, who adopted the prefix Baginda (meaning conqueror) was a remarkable man. He was tall, strongly built, with wavy hair, a pale skin, a high bridged nose and very penetrating eyes. He wore a head cloth tied in the shape of a low crown, a fashion which no one else might imitate, leaving the top of his head uncovered. For many years he made a practice of using a six-foot iron cannon as a walking stick: this cannon stood at the steps of his palace and when he left the building he would lift it up and walk with it as far as the outer gate, where he leant it against the gate post and climbed into the litter in which he usually travelled. Even before he became Sultan he was popular with the general public and was noted for his sense of humour. Some of his youthful doings are remembered to this day. On one occasion during the lifetime of Sultan Ahmad, Tengku Omar and his circle of palace youths were sitting disconsolately, wondering where to raise funds, when they heard the sound of gongs being beaten on the river. Tengku Omar went

with his followers to the river bank and there saw a procession of boats filled with Chinese and learnt that they had brought an image from Pulau Babi, which was noted for healing sick people, at the request of the Chinese traders at the capital. Tengku Omar called the Capitan (Chinese headman) and told him that the spirit of the image had told him that it had spent too long in the cold mists upriver and wished to bathe in the warm waters of the river mouth. Without waiting for a reply Tengku Omar ordered his young men to take the image and tie it to a mooring post in the river. He then retired to his house and gave orders that he was not to be disturbed. The Capitan went to the palace and asked the Sultan to intervene, but he declined to do so. He then went to Tengku Omar house but was told that the prince was sleeping. He might, they added, be woken if it was made worth their while. After a short period of bargaining five hundred dollars changed hands and a few minutes later Tengku Omar emerged, apparently freshly aroused from sleep. He told the Capitan that he had had another dream in which the spirit of the idol had said that it was now satisfied with the warmth of its bath and was ready to proceed, and he gave orders to his men to untie the idol and restore it to its boat.

Baginda Omar appointed Tengku Idris as Mentri: he was a first cousin of Sultan Ahmad and was one of the first men to welcome him on his return. He took his uncle, Tengku Musa, as his principal adviser, and others to whom he gave office were his adopted son, Dato Bentara Haji, whose eldest son was appointed Dato Kaya Bija di Raja and later, as described by Clifford, ran amok, Dato Kaya Duyong, Imam Perang Losong and Tengku Panglima. To Wan Abdul Rahman he gave the title of Orang Kaya Megat Sri Mahkota di Raja and Wan Osman received the title of Orang Kaya Panglima Dalam Stia di Raja. Tengku Abdullah, son of the Sultan Abdul Rahman, who had been appointed heir to the throne by Sultan Mohamed was allowed to continue to hold this title.

The peaceful artizans of Kuala Trengganu and the fishermen of the coast villages, who had little inclination for fighting, recognised in Baginda Omar a man of far stronger nature than his young nephew, and he proved himself to be a ruler of exceptional energy and ability. Only one further attempt was made to dispute his authority. This was made by Tengku Hitam, also known as Tengku Wok, son of Tengku Besar Padang. This Riau raja had come to Trengganu during the reign of Sultan Zainal Abidin II, after the latter's son, Tengku Ahmad, had married a Riau princess. When Tengku Ahmad became Sultan he bestowed the Dungun river territory and revenues upon Tengku Wok Hitam as a mark of friendship and as evidence of the close ties which joined Riau & Trengganu. During the dispute over the succession in 1831,

Tengku Wok Hitam supported Tengku Mansur against Tengku Omar, and he now made a final effort to reinstate Tengku Mansur's son, who had taken refuge with him at Dungun.

A month after the Baginda had seized the throne he set out with between two and three hundred men and landed at Chenering at night. His arrival was noticed by a villager named Chik, who ran to warn the Sultan. Baginda Omar had only 17 persons with him in his fort (the brick fort), and some of them were women, but he gave three spears to each and arranged them at intervals and gave orders for them to make as much noise as possible and to clash their spears together. Tengku Hitam's force arrived at 2 a.m. but failed to make an entry: their gun powder had been saturated in the surf when they landed and the rebel leader sent men to the magazine on Bukit Petri to replenish their stocks. Once again fortune favoured the conqueror: a watchman on Bukit Petri saw suspicious movements below him and emptied a cauldron of water into the magazine, and when Tengku Hitam's men arrived they found all the gunpowder unserviceable. When the dawn broke the Sultan's small garrison opened fire on the rebels while Tengku Idris gathered reinforcements and, attacking them from the rear, soon put them to flight.

During the first few years of his reign the Baginda lived in a fort erected by him on the summit of Bukit Petri. Subsequently he built himself a palace on the site of that occupied by his predecessors, known as the *Istana Hijau*, which was, however, destroyed by fire in 1882.

He improved the appearance of his capital by erecting a handsome stone mosque, which is named Masjid Abidin, after Sultan Zainal Abidin II who laid its foundations. He also built stone causeways in the town which can still be seen, and he made it a practice to sit daily in his Balai to dispense justice and to give free access to any of his subjects who wished to approach him. He became famous for the grim jests which accompanied sentences of mutilation or death or of imprisonment in gaol-cages, and and although he could neither read nor write, his interest in trade and learning led him to encourage students, skilled artizans and craftsmen from other countries to settle in Trengganu and to teach his people. He gave orders for men to prospect for tin in Kemaman and for gold in the Ulu Nerus, and he travelled extensively in every part of his kingdom.

Baginda Omar had seen enough of Riau politics during his temporary eclipse to make him appreciate the wisdom of the traditional Trengganu policy of isolation, and he devoted his time and energy to the revival of trade and ordered government. He maintained remote but friendly contacts with Riau on one side

and with the powerful court of Siam on the other, without submitting to any form of control by either. He discontinued the practice of sending *bunga mas* to Bangkok.

In Riau, Tengku Mahmud, Baginda Omar's nephew, succeeded to the throne of Lingga in 1841, at the age of eighteen, and quickly established a reputation for reckless extravagance and irresponsibility which was to lead to his deposition by the Dutch sixteen years later. He developed a taste for travel and some years after his accession he brought his mother, Tengku Teh, on a visit to her half brother (Baginda Omar) in Trengganu, where they were royally entertained. But the young Sultan made only a brief stay, preferring the novelties and attractions of Singapore, and scandalised his elders in Riau by building a new palace to a Western design, filling it with European furniture and pictures and even keeping dogs.

By 1857 the patience of the Dutch was exhausted, the principal dispute being over the appointment of a Yam Tuan Muda. Sultan Mahmud wished to appoint his son-in-law, Raja Mohamed Yusof, while the Dutch preferred an older man, Raja Abdullah, brother of the late Yam Tuan Muda Raja Ali. The dispute reached a deadlock since the Sultan's candidate was a nephew of the Dutch nominee and refused to supersede his uncle. Neither side would give way and the Dutch finally deposed Sultan Mahmud. Although Sultan Muhammad had left only one son, his half brother by a non-royal wife, Tengku Sulaiman was still alive and he was now appointed by the Dutch as Sultan Sulaiman.

The ex-Sultan left Riau and after a visit to Pahang settled in Trengganu where he urged his uncle and Tengku Mahmud, Baginda Omar's brother, who had married the ex-Sultan's sister, to help him to regain his throne. Once again Baginda Omar had the sense to adhere to a policy of isolation and although he willingly provided a refuge for his nephew he refused to espouse a lost cause for reasons of sentiment. In contrast to this decision the Trengganu ruler actively intervened in the civil war in Pahang which followed closely on the death of Bendahara Tun Ali in 1857. Tun (Wan) Mutahir, the eldest son succeeded his father as Bendahara, but the younger son, Wan Ahmad, disputed the succession and retired first to Singapore and then to Kemaman, which he used as a base. Baginda Omar sent orders that he was to be given every assistance, and when Wan Ahmad invaded Pahang in November 1857 the campaign was known locally as "the War of the Kemaman Men". After an initial success this expedition was driven back to Kemaman after suffering heavy losses.

Wan Mutahir had refused to entertain the idea of reviving the Sultanate of Pahang in favour of ex-Sultan Mahmud, the latter

therefore supported Wan Ahmad and no doubt encouraged his uncle, Baginda Omar, to do the same.

In 1858 the Governor visited Pahang and Trengganu in an effort to end the civil war and persuaded Baginda Omar to summon Wan Ahmad to Kuala Trengganu. The Governor had scarcely returned to Singapore, however, before Wan Ahmad retired to Kemaman and continued his preparations for a second attempt. This took the shape of an attack by sea and occurred in March, 1861, but after 5 months Wan Ahmad was driven out once more. Although Baginda Omar readily supported Wan Ahmad, his nephew, the ex-Sultan, could get no such practical assistance and eventually Sultan Mahmud realised that he could expect no help from Trengganu and expressed a wish to visit Siam in search of a new ally. In spite of every effort by Baginda Omar and his Trengganu chiefs and rajas to dissuade him, he announced his determination to go and take his sister, Tengku Sapiah with him, and after spending six months in Kuala Trengganu sailed north in a steamship.

In March 1861, Baginda Omar visited Singapore and called on the Governor, Sir Ord Cavenagh. He requested British intervention to protect his country from the Siamese who continued to threaten aggression, and re-iterated the statement that Trengganu was entirely independent.

It may be inferred that Baginda Omar was uneasy lest the King of Siam might wish to punish him for his obstinate refusal to pay homage, by sending the ex-Sultan of Lingga to displace him, and it would appear that though the King of Siam never had any intention of embroiling himself with the Dutch, he saw in the ex-Sultan an opportunity which might, with cautious handling, enabled him to establish some degree of control over Trengganu or Pahang or both. At his first audience the Siamese King made it clear that he was well informed about the ex-Sultan's conduct and character and remarked that if he had behaved in a similar manner his people would probably have killed him. A month later the king asked for Tengku Sapiah as his wife, an act which had been feared and anticipated by the Trengganu Court, and would take no refusal. Two days after the wedding the King promised the ex-Sultan that he would help him but advised him to be patient, and then for six months took no further action. Finally, after repeated requests by Sultan Mahmud the King supplied him with a steamship, a small force of Siamese soldiers and letter of authority to obtain free supplies at Singgora, and sent him to Trengganu in 1862. The Siamese King's intentions remain a riddle but it must have been more than coincidence that when the ex-Sultan arrived off Kuala Trengganu, flying the Siamese Royal flag, three Siamese warships were also in Trengganu waters, one

of which carried the Crown Prince of Siam and the Siamese Chief Minister. But while Sultan Mahmud went ashore, accompanied by Siamese soldiers, and called on his uncle and mother, a British gun boat arrived in Trengganu bay and the Siamese ships weighed anchor and sailed for Singapore. Baginda Omar, whether from courtesy or in an effort to avoid civil war, offered to surrender his his throne to Sultan Mahmud, but finding that his principal supporters had left the neighbourhood the latter returned a non-commital reply.

The British Consul in Bangkok, Sir R. H. Schomburgh wrote to the Governor on July 16, 1862 about this incident: "I took the opportunity during an audience of the First King to turn the conversation upon the affairs in Tringano. His Majesty declares that the ex-Sultan of Lingga is not sent to Triangano as successor of the present Raja: he went there because his mother lives there. He will not be permitted to interfere with the good order of the state....but if after the present Raja dies the people wish to elect Sultan Mahomet, His Majesty would not interfere."

In this atmosphere of uncertainty Baginda Omar entertained his royal nephew for several months. The British who were watching the situation closely had written to Siam requesting that a ship be sent to remove the ex-Sultan, but the King temporised and took no action. Eventually in November 1862 Colonel Mac Pherson was sent from Singapore in H.M.S. *Coquette* accompanied by H.M.S. *Scout* and on arrival at Kuala Trengganu he went ashore and requested the ex-Sultan to come on board and proceed with him to Siam: this Sultan Mahmud refused to do, on the pretext that he had received no letter from the Siamese King. The Colonel replied with an ultimatum that if he did not comply with these instructions within 48 hours Trengganu would be shelled.

That evening Sultan Mahmud visited Baginda Omar and after a quarrel the latter withdrew from his capital, leaving his royal nephew behind. After two days the British shelled the fort and about twenty people were killed: Sultan Mahmud and a large section of the population then left the town and the two rulers met once more some miles inland. This time the ex-Sultan took his uncle's advice and retired to Besut where a Siamese steamship called and brought him to Siam. He was already in poor health and he died two years later in Pahang at the early age of forty-one.

The decision to despatch gunboats was taken by the Governor, Sir Ord Cavanagh, as a result of representations from the Chairman of the Singapore Chamber of Commerce who complained that ex-Sultan Mahmud was openly assisting Wan Ahmad in his preparations for an invasion of Pahang from Trengganu territory and that as a result their trade with Pahang was at a standstill.

The representations of the Singapore Chamber of Commerce, were, in fact, inspired by Temenggong Abu Bakar of Johore who feared that the deposed Sultan, as the representative of the old Riau-Johore Kingdom, might succeed in asserting his claim to sovereignty in the Peninsula. The Governor appears to have shared these views and the bombardment was probably intended to be directed at two targets, the shipping which was believed to be in course of preparation for an invasion of Pahang by Wan Ahmad, and the fort on Bukit Petri which the ex-Sultan might be expected to use if he wished to usurp the throne of Trengganu.

The naval commander was a man of independent judgement and it appears that when he found no fleet assembled and an undefended town he protested in the strongest manner at being compelled to shell it. He forwarded his protest to London and the verdict of the Secretary of State for the Colonies was that the bombardment of Trengganu was "at the least, precipitate".

The removal of Sultan Mahmud did not, however, interfere with Wan Ahmad's activities, for Baginda Omar also continued to give him support, in spite of personal representations made to him by Temenggong Abu Bakar of Johore, and Wan Ahmad entered Pahang via Ulu Dungun on his final and successful expedition in August 1862.

Baginda Omar was the first Trengganu ruler to establish direct relations with England and in 1869 sent envoys to London bearing presents to Her Majesty the Queen and the Prince of Wales and letters in which he expressed the wish to place Trengganu under British protection. Replies to the Sultan's letters and return presents were forwarded from London to Sir H. Ord who was then Governor, for transmission to Trengganu. It would appear that Sir H. Ord was not aware of the provisions of Article XI of the Burney Treaty of 1826, and he forwarded the letters and presents to Bangkok, and it is believed that they were never received by Baginda Omar. This course of action not unnaturally caused keen dissatisfaction in Trengganu and was the subject of comment by one of the leading Kedah officials when Mr Frank Swettenham, then British Resident, Perak, visited that state in November, 1889.

A notable feature of Baginda Omar's reign was his deliberate centralisation of administration and authority. At the time of his accession the time honoured feudal system, common to all Malay States, was in operation. The country was divided into a number of territorial divisions, each of which was held in fief from the Sultan by a Dato. Each of these areas was subdivided and controlled by a Dato Muda, who held his position in fief from the major chief, and each village in these subdivisions was controlled

by a Ketua or Headman, appointed by the minor chief or Dato Muda. The principal duties of the Major and Minor Chiefs and the Headmen were to supply levies of able bodied fighting men when required by the Sultan, and to collect taxes and to exact free labour from the raiyat.

Baginda Omar declined to appoint successors when territorial chiefs died and instead appointed Penghulus in charge of one or more villages who were directly responsible to him. As an example, separate Penghulus were placed in charge of the Trengganu Valley, the Upper Kerbat, the Chergul river and the lower part of the Ulu Trengganu river, although formerly all this country was under the Orang Kaya Belimbing, on whose death the post was left vacant. In more thickly populated areas each village was managed by a Penghulu. The Baginda moved so freely among his subjects that during the latter part of his reign he was affectionately referred to by the raiyat as *Toh Nyang*, and on Friday mornings, when he was in Kuala Trengganu, he frequently made tours of inspection, carrying with him a sackful of coins which he distributed to the poor.

This policy of direct control led to what is sometimes referred to as *Perang Besut*, the solitary instance of internal disturbance during the Baginda's long reign. The causes of this episode reached back over a number of years. Early in his reign Baginda Omar appointed Tengku Ali bin Tengku Kadir to administer Besut and married him to Tengku Nik, the widow of the late Yam Tuan Muda Abdullah, a son of Sultan Abdul Rahman who had been appointed Yam Tuan Muda when Sultan Muhammad came to the throne in 1836. At the same time Baginda Omar married Tengku Hitam, the brother of Tengku Ali, to Tengku Mandak, widow of Tengku Panglima. Neither of these marriages were happy ones and Tengku Ali married a 'dayang'—servant—of Tengku Nik by whom he had a son, and remained aloof from the Court for fifteen years. Tengku Hitam also married again and had a son who was subsequently robbed of his inheritance by Tengku Ali, after the death of his father, and driven from Besut.

During his prolonged absence from the capital Tengku Ali took up the cause of Tengku Chik Muda, son of Yam Tuan Muda Abdullah, and tried secretly to secure the support of Kelantan to an attempt to place this youth on the throne in place of the Baginda. His efforts were unsuccessful and eventually when Tengku Chik Muda died, Tengku Ali revisited Kuala Trengganu. Before Baginda Omar would receive him, he was obliged to swear an oath of loyalty, and he returned to Besut after a very short stay.

Not long afterwards arrangements were put in hand for the installation of Tengku Ahmad, son of Tengku Mahmud, the

Baginda's brother, as Yam Tuan Muda in 1864. Baginda Omar invited Tengku Ali to bring his son to the capital to be circumcised, so that the ceremony could coincide with that of the installation of the Yam Tuan Muda, but Tengku Ali refused the invitation and did not attend Tengku Ahmad's installation and reports reached the capital that Tengku Ali was making fresh overtures to Kelantan with the object of throwing off Trengganu control. Baginda Omar sent Tuan Muda, Tengku Ibrahim and To' Kaya Megat Mahkota to Besut with instructions to bring back Tengku Ali to the capital. On arrival they found a large number of armed men from Kelantan camping in Kampong Raja and Tengku Ali refused to meet, much less accompany, the Sultan's representatives.

Tuan Muda and Tengku Ibrahim promptly returned to Kuala Trengganu and Baginda Omar learning of the presence of Kelantan men, sent Mufti Wan Abdullah to Kelantan to lodge a protest and a letter to the Siamese at Senggora reminding them that Besut was part of Trengganu territory and requesting that Kelantan be warned not to interfere. This the Siamese did and the Baginda assembled a strong force, said in one manuscript to have numbered 8,000 men, and sent them by sea, under the command of Tengku Mustapha. This expedition shelled Besut prior to landing and when they reached the shore they found that no resistance was offered and that Tengku Ali had fled. Tengku Ali died in Kelantan later the same year and was replaced by Tengku Chik, whose sister, Tengku Ngah had a daughter who married the Raja of Kelantan. A son of this marriage, Tengku Long eventually succeeded Tengku Chik as Territorial Chief of Besut and was given the title of Tengku Indra Segara by Sultan Zainal Abidin III.

Clifford described the salient characteristics of Baginda Omar's subjects. He stressed their mild temperament, their profound love of peace and their skill as artisans and traders and attributed their keen interest in religious study to the settlement of a hereditary line of Saiyids at Paloh. The first of these Baginda Omar induced to accompany him from Lingga, and each of them inherited from his predecessor both magic powers and a high reputation for sanctity. While lawless conditions prevailed along a greater portion of the East Coast both to the north as well as the south, Trengganu remained an oasis of peace which, though it may have earned its people some measure of contempt from their neighbours, brought wealth to the Ruler and chiefs and to the trading community.

When Tengku Mahmud, the Yang di pertuan Muda and full brother of the Baginda, who had succeeded Tengku Idris as Mentri, died in 1864 his place as Mentri was taken by Syed Zin bin Syed Mohamed, who was given the title of Engku Syed Sri

Perdana. The Baginda had married many wives but remained without heirs and Tengku Ahmad, son of Tengku Mahmud and of Tengku Dalam, the daughter of Sultan Muhammad of Lingga was then made heir apparent. In 1874 the Baginda, who was then an old man, appointed Tengku Ahmad, to rule on his behalf and took little part in the affairs of state until his death two years later. He received the Governor, Sir William Jervois, at Kuala Trengganu in the middle of 1875 and was described by the latter as "an old man of 69, much paralysed". The Governor was on a tour of the East coast which included visits to Singora and Patani.

In 1876 Baginda Omar died, having ruled his country with firmness and wisdom for thirty-seven years, and was buried with great ceremony in the Abidin Mosque, his coffin being accompanied by four white umbrellas, and carried to the sound of four salvoes fired by sixteen guns.

V.

Siamese Infiltration & the Treaty with Great Britain (1876—1909).

Tengku Ahmad was already a man of middle age when his uncle died and he survived him by only five years. Although the late Sultan Daud, elder brother of Baginda Omar, had left a number of children, Tengku Ahmad's succession was undisputed and he appointed his son, Tengku Zainal Abidin, to be Yang dipertuan Muda.

Two years after his accession the Mentri, Syed Zin, died and the Sultan appointed Syed Abdullah, who had married his youngest sister, Tengku Chik Bukit, during the Baginda's reign, as his chief minister.

When Sultan Ahmad died in December 1881, one of his younger brothers, Tengku Abbas, wished to succeed him, but the Mentri supported Tengku Zainal Abidin, who was then a youth of seventeen, and he was duly installed as Sultan Zainal Abidin III. Tengku Abbas was appointed Yang dipertuan Muda. With his accession the Trengganu tradition of long lived rulers was re-established and he reigned for thirty seven years. During his lifetime Trengganu was to change its status from a nominal subordination to Siam to that of an Unfederated Malay State under British protection, while at the same time, by travel and by the courteous reception of foreigners in his state, the Sultan was to abandon the ancient policy of isolation and to embark on a series of reforms which were little short of revolutionary.

The young Sultan was keenly interested in religion and was content, for the early part of his reign, to leave to others the

administration of the state. In the days of his granduncle and his father the revenues of the State had been paid into the Sultan's treasury and the rajas and chiefs were largely dependent on his bounty. Once the firm hand of an experienced ruler was removed the Sultan's relatives partitioned the State revenue, leaving the Sultan only a small portion and dividing the remainder among themselves. Kemaman and Kijal were allotted to Ungku Muda, an uncle of the Sultan, Kemasek went to Dato Mata-mata and Kerteh to Tengku Ambong the husband of one of the Sultan's nieces. Tengku Bukit, the Sultan's great aunt received Dungun, Merchang was given to Tengku Petera, a Singapore raja whose wife was a daughter of Tengku Long, who had married Tengku Sapiah, the ex-consort of the King of Siam. Tengku Besar, the Sultan's brother-in-law, was allotted Marang, Stiu went to Tengku Mahmud, nephew of the Sultan, and Besut to a great uncle named Tengku Chik Tepok. The revenues of the whole country above the Kelemang falls were granted to the Sultan's elder sister, Tengku Chik Pangiran, and the river Paka was added as a make weight. The country between the Kelemang falls and Kuala Telemong was given to Che Abdul Rahim, the Sultan's principal confidential adviser, the Telemong river went to Tengku Musa, a great uncle, and the Nerus river was allotted to Ungku Saiyid of Paloh, who was the Sultan's religious teacher. When all had received their share Sultan Zainal Abidin III was left with only the revenues of the Trengganu river from Kuala Telemong to the mouth and the small adjacent river Ibai from which to draw his income.

Engrossed in his religious studies the young Sultan had no conception of the misery and oppression which inevitably resulted from this change in the administration. The rajas and chiefs among whom the state revenues had been divided were for the most most part absentee landlords and entrusted the work of revenue collecting to agents, usually natives of Kuala Trengganu, junior members of the court circle, who tyrannized mercilessly over the local headmen and peasants. Tengku Besar, who bore an unequalled reputation for kindliness, farmed out the revenues of his area to a Chinese.

In Kuala Trengganu, there was soon widespread distress for an entirely different reason. The capital had suffered from periodic conflagrations during earlier reigns, but in 1882 the largest fire in Trengganu history occurred and destroyed over 1,600 houses. This disaster is known locally as *"Api pechah gedong"*, referring to the explosion of the powder magazine which destroyed many buildings including the Sultan's palace. A sum of 2000 dollars to relieve distress was sent from Singapore and an equal sum from Bangkok, and the Sultan made small cash grants, accompanied by lengths of cloth to members of the Court and royal family, but for the majority no relief was available.

In spite of his virtual exclusion from administrative control the young Sultan showed firmness and independence when in 1885 his elder sister was involved in a court scandal. Tengku Long, son of the late Tengku Kudin, often referred to as Almerhum Din, and grandson of Sultan Daud and thus cousin of the Sultan, paid nightly visits to Tengku Chik Bukit, the sultan's sister, who was already married to a Riau raja. Tengku Long was noted for his prowess with kris and spear, and was popular at court, but when Sultan Zainal Abidin heard what was happening he summoned four of his 'Budak Raja', men in their middle twenties, and gave orders that Tengku Long was to be killed. The four young men, one of whom was 'Che Abdul Rahman, a friend of Tengku Long, laid in wait for their victim at night, and, intercepting him on his return from Tengku Chik Bukit's house, stabbed him to death. The Sultan rewarded 'Che Abdul Rahman with the title of Dato Lela and the grant of the revenues and territory of Kemaman, over which he exercised control for the next twenty-five years.

In July 1885, Sultan Zainal Abidin sailed for Pahang in the steamship *Sri Mangga* to marry Tengku Long, the eldest daughter of Sultan Ahmad, leaving his Mentri, Syed Abdullah, as Regent. Before his accession, the Sultan had been married to a *gundek*, 'Che Teh a Lingga girl, in 1878 as soon as his circumcision rites had been completed, when he was not yet fourteen, but he was now to take a royal wife.

Great importance was attached to the union of two neighbouring royal families and in addition to an entourage of over 400 chiefs and relatives who accompanied the Sultan in the steamship, one thousand others followed in sailing boats. This vast expedition reached Kuala Pahang early one morning where they were received by the Temenggong and Tengku Ali and conducted upstream with full ceremony.

The Pahang ruler was not prepared for so numerous a retinue but he supplied all with food for a period of ten days and during that time many of the visitors built additional temporary accommodation for themselves.

Preparations for the marriage covered the next three months and it was not till the 10th day of Rabiul-akhir that the ceremony was actually performed by Haji Ahmad bin Haji Yusof of Trengganu. A detailed account of the Royal visit to Pahang has survived and a translation of this will be found in the Appendix. Sultan Zainal Abidin remained in Pahang for one year and while he was absent, one of his uncles, Tengku Abdul Rahim, a half brother of the late Sultan Ahmad, released all the prisoners in Kuala Trengganu and attempted to cause an insurrection. The Regent reported the matter to the Sultan and was given authority

to take stern measures if any further incidents occurred. Not long afterwards Tengku Abdul Rahim again headed an attempt to displace the Sultan and was driven out of the capital and confined at Kampong Chenering.

The Sultan returned in the late summer of 1886. Shortly after his return Syed Abdullah resigned from the post of Mentri and was succeeded by Tengku Mohamed Yusof, also known as Tengku Tengah, son of ex-Sultan Mahmud of Lingga, who bore the title of Tengku Besar Paduka Indra. Tengku Besar held this post until his death about 12 years later.

The Sultan had scarcely had time to take stock of the situation in his capital when the Dato Kaya Bija Diraja ran amok at midnight and after killing his wife and killing or wounding the remainder of his household set fire to his house. The flames spread rapidly and when neighbours came out to try and extinguish the fire the Dato attacked them and killed or wounded many others. When the news reached the Sultan he gave orders for the madman to be shot, but before this was possible some thirty persons had been killed or wounded and over fifty houses had been destroyed by fire.

Tengku Long did not accompany the Sultan to Trengganu and he therefore paid another short visit to Pahang three months after his return, to escort his wife to her new home.

Close relations were thus established with Trengganu's southern neighbours and in April 1887, for the first time in Trengganu history, the King of Siam visited the State. The visit lasted two days and the King marked the occasion by bestowing Siamese decorations on the Sultan and the Raja Muda and distributing many gifts of gold embroidered cloth. He also presented the Sultan with a gold hilted and gold sheathed sword and gold ornaments to Tengku Long and other members of the royal family.

The royal visit marked an important change in Trengganu foreign policy. The initiative in this matter appears to have been taken by the King of Siam and to have begun four months after the Sultan's accession when he sent two members of his family and a court official named Tuan Phe Rong with a letter of greetings and instructions to attend part of the ceremonies connected with the Sultan's enthronement, but the new policy was actively supported by the Sultan's cousin, Tungku Besar Mohamed Yusoff, son of ex-Sultan Mahmud of Lingga, who had spent part of his youth in Siam.

The Sultan's marriage with Tengku Long of Pahang proved an unhappy one and after three years she arranged with her

brother Tengku Besar Mahmud to send an escort to conduct her back to Pahang.

In the opinion of the Pahang men, their princess had been grievously neglected and they showed their resentment by killing a distant relative of the Sultan while they visited the Trengganu capital. Tengku Long refused to return to Trengganu and was subsequently divorced by Sultan Zainal Abidin, and friendly relations were not re-established until the Sultan's second son Tengku Sulaiman was married to Tengku Meriam, a younger sister of Tengku Long, many years later.

In February 1889, the King of Siam paid a second visit to Trengganu on his return from Singapore. He called first at Kemaman, where he was received by the Sultan, and after spending a few hours ashore and presenting the Orang Besar Kemaman with a gift of two hundred Mexican dollars, the two rulers sailed for Kuala Tengganu. The King was received with a salute of 21 guns and remained eight days in the capital before returning to Siam. On this occasion he made a present of one thousand dollars to the Sultan and gave gold ornaments to many of the palace ladies. During his visit the King asked the Sultan for details of the allocation of state revenues, the persons among whom it was divided and the service which each gave to the state.

Early in Sultan Zainal Abidin's reign, the practice of sending a gold and silver flower to Siam was revived. The *"bunga mas"* were sent every three years in the charge of four non-royal persons and were accompanied by numerous other articles, the products of Trengganu. For many years the emissaries who conveyed the *"bunga mas"* to Siam were Dato Balai Salim bin Umat, Long Mamat, Megat Ahmad and Che Ali Nakhoda Perahu.

There can be no doubt that this triennial gift was a gesture of friendship and a mark of cordial relationship and was not an admission of suzerainty and in return the King of Siam sent articles of at least equal value including considerable quantities of rice and salt.

The new policy brought other practical advantages: gifts of money and cloth to relieve the distress caused by the great fire have already been recorded, the depredations of pirates were relieved by Siamese craft sent at the request of the Sultan, and advice on administrative problems was asked and given. For a time this arrangement worked smoothly, but in 1892, the permission of the Sultan was sought by the Siamese for a Post Office to be opened in Kuala Trengganu in which stamps bearing the figure of the King of Siam should be sold. The Sultan declined to permit this to be done and replied that if he decided to introduce

a postal system into his Kingdom he would have stamps prepared bearing his own likeness.

The question of Trengganu's independent status has never been questioned by the people of Trengganu, but it may be of interest to quote a passage from the report of Sir Hugh Clifford, dated August 1895, written after his visit to Trengganu in pursuit of the Pahang rebels, on this subject:

> "Before dealing with the history of Trengganu during the present reign, there is one other point connected with the records of this State which has been much misunderstood, and which therefore calls for special mention. I refer to the relations which have subsisted between Trengganu and Siam since 1776. In this year the "bunga amas" or golden flower, was sent to Siam by Sultan Mansur for the first time, not in compliance with any demand made by the Government of Bangkok, but because the Sultan of Trengganu desired to be upon friendly terms with the only Power in his vicinity which could disturb the peace of this country. The "bunga amas" has never been regarded by the Malays as an admission of suzerainty; and, indeed, this view of the question has been always entirely repudiated by the Sultan and Chiefs of Trengganu. When Sir Fretherick Weld visited Trengganu in 1887, the Sultan on both occasions was careful to explain that the "bunga amas" was sent to Siam not as opti or tribute, but merely as a token of friendship and that the return presents sent by the King of Siam were given and received in a like spirit. The same view has been repeatedly expressed to me by the Rajas and Chiefs in Trengganu from whom I sought information on this subject, the "bunga amas" being invariably described by them as a 'tanda s'pakat dan bersehabat—a token of alliance and friendship.
>
> Thus much for the opinion of the natives of Trengganu on this point, an opinion which is further confirmed by the views expressed by those who have had knowledge of the subject from the time of Sir Stamford Raffles. In his Paper on the Malayan Nations. written in 1809, which was subsequently submitted to Lord Minto, Sir Stamford writes as follows of the States on the East coast:-
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> > "Of the Malay Peninsula, the principal States entitled to notice on the "Eastern side are those of Tringano, Patani, and Pahang. The States on "the Eastern side of the Peninsula, with the exception of Patani, which "has been considerably influenced by the Siamese, seem generally to have "admitted the superiority of the Malay Government first established at "Singapore, and afterwards at Johore."
>
> Up to within the last 13 years this statement remained as true as on the day when it was written; Pahang and Trengganu both recognising the superiority of the Sultanate of Daik. They did so, however, with the important difference that while Pahang was officially regarded as a dependency of Daik, the Bendahara of Pahang issuing his mandates to his people with a clause making them subject to the approval of the Sultan of that State, the Ruler of Trengganu, though junior to the Sultan of Daik, was as independent of him as of the King of Siam, and issued his chaps to his people without making any reservation whatsoever subjecting them to the approval or sanction of any other potentate. Just as the "bunga amas" was sent to Siam once in three years, so in the same manner were presents periodically despatched by the Sultan of Trengganu to the Sultan of Daik: and these presents had the same significance, neither more or less, than was attached to the customary triennial

gifts to the King in Bangkok. In 1882 the Bendahara of Pahang threw off his allegiance to the Sultan of Daik, and assumed the title of Sultan of Pahang. The position of Trengganu, however, both as regards Siam and Daik has remained absolutely unchanged.

That Trengganu occupies the position of an Independent Native State—independent alike of Great Britain and Siam—has been fully recognised by the Governments of both those countries; and this is proved by the provisions of Captain Burney's Treaty with Siam dated 20th June, 1826. By Article XII, Siam binds herself not "to go and obstruct or interrupt commerce in the States of Tringano and Calantan." A reference to Article XIV of the same Treaty will show that the State of Perak had also been acucstomed to send the "bunga amas" to Siam, and that by her, as by Trengganu, the offering was evidently regarded as purely voluntary. Siam apparently acquiesced in this view of the matter. It cannot be maintained, with any show of reason, that Perak was at that time a dependency of Siam, yet the position of Perak in 1826 and that now occupied by Trengganu are absolutely identical.

In 1869 Baginda Umar sent envoys to the British Government bearing presents to Her Majesty the Queen and His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; and in due course replies to the Sultan's letters and return presents were forwarded from London to Sir Harry Orde, the then Governor of the Straits Settlements, for transmission to the Baginda. Sir Harry Ord, it would seem, was not aware of the provisions of Article XII of Captain Burney's Treaty above quoted, and in writing to the Secretary of State on the subject of these return presents he stated that he had never heard it disputed that Trengganu occupied a position similar to that of Kedah and Patani with regard to Siam. Acting on his recommendation the return presents and the answers to the Baginda's letters were forwarded to Bangkok, a course of action which naturally gave great umbrage to the Sultan and People of Trengganu. With this sole deplorable exception, however, the independence of Trengganu has always been fully and consistently recognised by the local representatives of the British Government in the Straits Settlements. The Governors of the Colony have always communicated direct with the Sultan of Trengganu, and have frequently visited him in his capital. From 1886 to 1890 the Governor for the time being paid an annual visit to the Sultan of Trengganu, and a similar visit was paid again by Governor Sir Cecil Clementi Smith in 1893, during which the matter of the Pahang rebels was fully discussed with the Sultan. It is only during the last two years that the theory that Trengganu forms an integral part of the Kingdom of Siam has been hinted at by the Government in Bangkok but, so far as I am aware, this theory has never been officially propounded, nor has it ever been directly or indirectly admitted by the British Government; while the claims of the Siamese to suzerainty are entirely repudiated by the Sultan of Trengganu. The burden of proof lies with Siam, and, to the best of my belief, she will be unable to produce one tittle of evidence in support of her pretensions.

Siamese assistance was sought in the difficult task of attempting to capture Pahang rebels, driven from the State in 1892, who had raided the Tembeling District of Pahang in June 1894, assisted by a considerable number of Kelantan and Trengganu Malays. These rebels had been quickly driven back into Kelantan but Hugh Clifford, British Resident, Pahang, formed the opinion that so long as the Pahang rebel chiefs were at large they constituted a serious threat to the peace of Pahang, and he sought and eventually obtained the permission of the Governor and of the Colonial Office

to organise an expedition into Kelantan and Trengganu for their arrest. It was however decided by the Colonial Office that a Siamese Commissioner should accompany the expedition and while Clifford assembled a force of 252 men, (105 of whom were fighting men, armed with rifles and the remainder porters,) two Siamese officials made the journey overland via Kelantan and made it widely known that they would shortly be returning in the company of the British Resident, Pahang, following the Lebir river.

Clifford quickly decided to choose a different route, and accompanied by R. W. Duff, acting Superintendent of Police, Pahang, and Dr A. B. Jesser-Coope, Residency Surgeon, and the two Commissioners, Luang Visudh Parihar and Luang Sevasti Borirom, set off up the Tembeling river on March 17, 1895.

From that date until June 7th, Clifford travelled unceasingly, up and down rivers and through dense jungle in pursuit of the rebels who were latterly seldom more than a day's journey ahead, and eventually tracked them to Paloh on the outskirts of Kuala Trengganu, to the compound of Ungku Saiyid.

Ungku Saiyid denied all knowledge of the fugitives and though the Sultan sent a search party to Paloh under Tengku Besar they returned to report that they had found no trace of the rebels and Clifford left for Singapore by the *Sea Belle* on June 10th. The Siamese Commissioners proved an obstruction rather than an aid and professed to have no authority in Trengganu, which in fact they had not.

Clifford formed the opinion that the Trengganu authorities assisted the rebels much more on account of a blind reliance on the wishes of Ungku Saiyid, who was universally believed to possess magic powers, than on account of sympathy for the Pahang men or hostility to the British. Ungku Saiyid had sworn in an unguarded moment to stand by the rebels when danger seemed far away, and since his oath had become a matter of public notoriety he could only break it at grave risk to his saintly and infallible reputation.

Although the expedition failed to capture the rebels, six of them including the ex-Orang Kaya of Semantan, surrendered themselves to Siamese officials in November 1895 and were taken to Bangkok and they never again troubled Pahang.

An important, though subsidiary result of this expedition was a long and detailed report of conditions prevailing in Trengganu which was prepared by Clifford shortly after his return.

Clifford describes the people of Trengganu as the most ingenious and among the most industrious Malays in the peninsula and estimated the population at approximately 100,000, which was forty per cent greater than that of Pahang. Of this total about 40,000 were circumcised Males and of these 8,000 were fishermen, 5,000 artisans and 26,000 agriculturists, the remaining 1,000 men being chiefs or their relatives and "hangers on".

The existence of a comparatively large manufacturing class in Trengganu was partly due to the interest and encouragement of Baginda Omar and partly to the existence of the Kelemang Falls, below which 44,500 out of a total of 45,000 inhabitants of the Trengganu river valley elected to live. Of this number about 12,000 occupied Kuala Trengganu and the villages in the immediate neighbourhood and 32,500 were crowded into the space between the falls and the capital. The chief articles of manufacture were silks, cotton fabrics, native weapons, metal and wood work. Of these the weaving was done exclusively by the women but the other articles of manufacture including white brass vessels (*Tembaga puteh*) and fishing boats, were all made by the men.

The Agricultural class was chiefly engaged in the cultivation of rice, coconuts, sugar cane, fruit trees, gambir and vegetables, but approximately one third of the State's rice requirements were imported from Siam and the Straits. The price of rice on the coast was approximately $2.50 a picul, rising to $4.00 per picul up country.

Of the Trengganu fishermen Clifford records that their average monthly earning during the open season, from March to November, was eight dollars, and that of a working boat-owner who steered his own craft nearly double the amount. Several thousand piculs of fish were dried in the villages along the coast, seven eighths of which were exported to Singapore.

The currency of the State consisted of only two tin coins, one minted by the State and the other by the Capitan China—the official head of the Chinese community. The first of these, referred to as either *keping* or *pitis*, was a small round coin, the size and thickness of a letter wafer; the other, known as *jokoh*, was a little larger than the Straits Settlements copper cent and had a hole in the centre. These were specially coined for use in the Chinese gaming houses, but were legal tender in the capital and its immediate neighbourhood. Shortly before Clifford's visit three other varieties of coin had begun to make their appearance: the *keping bharu*, the token value of which was equal to ten of the old *pitis*, and two additional types of *jokoh* minted by the *Juru Bahasa* and the *Juru Tulis*—the Sultan's Chinese Interpreter and Chinese Scribe,—the right to do so being granted in lieu of other remune-

ration. These two new *Jokoh* differed slightly in weight and inscription from each other and from those minted by the Capitan. One dollar represented nine hundred and sixty *pitis* or *keping*, ninety six *keping bharu* or forty *jokoh*. Owing to the increased facilities for steam communication between Trengganu and Singapore the prices of produce had more than doubled during the fifteen years preceding Clifford's visit and the *pitis* was no longer being minted. The profit to be realised on the minting of the new keping piece was slightly over 245% and the right to mint 96,000 of this coin monthly was granted to Tungku Petri, daughter of the Sultan of Daik, recently wedded to the Sultan. A similar concession was granted to Inche Kelsom, the chief royal concubine, who was then the mother of the Sultan's only son, and from this source each of these ladies realised a monthly income of $700.00, thus relieving the Sultan of the necessity of making any other provision for them.

Clifford estimated that there were $10,000.00 worth of the old *pitis* in circulation and $30,000.00 worth of the new *keping*, which were being added to at the rate of $2,000.00 monthly, to which must be added an unknown number of counterfeit coins which through the ingenuity of the Trengganu artisan were exact imitations.

The Yen and the Mexican dollar were in common use, but notes were not legal tender. No gold was in use as currency, but the existence of gold currency in the past was suggested by the use of the word *amas* by natives of Trengganu to indicate a sum equivalent to twelve *keping bharu*, or 50 cents of a Mexican dollar.

The principle forms of taxation then prevailing were *Banchi* or Polltax and *Serah*. The polltax of one dollar per head was imposed by the Sultan on every circumcised male once in three years to defray the expenses connected with the sending of the *'bunga mas'* to Siam. The Rajas in charge of various districts were also empowered to collect a smaller polltax of 50 cents per head either annually or triennially, but usually preferred other and more productive methods of taxation.

Serah was managed in one of two ways: either a consignment of goods was sent to a village or an individual, and a price considerably in excess of that current in the markets was demanded in return, or else a sum of money was sent accompanied by a message informing the recipients that a fixed quantity of rubber or other jungle produce, altogether disproportionate to the sum received, was required in exchange.

In addition to these two sources of revenue, there was the traditional system of forced labour known as *'Krah'*, which in

Trengganu was used as a means of providing the District Raja with free timber or jungle produce, which he disposed of in the open market.

In the coast districts, the principal source of State revenue was an export duty of $1.00 per pikul of fish. The right to collect this duty was usually farmed out to locally born Chinese. About $5,000.00 per annum was derived from an import duty on opium and a still smaller sum from the gaming farms since only Chinese were permitted to gamble.

The Sultan's own share in the revenue of the State was made up mainly from the duty levied on fish exported from Kuala Trengganu, from the duty on imports, from harbour dues, from coinage and from fines inflicted by the Courts of Justice.

Sultan Zainal Abidin did not personally administer justice, preferring to leave matters in the hands of Tengku Musa, who presided over the Court assisted by Tuan Hitam and Che Abdul Rahim. Of these Tengku Musa and Tuan Hitam, a Saiyid, were relatives of the Sultan and the latter acted as his Treasurer, while Abdul Rahim was his principal confidential adviser.

Court revenue was of two vareties, the fees of Court, the *pembasoh balai,* (literally the money paid for cleansing the State Hall after the hearing of a case has soiled it) and the fines which were inflicted for almost every offence. Clifford recorded that he was convinced that the Sultan was a just ruler and remained unaware of the things which were done in his name.

Fines were usually fixed according to the wealth of the offender and a reputation for affluence was liable to cause its possessor to be charged and convicted for an imaginary offence, since in many cases a large part of the fine was retained by the Court Officials. Adequate proof of guilt was seldom required, in practice no appeal was possible from the decisions of the Courts either at the capital or in the districts and the Courts existed mainly as a means by which revenue could be exacted.

When fines or debts to the State could not be paid, the persons by whom they were due were placed in the *penjara* or prison, until payment was made by their relatives or by others who desired to purchase them as slaves.

Clifford visited the prison in Kuala Trengganu on April 22, 1895 and his description reads as follows:

> It consists if an enclosure, built in the very centre of the Kedai Tanjong—one of the most crowded portions of the town—surrounding the cages in which the prisoners are confined. The prison is built of heavy slabs of wood

some 3 inches thick, 2 feet broad, and 10 feet high, which are fitted together so as to form a solid wall. Inside this fence, and at a distance of 30 inches from it, are two rows of cages placed back to back, which are made of heavy bars of wood with intervals of a couple of inches or so in every eight for the admission of light and air. These cages are raised about 6 inches from the ground, and measure some 6 feet in length, 2 feet in width, and 5 feet in height. The cages are 20 in all, that is to say 10 in each row, and when I visited the 'pen-jara' it was fairly full, in one instance two men being confined in the same cage. Prisoners once condemmed to incarceration are not again released until the money for which they are detained has been paid by their relatives, or until death sets them free. When I say that they are not released, I mean that they are literally never permitted to leave the cages in which they have been placed. No sanitary arrangements of any kind are provided; no one ever cleans out the cages; and the space between the floor and the ground, and the interval which separates the cells from the surrounding fence, is therefore a seething mass of excrement and maggots. Owing to the heavy bars which form the sides of the cages, the close proximity of the prisoners to one another, and the solid wooden wall which shuts out all ventilation, the atmosphere inside must be something appalling, for even in the spaces between the cages and the fence—a comparatively airy spot—it is calculated to turn the strongest stomach. To add to their misery, no bathing appliances of any kind are supplied to the prisoners, and the filthy persons of the inmates of these cells beggar all description."

Similar prisons were said to exist at Kemaman, Dungun, Stiu and Besut.

All police duty at the capital was carried out by an irregular force of *Budak Raja* (Sultan's Young Men), under Tengku Yusuf, a distant cousin of the Sultan. These young men received no pay, but obtained what money they could by levies from persons detected in crime or by blackmail. From this brief account of conditions in the State in 1895 it will be seen that by delegating his authority to his relatives and underlings the Sultan had placed his people at the mercy of men who used every available means to oppress them.

The Trengganu Malays were essentially men of peaceful disposition and were both reluctant and ill equipped with the means to make their miseries known to their ruler, they were moreover the most zealous Muslims in the peninsula.

The Sultan set an example to his people by the strict observance of the letter of Islamic Law and not only attend the chief Mosque in person but never missed the five hours of prayer, and enforced a similar observance on his people. As a result it was rare to find a circumcised male in Trengganu who had not read the Kuran from end to end, and since the Malay characters are the same as the Arabic, a youth of average intelligence who had mastered the Kuran had little difficulty in acquiring the art of reading and writing his own language.

Clifford left Kuala Trengganu for Singapore by the Sea Belle on June 10, 1895, and the remainder of his small force was recalled a week later. In the conclusions at the end of his report he emphasised the view that the Siamese would neglect no opportunity to strengthen their influence in Trengganu, and that the Malays of the East Coast would interprete any further action taken by the British through the agency of the Siamese as being dictated by fear of Siam.

A year later, in April 1896, Sultan Zainal Abidin paid his first visit to Siam, travelling in a Siamese warship named the *Mukut*. He was accompanied by twenty of his chiefs and relatives including Tengku Besar, Tengku Chik Malacca, Tengku Chik Abu Bakar, Tengku Petera, Tengku Embong Musa and Tengku Musa bin Tengku Panglima Besar. Fifty seven other persons were also included in the entourage.

The Sultan appointed Tengku Chik Besar to conduct the affairs of State in his absence, assisted by Tengku Dalam, Tengku Chik Besut and Saiyid Mustafa bin Mohd. Idrus.

The King of Siam received the Sultan with every mark of friendship and presented his royal guest with a gold sheathed sword, a Siamese sailing boat and 2,000 kor (Siamese currency). Many of the Trengganu chiefs also received gifts and the party returned after twenty three days absence greatly impressed by Siamese hospitality and gratified by an assurance given by Bangkok officials that the Siamese King had never before shown such favour to any other Malay ruler.

The Sultan continued to take an active interest in external affairs: in November 1898 he visited Singapore, travelling in a warship lent for this purpose by the King of Siam, and in August 1899, he received a visit from the Sultan of Kelantan. In 1902 he received two visits from the governor of the Straits Settlements, Sir Fank Swettenham; the first in September and the second six weeks later. During his visit Sir Frank Swettenham enquired from the Sultan whether he referred matters of state to the King of Siam before or after reaching a decision to which the Sultan replied that he kept the King informed of the progress of state affairs, but invariably made his own independent decisions. The particular purpose of the governor's visit was to discuss with the Sultan a draft agreement which had been prepared in London by Lord Lansdowne and the Siamese Special Commissioner in England, PHYA SRI SAHADEB, and to which the Sultan's signature was intended to be affixed.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when British protection was extended to Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Perak and

Pahang, Siam was anxious to establish a definite claim to suzerainty over Kelantan and Trengganu, and the purpose of this agreement was to place their claim on official record.

At no time had any treaty or written agreement been entered into between Siam and either of the two States, but in the lengthy negotiations which were conducted at this period between Great Britain and Siam there was a persistent tendency to assume that both Kelantan and Trengganu were already dependencies of Siam. In a declaration attached to the draft agreement which Sir Frank Swettenham brought with him on his visit, the preamble read "The State of Trengganu has been recognised to be a dependency of Siam".

The close relationship with Bangkok which had been such a feature of Sultan Zainal Abidin's reign may well have given Great Britain grounds for misunderstanding but, although the Sultan of Kelantan signed the agreement during Swettenham's visit to Kota Bahru, the Sultan of Trengganu refused to accept either the English version or the Siamese version which had been sent from Bangkok.

The main terms of the 1902 agreement were an engagement by the Sultan to have no dealings with any foreign power except through the medium of the Siamese, an undertaking by the Sultan to pay the salary of an Adviser and Assistant Adviser to be appointed by the Siamese, whose advice he was to follow on all matters of administration other than those touching on the Mohammedan religion and Malay custom. The King of Siam for his part was to undertake not to interfere in the internal administration of the State so long as peace and order were maintained and so long as it was governed for the benefit of its inhabitants.

Prior to the signing of the agreement in London Sir Frank Swettenham had pressed for direct negotiation with the two Malay State but his advice had been rejected.

Swettenham's account of his visit includes the following passage:—

> "I sent on shore to tell the Sultan and he sent back an officer inviting me to land which I did at 2 p.m. I was received by a guard of spearmen and a salute was fired then and when I left at about 5 p.m.
>
> The Sultan is an extraordinarily reserved man very silent and a very devout Mohammedan. His method is never to commit himself to anything and this line of policy has so far completely checkmated the Siamese and practically kept Europeans out of the country. I think Mr. John Anderson, the senior partner of Guthrie & Company, Singapore, is the only European who has ever obtained and worked a concession in Trengganu.

Almarhom Sultan Zainal Abidin III ibni Almarhom Sultan Ahmad, *K.C.M.G.*
(Posthumous title, Marhum Haji).

Almarhom Sultan Suleiman Badrul Alam Shah ibni Almarhom Sultan Zainal Abidin III, *K.C.M.G.*

Sultan Ismail ibni Almarhom Sultan Zainal Abidin III, *C.M.G.*

J. L. Humphreys, *C.B.E., M.C.S.*

The Sultan is a poor man and though very little is known of his country I fancy it is neither rich nor populous but there probably are some paying tin fields near the borders of Pahang.

I give the purport of my conversation with the Sultan below and when I had once got him to speak at all on the subject of his relations with the Siamese, I was rather surprised at the freedom with which he discussed the question. From his point of view the Siamese are friends or acquaintances and nothing more and it is quite evident that his object is to stand aloof and to have no closer connection with any power.

Whilst I was in Trengganu I heard (but not from the Sultan) that when the Sultan was last in Bangkok he had been told that the Siamese Government would lend him $2,000,000 and that he could have $500,000 as advance. This was a large sum to a poor man and it is a credit to him that he declined it.

It would probably be no exaggeration to say that the Siamese have as little to do with the Administration of Trengganu as they have with that of Singapore. The Sultan of Trengganu sends to Bangkok once in three years the Bunga Mas and as he carefully explained to me yesterday, he received equivalent presents in return. The custom has obtained for over 100 years. The present Sultan of Trengganu who has ruled for 20 years has visited Bangkok I think on two occasions and when yesterday I said something about this he reminded me that he and his predecessors also visited Singapore and that he had been there less than three years ago as guest of the Straits government.

There is not now and never has been a single Siamese official in Trengganu nor have the Siamese ever exercised any authority in that state. According to the Sultan and his chiefs the Siamese have never in any shape or form interfered in the administration of Trengganu nor has there ever been any kind of treaty agreement or arrangement written or verbal between Trengganu and Siam.

It has been suggested to me that Siam's best claim (to sovereignty) rests upon the action of the British Government first in asking for Siamese help to arrest the Pahang rebels when they escaped into Kelantan and Trengganu and more recently when the Boundary agreement was made in November 1899, as it does not appear that Trengganu was consulted in the settlement of the Pahang—Trengganu frontier."

Since Sultan Zainal Abidin had courageously refused to sign either the English or the harsher Siamese version of the agreement in 1902, Trengganu retained her independence, but Kelantan received two Englishmen, Graham and Thomson, appointed by the Siamese Government, as Adviser and Assistant Adviser in 1903. Graham had been in the service of the Siamese government for a number of years and was inevitably prejudiced in favour of the Siamese. Neither officer could speak Malay.

The Sultan and his circle of advisers in the Trengganu capital were alarmed by the uncertainty of the situation and the possibility of further pressure being exerted by Siam, but four years passed without any further developments, and on the 15th

December 1907, the Sultan celebrated his Jubilee, the completion of twenty-five years as an independent ruler on the Trengganu throne.

For three nights every town and village was illuminated with lanterns and small lamps while a feast was prepared at the various mosques. The Sultan marked the occasion by conferring new titles on four of his officials; 'Che Embong bin Shahbandar Jaafar became Dato Shahbandar, 'Che Yusof bin Panglima P'erang Musa became Panglima Perang Kiri, Wan Hamid bin Said received the title of Dato Sangsura Pahlawan and 'Che Othman bin Idris was given the title of Panglima Muda.

On the third day of the celebrations the Sultan received an address of congratulation from his officials and subjects at his palace, the Estana Maziah which he had built in 1895. Tengku Mahmud was deputed to read the Sultan's reply in which he thanked his people for their loyalty.

The Sultan's eldest son, Tengku Muhammad was then twenty years of age and was already taking a share in state affairs. Two other princes had been born, Tengku Sulaiman and Tengku Ismail, the former in 1894 and the latter earlier in the year of the Sultan's jubilee. Two other sons, Tengku Ahmad and Tengku Mahmud were born subsequently: all five princes were borne by different consorts; 'Che Kelsom bore Tengku Muhammad, Tengku Sulaiman's mother was 'Che Asiah, the mother of Tengku Ismail was 'Che Maimunah a Siamese lady, 'Che Zainab bore Tengku Ahmad and Tengku Mahmud's mother was Tengku Mandak, a daughter of Tengku Mustapha and great grand-daughter of Tengku Idris one of Baginda Omar's trusted friends.

Some idea of the expansion in trade and of the development of Trengganu during the Sultan's reign may be gained from the records of the year 1910 which have survived: an extensive export trade existed with Kelantan, Siam, Indo China and Borneo of which no records are available, but in 1910 the total value of exports to Singapore was $1,513,914. The grand total must have reached a much larger figure since 439 port clearances were issued during the year to vessels leaving Trengganu for northern and other destinations as compared with 161 port clearances for vessels bound for Singapore. Fish, tin and copra were the principal exports to Singapore: the fish so exported was valued at $464,288, the tin at $313,177 representing 6,000 pikuls and the copra at $281,813. All the tin was mined in the south of the State mainly in the Kemaman area, Bundi lode mine being the principal source.

This expansion did not benefit the State revenue to the extent which might be expected owing to the system of farming out

much of the proceeds for a number of years at a time. It was to be one of the first tasks of the British Agent on his appointment in 1910 to explore ways and means of reorganising of State finance.

Sir Frank Swettenham retired from the post of Governor of the Straits Settlements on January 13, 1904, to the relief of the Siamese. He had been a staunch upholder of the interests of the East Coast Malays and had received applications for British protection from the Rajas of Patani, Sai and Reman before he left Singapore.

For six years the position of Trengganu continued to be a subject for desultory diplomatic negotiation, but eventually on March 10, 1909, a Treaty between Great Britain and Siam was signed at Bangkok by Mr Ralph Paget, the British Minister, the terms of which were not apparently conveyed to Trengganu until after signatures had been affixed in the Siamese capital. Article One of the Treaty read:—

> "Transfer of Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah, Perlis and Adjacent Islands to Great Britain.
>
> The Siamese Government transfers to the British Government all rights of suzerainty, protection and administration and control whatsoever which they possess over the states of Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah, Perlis and adjacent islands".

Other articles referred to the Delimitation of the Anglo-Siamese boundary, Public Debt of ceded territories and Abolition of Consular Jurisdiction in Siam, and simultaneously with the Treaty was signed an agreement between the Government of the Federated Malay States and the "Railway Department of the Kingdom of Siam" whereby the Federated Malay States granted Siam a loan of four million pounds to be devoted to the construction of railways in that country.

W. L. Conlay, on behalf of the British Government, accepted the transfer of suzerainty of Trengganu from a Siamese Commissioner, acting on behalf of the Siamese Government in the presence of the Sultan of Trengganu and his principal officials on July 14, 1909. Conlay emphasised that Great Britain was not responsible for the omission by the Siamese Government to inform Trengganu of the terms of transfer of alleged suzerainty.

Finally on April 22, 1910, an agreement between Great Britain and Trengganu was completed providing for mutual help, extradition of offenders, protection of Trengganu by Great Britain against attacks, prohibition of political dealings by Trengganu with any foreign power without the consent of Great Britain and

the appointment of a British officer to reside in Trengganu and to be an Agent with functions similar to those of a consular officer.

VI.

The Growth of the Modern State (1910—1945).

In the years that followed the 1909 Treaty, an improved system of administration was gradually introduced.

The Annual Reports of the British Agent provide a chronicle of slow but steady development of administrative and financial progress, which in spite of its novelty was accepted and applied with a minimum of friction. Sultan Zainal Abidin took the initiative himself when on November 2, 1911, he introduced the *Undang-Undang Tuboh Negri* which, in a document containing fifty-three clauses, provided a written constitution for the State.

A census was taken throughout the State on the 10th March 1911 and a total of 154,073 persons were enumerated, of whom 149,379 were Malays and ten were European. The High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Young, visited Trengganu on October 9th, 1911 and invested the Sultan with the Insignia of a Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, which had been conferred on His Highness on the occasion of the coronation of His Majesty King George V. His Highness's supporters were the Tengku Besar of Pahang, C.M.G. and E. L. Brockman, C.M.G.

In December 1911, a telephone line (the first in the State) was erected connecting the Post Office with the Sultan's Istana and with the quarters of the British Agent, which had been completed in August of the same year.

Sultan Zainal Abidin paid his first visit to Besut on June 13th, 1912, accompanied by the British Agent and also inspected the Perhentian and Redang islands. Besut possessed an evil reputation as a refuge for bad characters from Kelantan and Trengganu; cattle stealing, robbery with arms and boat stealing were common, and in the absence of a regular Police Force proved impossible to control effectively.

Two months later the Kelantan delegates on the Trengganu and Kelantan Boundary Commission arrived at Besut and commenced their work accompanied by the British Agent. A final settlement of the boundary was arrived at in November 1913.

The year 1912 saw the commencement of various other improvements: land settlement in Kuala Trengganu was begun, 4½

miles of new roads were laid in the town and work commenced on a road to Kuala Ibai, the organised collection of town refuse was begun, and the Sultan abolished the shipping toll known as *"Laboh Batu"* which had been collected from time immemorial on all Chinese junks arriving at or sailing from the capital. On arrival this toll was collected in kind—(usually rice and salt)—and on clearing the Port, in cash, varying from $15.00 to $35.00 per junk. This toll had been divided into twenty shares which were distributed as follows:—H.H. the Sultan 6 shares, the Yang di-Pertuan Muda 4 shares, the Datoh Bandar, the Capitan China and the Jurubahasa 2 shares each, Haji Ngah, Enche Mat, the Jurubahasa's son and the Dato Mata-Mata 1 share each.

In the same year agreements were signed by the Sultan providing for the mutual rendition of fugitive criminals between the State of Trengganu, the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, other Protected States, and the Kingdom of Siam.

On the 8th October, 1913, Sultan Zainal Abidin, whose lifelong devotion to religion was already notable, sailed from Singapore on a pilgrimage to Mecca, accompanied by a suite of fifteen persons, among whom were his private secretary Haji Ngah, who had been given the title of Dato Sri Amar di-Raja, Tengku Abdullah bin Tengku Abbas, who was a cousin of the Sultan, Tengku Husain (Tengku Pekerma) and a young grandson.

During the Sultan's absence his eldest son, Tengku Muhammad, was appointed Regent and administered the country with the help of the State Council, on which the British Agent was then for the first time given a seat. In February 1913 Tengku Muhammad had been given a *"Kuasa Negri"*—granting him full administrative power and he took over the revenues of all the rivers from the territorial chiefs, promising compensation at a later date.

Although the Sultan was taken seriously ill in Cairo he made a complete recovery and was given a tumultuous welcome on his return. His Highness possessed an unflagging interest in external developments and in addition to annual visits to Singapore and a visit to Kuala Kangsar and Kuala Lumpur, which he made before proceeding to Mecca, he travelled to Kelantan in 1914 and spent several days at the guest of the Sultan, he also visited Kemaman accompanied by his second son, Tengku Sulaiman, and inspected the tin mine at Bundi. On this visit the Sultan refused the offer of a motor launch to convey him up river, and the locomotive at the river bank to draw his wheeled conveyance, preferring to be rowed by the raiyat and electing to travel from the river bank to the mine on a trolley pushed by the villagers.

The Sultan was accompanied on his travels, other than the pilgrimage, by his personal bodyguard, H. Gild, an Australian, who was given the title of Dato by the Sultan in 1913 and became his confidential adviser. Gild took an active part in tin prospecting, notably at Bukit Tawang at the head of the Trengganu river, and introduced the first motor car into the State, he also opened a dispensary at a time when no Government medical services were provided.

The greatest obstacle to administrative expansion was the system of farming out many of the main sources of revenue to the material advantage of those who obtained the farms and at increasing loss to the State. As an example, land revenue, which in Kelantan brought in $133,000 in 1913, realised only $4,620 in Trengganu in 1914. This situation was aggravated by the grant of concessions over very large areas of land to persons who had neither capital nor credit and were incapable of developing the land so acquired. In 1914 the rent payable on these concessions which covered several hundred square miles was $5,795, of which only $4,045 was paid.

One of the evil results of this system was a consequent inability to pay adequate salaries to Government officers and subordinates. For example in 1916, the monthly salary of the Head of Chandu Monopoly Department was $125/-, the State Secretary and the State Engineer were paid $100/- each, the Chief Justice and the Chief Police Officer $75/- each, and the wages of Police rank and file varied from $7/- to $9/- per month.

The task of reorganisation was the more difficult owing to the absence of persons possessed of even elementary education to fill administrative posts and to undertake the considerable responsibilities which fell to their lot as soon as the collection of revenue ceased to be made through tax farmers or concession holders.

By great good fortune J. L. Humphreys was transferred from Muar, where he had been Assistant Adviser, to Trengganu in November 1915 and for the next ten years, with one interval for long leave, be carried out the delicate and difficult task of guiding the Sultan and his advisers and chiefs through a period in which more revolutionary and beneficial changes took place than at any other time in Trengganu history.

The debt which is owed by the State to this talented administrator is incalculable. His personality, foresight, tact and determination enabled him to bring about reforms and expansion in almost every branch of the administration, and after nearly thirty years absence his name is still fresh in the memories of all with whom he came in contact. His untimely end, as a result of

pneumonia while on holiday in Tientsin in December 1929, after winning the China Golf Championship, was deeply mourned in Trengganu, and a memorial, in the form of a sundial, was erected near to the Government Offices in 1933. His potrait, painted in oil, hangs in the State Secretariat to this day, having been carefully preserved during the Japanese occupation.

The administration was in the hands of the State Council which in 1917 consisted of twenty-four members, all officials or ex-officials, including the eight Mentri who formed an inner council. The decisions of the council required the approval of the Sultan and the Raja Muda which were rarely refused. Haji Ngah, who proved to be Humphreys's staunchest supporter in the work of effecting administrative reforms, was appointed Chief Mentri during the year. 1917 saw a notable increase in State revenue mainly as a result of the abolition of the Opium Farm and of the Import and Export Duty Farm which had been urged by successive British Agents. These two reforms provided an immediate increase of $180,000 for the year and enabled salaries of officials and subordinates to be appreciably increased. A financial committee was appointed and visited all the districts, and State Estimates and a Civil List were prepared and approved for the first time. Humphreys's comment on this innovation reads: "This marks a very definite advance in the administration of the state. Hitherto the demands on the Treasury by the numerous members of the Ruling House have only been limited by the balance available: all future additions to the Civil List will require the sanction of the State Council."

In his report for the year 1917 Humphreys points out that Trengganu was then the only Malay State under British Protection in which the custom of debts slavery openly continued. The number of debt slaves in Trengganu was estimated at no less than six thousand, and since, with rare exceptions, the work done by a debt slave was not calculated as a means of reduction of the debt, but only as interest on the money lent, the number showed no signs of decreasing. Humphreys persuaded the Sultan and his ministers to agree to the abolition of the system and this was finally put into effect in 1919.

A man of Humphreys's character and charm not unnaturally won the confidence of many people of all classes, and he became increasingly aware of the unsatisfactory conditions which continued to exist, notably in the Kemaman region. This knowledge was supplemented as a result of a prolonged tour of all the districts which he made in September and October 1918 in company with Haji Ngah, Tengku Embong, Che Da Omar the head of the Chandu Monopoly Department, and Haji Wan Sulaiman the Chief Justice.

The history of the Kemaman area, owing to its remoteness from the State Headquarters is not mentioned in court records, but a note by the first Malay State Commissioner, Kemaman, written in 1924, reads as follows:—

"In the time of Sultan Parit of Trengganu (Sultan Ahmad I. 1808-1827) the Kemaman district was ruled by a certain Lebai Saris, whose authority for his position was however merely his own influence and wealth. He had come from Patani, and he was the first man to settle at Kampong Nyior (in Kemaman river about 6 miles from the mouth) where he made a clearing and settlement.

"Lebai Saris had a son named 'Che Abu Bakar who was a celebrated warrior. He used to give himself airs as though he were a Sultan. At the padi season he used to build a great pavilion of State in which he used to sit, from whence he would visit the various padi plantings carried in a litter by some of the men who owed allegiance to him. He paid no attention to any instructions received from the Sultan in Trengganu, but merely set them at defiance. Before very long however the Sultan ordered a certain Engku Kembal, a foreign Malay to arrest 'Che Abu Bakar and Lebai Saris, and both of them were arrested and sentenced.

"There followed a series of headmen over the district until we come to the time of Dato Kaya Penglima Hassan. He was a man named Hassan, and he received his title from the Sultan. It was he who made the first clearing and started the village of Chukai. Shortly after his death at Kemaman, the district came under the sway of Tengku Wot, who was sent there by Tengku Puteri, consort of Sultan Parit, the district having been generously presented to her by the Sultan as a marriage portion. At this time there was a famous Chinese trader at Kemaman called Cheong Teng commonly known as 'Che Teng. When he died he was buried on the hill in Kemaman town which is now known as Bukit 'Che Teng.

"Soon after the death of Tengku Wot, Kemaman was governed by Enche Mat (Dato Bentara Haji) by the Sultan's command, but after 4 months he was recalled to Trengganu and was succeeded in the Government of Kemaman by Tengku Yusof. In his day a wooden fort was built and a boom in the river at the point of Tanjong Chukai: the fort was fitted with cannon. In consequence of this Tengku Yusof was recalled to Trengganu and Kemaman was given by the Sultan temporarily to Enche Wan Ngah, a Kemaman man. The substantive authority however was conferred soon afterwards on Enche Abdul Rahman bin Musa a Trengganu man, and Enche Burok bin Khatib Ismail, with equal authority. Enche Abdul Rahman administered the Kuala while 'Che Burok used to look after the river places, as he had some knowledge of Mining. They both received an annual dole from the Sultan in the form of rice. It was from the enterprise of 'Che Burok in touring the country side that tin was discovered at Bundi and at Sungei Ayam. These mines were worked by 'Che Burok with the assistance of a headman called Tan A Pok, a Hokkien. The capital for coolies' wages was supplied by the Sultan and the profits belonged to him.

"In the days of 'Che Burok the mines were found and opened up in this district. Soon afterwards 'Che Burok became blind, but such was his success and fame that he continued in his official position. It was at this time that Tengku Hitam bin Tengku Derahim came to Kemaman for purposes of trade. He managed to obtain favour with 'Che Burok at whose request he was

appointed by the Sultan (Ahmad) to the Government of Kemaman. Enche Abdul Rahman left and went to live at Gebang in a sulk.

"After the death of Sultan Ahmad, Tengku Hitam was recalled and 'Che Abdul Rahman returned to Kemaman from Gebang and held office in conjunction with Tuan Merat of Beserah. His official acts and decisions are not set down here as they are already on record.

"About three years after that Kemaman came under the rule of Tengku Muda—Tengku Penglima, and he sent 'Che Abdulrahman bin Isahak, now Dato Lela, to live in the district and carry on the administration of Kemaman, and Kijal as well, a sub-district which lies to the North of Kuala Kemaman.

"In 1332 'Che Drahman received a letter of authority (tauliah) officially appointing him as Commissioner of State (Pesurohjaya), and in that year a Court and other Government departments were stated."

As a result of annual reports submitted by successive British Agents, the High Commissioner appointed a commission consisting of Sir John Bucknill, K.C., Hayes Marriott, and F. M. Elliott, with J. W. Simmons as Secretary, to visit Trengganu in September 1918 and to enquire into the administration of the Kemaman District, the administration of the Trengganu goal, and the action of the Trengganu Police and the Trengganu Court in the case of rape committed by Said Mohamed (nephew of the famous Ungku Said of Paloh) upon Tengku Selamah, a debt slave of Tungku Embong Musa, a nephew of the Sultan. Dr J. Argyll Campbell, Professor of Medicine, King Edward VII Medical College, Singapore, N. M. Hashim, Senior Malay Interpreter to the Supreme Court, Singapore, and J. T. Handy, private secretary to the Chief Justice, Singapore, accompanied the expedition.

In a detailed report which covered 34 printed pages excluding appendices, the Commission made clear the existence of serious abuses and the general backwardness of Trengganu Administration. The following extract from the section dealing with the administration of Kemaman is representative of the general contents:—

"The head of the District is 'Che Abdul Rahman bin Isahak. He has held the post for 30 years and is now about 55 years old. In this evidence before the Commission he gives his theory of the administration of the district. From his own statement, as well as from the distance which separates Kemaman from headquarters, it may be taken that he is the virtual ruler of the district. His salary until 1918 did not exceed $70/- per month but this year was increased to $150/-: the evidence taken however indicates very forcibly that these emoluments have been substantially amplified by 'borrowings' from well to do Chinese, fines, betting on cock fighting and so forth There is nothing in this at which to be surprised: what perhaps is, on first thoughts, somewhat remarkable is the docility with which the raiat submit to it.

"'Che Abdul Rahman stated before the Commission that he had for some time officiated as Judge or Magistrate and that no one in the district, since the death in 1917 of the previous Magistrate, Tungku Ismail, had any other

judicial powers. The facts, however, really appeared to be that the Registrar of the Court had been sitting as Magistrate on Che Abdul Rahman's instructions, whom he consulted as to the sentences passed or to be imposed. The impropriety of a system under which sentences are imposed or varied capriciously by a person not even present at the trial is too obvious to require further comment. The evidence of the Registrar, the admissions of the "*Budak Raja*" (plain clothes, unpaid police) as to their proceedings at Bundi mine, and the evidence given by the Judge, 'Che Nik, in the enquiry into the case of rape at Trengganu will show that such conditions are not unusual and that the Judiciary (such as it is) is in but small degree, if at all, independent of the Executive.

"That 'Che Abdul Rahman should treat the police force as a body of personal retainers is quite natural, and the irregularities of the *budak raja* at Bundi and elswhere are entirely due to this fact.

"The main complaints which we received as to the action of the *budak raja* came from Bundi. The Commission spent much time in investigating these complaints, and the evidence recorded on the subject is voluminous..... a recital of the facts in one particular case may be looked upon as typical of the behaviour of the *budak raja* at any suitable locality throughout the district.

"In May 1917 two *budak raja* named Wan Awang and Awang Rimpin visited Bundi on the 'Che Abdul Rahman's instructions. One night at 2 a.m. they went armed with kris and pistol to Tasek, a neighbouring village, where the Malay woodcutters of the mine live, and proceeding to the house of one Merah, who was absent in search of a stray buffalo, loudly hailed the inmates. Sadiah (Merah's wife) was sleeping inside a room: and Karim (Sadiah's brother-in-law) and Isahak (Karim's cousin) were sleeping outside on the verandah.. Wan Awang went up into the house and into Sadiah's room and told her that she must consider herself as being under arrest, alleging that she had misconducted herself with Karim. They ordered her to accompany them to Bundi, but as she pleaded pregnancy, they eventually permitted her to remain in her house. Karim they led away. Two days later at Bundi, Awang Rompin purported to 'try' the case. He took his seat as Julge in the house of a Chinese named Leong Teng and fined Sadiah and Karim $60/- each, finding them guilty on a charge of adultery. The proceedings were farcical: there were no witnesses: both parties strenuously protested their innocence. Sadiah's husband, Merah, who had in the meantime returned, asserted that he did not for one moment believe the charge, and that he had himself left Karim in charge of the house. Karim had lived as a lodger with Merah on and off for many years. Such, however, is the awe with which the *budak raja* are regarded that Sadiah and Karim had no thought of disputing the penalty: the matter came to light simply because they applied to the mine manager for an advance of wages to pay the fines."

The main conclusion of the Commission was that no satisfactory or permanent improvement could be hoped for without the fuller measure of British control which already existed in the other Protected States. The High Commissioner agreed with this conclusion and after some months of negotiation the Sultan visited Singapore and on May 24th, 1919, signed, with Sir Arthur Young, an agreement repealing Article II of the Treaty of 22nd April 1910 and substituting for it a new article which read:

"His Highness the Sultan of Trengganu will receive and provide a suitable residence for a British officer to be called the British Adviser, who shall live within the State of Trengganu and whose advice must be asked and acted upon in all matters affecting the general administration of the country and all questions other than those touching the Muhammedan Religion.

"The cost of the British Adviser with his establishment shall be determined by His Excellency the High Commissioner and be a charge on the Revenues of Trengganu.

"The collection and disbursement of all Revenues of the country shall be regulated under the advice of the British Adviser."

It was noted as an omen of complete accord that by a strange coincidence the 24th day of May (the date of the signature) corresponded according to Trengganu reckoning with the 24th day of lunar month of Sha'aban.

Largely as a result of the tact and personality of Humphreys, who became the first British Adviser, the change to the new regime was smooth, and progress was mainly delayed by the absence of trained officers and educated subordinates. Even in May 1920 the British Adviser was still the only European officer in the State.

Shortly after the commission had left Trengganu, to the consternation and deep sorrow of his subjects, by whom he was genuinely revered, Sultan Zainal Abidin died on 26 November 1918 after a very short illness. He was fifty-four years of age. The epidemic of influenza which swept through many parts of the world after the first World War visited Kuala Trengganu and caused wide-spread distress. Palace records show that His Highness, though in poor health, personally distributed alms to to the relatives of those who died during the epidemic and continued this practice until the day of his death. The notable progress which was achieved during his reign must be attributed in large measure to his enlightened outlook and wide interests, while the deficiencies were a legacy from his forebears, of which, owing to his lifelong concentration on religious study, he was largely unaware.

The Yang di-Pertuan Muda, Tengku Muhammad succeeded his father as Sultan Muhammad II and it was with him that the High Commissioner negotiated the revision of the Treaty in 1919. Temperamentally the new Ruler was ill suited to the altered status which followed the appointment of a British Adviser, and after a short reign of eighteen months he announced his decision to abdicate in favour of his younger brother, Tengku Muda Sulaiman, on May 26th, 1920. Tengku Sulaiman did all in his power to persuade his brother not to take this step, but without success, and the Mentris proclaimed Tengku Sulaiman Sultan later the same day. The ex-Sultan withdrew to Singapore where he remained until the Japanese conquest of Malaya in 1942.

During the year 1920 three additional European officers arrived to strengthen the State administration: Major H. S. Paterson arrived in July to act as Assistant Adviser, Captain A. C. Campbell Rogers was appointed State Engineer in August, and Mr E. Cheers arrived to take up the appointment of Commissioner of Police in October.

The revenue for the year was the highest in the history of Trengganu and totalled $970,541, compared with an expenditure (limited by the absence of experienced officials) of $757,645.

With the appointment of an experienced officer as Commissioner of Police, one of the most urgently needed reforms was at last undertaken. The activities of the *'budak raja'* have already been mentioned, and although a small force of Police had been in existence in the capital for ten years, they had received no training, were inadequately and sometimes belatedly paid—(on one occasion in 1916 their pay was three months in arrears and many of the men were compelled to abandon their duties and seek a livelihood as fishermen). No rules or regulations existed and their officers possessed neither the experience nor the ability to supply the deficiencies.

In 1917 the Force consisted of 53 non-commissioned officers and men divided up between the eight districts, under the control of local Magistrates and not subordinate to the Commissioner of Police. The personnel were mainly drawn from local Malays of doubtful character or from ex-police constables who had been dismissed for offences committed in other States. As a result members of the police force appeared frequently before the criminal courts as accused and on one occasion a policeman was discovered in the act of breaking open the Court safe. A system of privilege in favour of influential offenders was also prevalent.

Crimes of violence were common, and parts of the central Trengganu plain in particular were so infested with thieves that cattle and poultry could not be kept, crops were reaped and stolen by night and even graves were rifled. Other factors which contributed to the prevalence of crime were the decay of the system of appointing village headmen, the insufficient deterrence of Muhammadan law as administered in Trengganu and the prohibition of carrying arms which left the peasants without protection against bad characters.

Humphreys proceeded on richly deserved leave on 26th February 1921 and was absent from the State for fifteen months. On the night of his departure the launch in which he was travelling out to his ship overturned on the bar in rough water. Six Chinese who were in the launch were drowned, and Humphreys,

though he succeeded in swimming ashore, narrowly avoided a similar fate and lost all his baggage.

1922 saw further important developments. A Medical Department was formed and a European Medical Officer, Dr. A. B. Jesser Coope was seconded from the Straits Settlements. Prior to this there were no State medical services other than two small outpatients dispensaries at Kuala Trengganu and Kemaman in the charge of unqualified men, and some years earlier when the British Agent fell a victim to Cholera he treated himself using Dr. Gimlett's book as his guide. A telegraph line was constructed linking Kuala Trengganu with Kuantan in Pahang, and was opened on 18th March with a message of congratulation from the High Commissioner; a P.W.D. office and workshop were built and equipped by the Director, D. H. Laidlaw; the principal rivers were mapped and road traces were investigated; a new Police Station was erected in Kuala Trengganu and at Kertai, the number of vernacular schools in the State was increased to twelve with a total enrolment of 560, compared with a total of four in 1920, and Trengganu made a notable contribution to the Malaya-Borneo Exhibition, winning many prizes and diplomas in the Arts and Crafts and Forestry sections.

In spite of a general trade depression which first became evident in the 1921 revenue figures, the policy of introducing long needed reforms and expansion was maintained. This was made possible by the loan of one million dollars to the State by the Straits Settlements Government in 1923. Nearly one quarter of this sum was used to redeem eight of the Ruling House concession covering 400,000 acres of land. There were in all twelve of these concessions, covering an area of 700,000 acres, which had been given out by Sultan Zainal Abidin III and which included three quarters of the known mining land in the State. Arrangements for the surrender of these concessions were made by a committee consisting of the British Adviser, the Mentri and two members of the State Council, and increased prospecting activity followed immediately.

With the arrival of J. E. Kempe, M.C.S., as the first Commissioner of Lands in February 1923, a Settlement Enactment was drafted to enable land ownership to be determined and a policy of collecting land rents annually was prepared and agreed to by the Sultan in Council, at the same time the first Reconnaisance Survey of the State was begun, the cost of which was paid from the loan.

In May 1925, after nearly ten years close association with Trengganu, Humphreys left the State on transfer to Kedah. He was awarded the C.B.E. on the occasion of the King's birthday in

other leaders were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment, to be served in Singapore, which were remitted two years later by the Sultan.

There is considerable evidence to show that this rising was a symptom of the clash between the Red Flag and the White Flag Malay Secret Societies, such as has not uncommonly occurred in other Malay States. To cover this the grievances of the peasants were seized on, although their general circumstances were in fact considerably easier than a quarter of a century earlier.

No further disturbances interrupted the steady development of the state.

Sultan Sulaiman visited England to attend the coronation of King George VI in 1937, accompanied by his brother Tengku Paduka (later Sultan Ismail) and the grand old man Haji Ngah, Dato Amar, the Mentri.

The invasion of Malaya by the Japanese in December 1941 brought great suffering and misery to the State. Hitherto the Japanese had been welcomed in Trengganu and there were two large iron mines, one at Bukit Besi, near Dungun and the other near Kemaman, both owned and staffed by Japanese, which contributed a large sum to the annual revenue.

Sultan Sulaiman did not long survive the shock of invasion, and though still a comparatively young man he died in September 1942 after a short illness.

Subsequent events are too recent to be included in this short history: it is necessary however to record that the centuries old determination to remain independent of Siamese control was abruptly overcome in December 1943 when, without consulting the Ruler or chiefs, the Japanese transferred the control and administration of Trengganu to the Siamese. Hitherto Trengganu had been subjected the misrule of a Japanese Governor and numerous Japanese officials, who held office at the capital and in every district. After the transfer, the Siamese contented themselves with a nominal centralised control, reviving the old system in which the Sultan presided as President of the State Council ("Montri Spa"), and left the maintenance of security to the Japanese Kempeitai, who remained until the defeat and surrender of Japan and the arrival of Lt. Col. D. Headly, M.C.S., and other members of Force 136 to liberate Trengganu in September, 1945.

CHANGI (1943)—KLANG (1949).

TRENGGANU ROYAL PEDIGREE.

Bendahara Paduka Raja of Johore
TUN MAMAT Sri Lanang m. T. Munah.
(Bendahara 1580—1615)
"Dato yang ka-Acheh"

- Tun Jenal
  B.P.R.
- Tun Enum
  Bendahara Seri Maharaja
- TUN MAT ALI (3rd Son)
  Bendahara Paduka Maharaja.
  - Tun Mohamed
    Bendahara
    d. in Trengganu
    1688.
  - Tun Rantau
    B.S.M.
    d. 1675 at Jambi
  - TUN HABAB ABDUL MAJID
    m. Tun Rembiah d.o. Perdana Menteri of Acheh
    Succeeded as B.S.M. 1688
    d. 1697 (16 children)
    - (1) **Tun Zainal Abidin**
      Paduka Maharaja and
      1st Sultan of Trengganu
      asc. 1725 d. 1733.
      - (2) "Tun Dalam"
        Sultan Mansur Shah
        asc. 1740 d. 1793.
        - (3) **Sultan Zainal Abidin II**
          asc. 1793 - d. 1808
          - (4) **Sultan Ahmad Shah**
            asc. 1808 - d. 1826
            - (6) **Sultan Daud**
              1831
              (six weeks)
            - Tengku Omar
              Yam Tuan Besar
              and
              (9) **Baginda (Sultan) Omar**
              1839-1876
          - Tengku Mohamed
            Yam Tuan Kelantan.
          - (5) **Sultan Abdul Rahman Shah**
            1826-1831
          - Tengku Mansur
            Yam Tuan Muda
            and
            (7) **Sultan Mansur Shah II**
            1831-1836
            - (8) Tengku Mohamed
              Sultan Mohammad Shah
              asc. 1836 deposed 1839
          - Tengku Mahmud
            Yam Tuan Muda
            1839
            m. Tengku Dalam
            d.o. Sultan Muhammad
            of Lingga
            - (10) **Sultan Ahmad II**
              1876-1881
              - (11) **Sultan Zainal Abidin III**
                1881-1918
                - (12) **Sultan Muhammad**
                  asc. 1918 - abdicated 1920
                - (13) **Sultan Sulaiman**
                  asc. 1920 d. 1942
                - (14) **Sultan Ismail**
                  asc. 1945
                - Tengku Ahmad
                - Tengku Besar Mahmud
      - Tun Mahmud
        Indra Bongsu
        and
        Yam Tuan Muda
        d. 1719
      - Tun A. Jamal
        Temenggong 1719
        & later B.P.R.
      - Tun Abdullah
        Temenggong
        & later B.P.R.
      - "Tun Sulong" Tun Abdul Jalil
        Bendahara P.R.
        became
        Sultan Abdul Jalil
        of Johore 1699-1719
        - Sultan Sulaiman
          d. 1760 at Riau
          - Sultan Abdul Jalil II
            Raja di-Baroh
            d. at Linggi 1761
            - Sultan Ahmad
              d. young 1761
            - Sultan Mahmud
              born c. 1760 d. 1812 at Lingga
              - Sultan Abdul Rahman
                d. 1831
                - Sultan Muhammad Shah
                  m. Tengku Teh Sister of Baginda Omar
                  of Trengganu d. 1841
                  - Sultan Mahmud II
                    asc. 1841
                    deposed by Dutch 1857 and retired
                    to Trengganu and Siam
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        B.S.M. C 1706 & C 1716.

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Appendix A.

Sultans of Trengganu

1.	Sultan Zainal Abidin I "Marhum Bukit Nangka."	1725—1733.
2.	Sultan Mansur Shah I "Marhum Janggut"	1740—1793.
3.	Sultan Zainal Abidin II "Marhum Masjid."	1793—1808.
4.	Sultan Ahmad Shah I "Marhum Parit."	1808—1827.
5.	Sultan Abdul Rahman Shah "Marhum Surau."	1827—1831.
6.	Sultan Daud "Marhum Kampong Daik."	1831
7.	Sultan Mansur Shah II	1831—1836.
8.	Sultan Mahmud Shah "Marhum Teilor."	1836—1839.
9.	Baginda Omar "Marhum Baginda."	1839—1876.
10.	Sultan Ahmad Shah II "Marhum Bahru."	1876—1881
11.	Sultan Zainal Abidin III "Marhum Haji."	1881—1918.
12.	Sultan Muhammad	1918—1920.
13.	Sultan Sulaiman Shah	1920—1942.
14	Sultan Ismail	1945—

Appendix B.

British Agents and British Advisers

British Agents.

W. Conlay	1910.
W. D. Scott	1911—March, 1913.
E. A. Dickson, M C.S.	1913—July, 1914.
C. N. Maxwell, M.C.S.	1914—1915. (President of Council till 1917).
J. L. Humphreys, M.C.S.	Nov. 1915.

British Advisers.

J. L. Humphreys, C.B.E., M.C.S.	24 May 1919—May 1925.
W. E. Pepys (acting) M.C.S.	Nov. 1919—Jan. 1920.

H. C. Eckhardt (acting) M.C.S.	Feb. 1921—May 1922.
J. W. Simmons, M.C.S.	1925—1926.
W. M. Millington, M.C.S.	1926—1928.
A. J. Sturrock, M.C.S.	1928—1930.
G. L. Ham, M.C.S.	1930—1932.
C. C. Brown, M.C.S.	1932—1933.
N. R. Jarrett, M.C.S. (acting)	June 1933—Feb. 1934.
J. E. Kempe, M.C.S.	1935—1936.
N. R. Jarrett, M.C.S.	1936—1937.
P. A. B. McKerron, M.C.S. (acting)	Sept. 1937—Dec. 1937.
A. E. Coope, M.C.S.	1937—1940.
G. A. C. de Moubray, M.C.S.	1940—Dec. 1941.

Appendix C.

The Trengganu State Crest and State Flag.

The Trengganu State crest is of recent adoption. It was designed by Che Mohamed bin Abdul Rahim, a brother of Dato Nara Wangsa, Mohamed Ali bin Abdul Rahim (better known as Dato Mata-mata) and approved for general use by the Council of Ministers in 1932.

Its component parts are:—

The star and crescent indicating that Islam is the state religion.

The crown representing the ruler.

A sword and a long kris, crossed—articles selected from the state regalia.

The Koran (on the right)—The foundation of the Islamic religion.

The book of the Law (on the left)—The mark of justice.

A ceremonial sash arranged round the crossed sword and kris—part of the palace uniform.

The whole enclosed by a double circle, within whose borders are inscribed in Arabic script, at three separate points in the circumference, the words: "Jawatan Kerajaan Trengganu".

The state colours of Trengganu are black and white, and the state flag which was adopted during Sultan Sulaiman's reign consists of a black flag, with a white border 3 inches wide, and a large white star and crescent in the centre. According to tradition white was the Sultan's colour, indicating purity of character and morive, and long before the adoption of a state flag, the ruler's white flag was in use. The colour black was added to represent the raiyat and the star & crescent to indicate the state religion.

Appendix D.

An account of the visit of Sultan Zainal Abidin III ibni Almarhom Sultan Ahmad II of Trengganu to Pekan on the occasion of his marriage to Tengku Long, eldest daughter of Sultan Ahmad Al-Muadzam Shah of Pahang.

Translated from the Trengganu court Diary lent Tengku Ampuan Meriam.

At 8 a.m. in the morning of the 27th day of Muharam in the year 1303 A.H. (July 1885) the Trengganu royal party boarded steamer en route to Pahang; the retinue consisted of members of the royal family, the ministers, the chiefs and other high officials of the court who travelled in the steamer with their ruler. Sultan Zainal Abidin III, while many other followers went in sailing boats (*perahu besar*). Some of the *anak raja-raja* had their *perahu besar* following them on this journey; there were thirteen of these in all, belonging to the Yang di-pertuan Muda, Tengku Panglima Besar, Tengku Dalam, Tengku Ibrahim, Tengku Muda, Tengku Ngah Menantu, Enche Engku Muda, Tengku Muda Dungun, Tengku Muda Singapura, Tengku Bukit, Tengku Tengah, Tuan Muda and Engku Muda. Eight of the chiefs, the Bendahara, Dato Mata-Mata, the Bentara, Penglima Perang, Penglima Dalam, Dato Kaya Duyong, Dato Kaya Wan Zainal and Wan Sulaimon and each of their followers also brought their own *perahu-besar* along with them. There were in addition three more *perahu-besar* in the Kapitan China's party; the Jurubahasa came in his own *perahu-besar* too; and three other *perahu-besar* owned by the Ruler which were loaded with rice. Both the men and women in the steamer, excluding those from Pahang, numbered about four hundred and thirty, whilst those in the *perahu-besar* exceeded a thousand.

After almost an hour everything was ready and the royal party sailed away to reach Kuala Pahang Tua, the mouth of the river, at 9 p.m. where they dropped anchor for the night. At daybreak on the following Friday morning they made for Pahang Muda, and there the royal party was met by the local Penghulu, who came in a small boat to the steamer. While thus at anchor the ever increasing roughness of the sea caused dizziness to the ladies and princessess. A small boat and a gig were then lowered to take ashore Their Highnesses the Yang di-Pertuan Besar and the Yang di-Pertuan Muda and the two sons of the Sultan, accompanied by bearars of the State regalia, the *biduandas* (Royal Messengers) carrying the sword of state (*pedang kerajaan*), the long kris (*keris panjang*) and the betel-box (*tepak*). The other court officials including the ministers and chiefs and the male and female members of the royal family all followed to assemble on shore at Kuala Pahang.

The Temenggong and Tengku Ali with diverse stately boats came down to welcome and usher the royal party up-river to Pekan. The royal barges were then towed by steam-boats with the rest of the perahus sailing behind in procession to arrive at the wharf at Pengkalan Dewan by 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The whole of the route from the wharf to the main pavilion at Pengkalan Dewan was lined with an array of men armed with muskets and spears and a salute of sixteen guns was fired as soon as the royal barge touched the wharf where the Bendahara, Enche Wan Ngah ibni Almarhom Wan Tanjong, waited to receive His Highness

the Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Trengganu and the other royal guests. For some time the whole entourage remained at the Pengkalan Dewan pavilion where they were housed and fed. After ten days the party separated; some were billetd in houses whilst others put up temporary sheds to relieve the congestion in the pavilion. By this time, with the exception of His Highness and the royal family, the rest of the party from Trengganu were obliged to fend for themselves.

It was not until Saturday, 21st Safar, nearly a month later, that the giving away of the dowry (*Hantar Belanja*) took place. The dowry consisted of a sum of one thousand and six hundred gold dollars, eight suits of silk sarongs, tunics and veils, and four maid servants. The ceremony began with the party led by Tengku Besar ibni Almarhom Yang di-Pertuan Muda Tengku Abdullah Trengganu leaving the Istana Gedong, which had been allotted as the headquarters for the royal bridegroom. The procession was headed by sixteen spear-bearers each holding a *tombak* (ceremonial halberd) with Andong wood (Dracoenca) handles plated with gold. Following them were twenty yellow and white umbrellas fringed with gold flowers under which walked women with silver trays; twelve of these contained the dollars and eight the silk clothes. Then came sixteen of the royal ladies with about a hundred other women, and only three or four male members of the royal family headed by the Temenggong, with twelve chiefs and other court officials and their companions numbering about fifty persons. On reaching the Istana Besar, residence of the royal bride, all the ladies and gentlemen were then shown into the reception chamber where the ceremonial handing-over of the dowry was performed by Engku Chik Besut, Tengku Ibrahim and Tuan Long Beladau, after which light refreshments were served. Before leaving, selected ladies in the dowry party went to see the bride; and Tengku Long upon thanking them also asked them to convey her regards and respects to the Tengku Ampuan at Istana Gedong.

After an interval of thirty four days, on Friday 4 Rabial-awal, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon came the ceremony of acknowledging the receipt of the dowry (*Menerima Isi Kahwin*). The contents of the dowry were carried in a procession to the bride's mother, the Tengku Ampuan. The usual sixteen spear-bearers with others of the Trengganu party carrying the white and yellow umbrellas and the silver trays again took part in the procession, but this time instead of twenty silver trays as previously, the number was reduced to twelve; eight of these held the gold dollars and four the silk clothing. Four maid servants came immediately behind followed by others carrying ninety-six betel boxes draped with embroidered cloths. The ladies of the court in the procession were led by Tengku Hamidah and Tengku Safiah, who were carried in litters; Tengku Penglima and Tengku Muda bin Abdul Jalil headed the anak raja-raja and chiefs. On arrival at the Istana Gedong, the residence of the Tengku Ampuan, flags at the Istana Gedong and the Pengkalan Dewan were hoisted simultaneously with the firing of sixteen guns to mark the commencement of the ceremony of the day. All present were received at the *balairong*, the assembly hall, with Tengku Penglima and the Trengganu party occupying the right wing and the Bendahara and Temenggong with the Pahang Party on the left. In return the Tengku Ampuan presented gifts of one gold water vessel, two gold boxes and eight suits of tunic and trousers to her future son-in-law. The guests were then entertained with sweets and preserved ginger, after which *sireh* (betel-nuts) was served.

A week elapsed and then starting on Friday, 11th of Rabial-awal, by command of the Ruler of Pahang, Sultan Ahmad ibni Almarhom Bendahara Ali, sixteen guns were fired twice daily in the morning and evening to mark the occasion, and various amusements were provided for the people in the royal compound. The following day a prayer of thanks—giving was held at the Assembly Hall (*balairong*) at which Sultan Ahmad himself was present.

At 2 a.m. on Thursday, 23rd Rabial-awal, Sultan Ahmad accompanied by the Temenggong, Engku Muda and other chiefs and warriors called on the royal bridegroom, who was then occupying the west wing of Istana Gedong. The Yang di-Pertuan Muda Tengku Abbas with the male and female members of the Trengganu royal family had already assembled ready to leave for the Istana Besar, and by 3 a.m. the royal bridegroom's party left the Istana Gedong in a procession which Sultan Ahmad himself accompanied. The State Regalia followed immediately behind the Rulers; Tengku Mahmud carried the sword of state (*Pedang Kerajaan*), Tengku Yusop the betel box (*tepak*), Tengku Ismail the cigarette box and Enche Engku Yusof the betel chewers' cuspidor (*ketur*). Then came the Yang di-Pertuan Muda, other court officials, chiefs and members of the royal family with seven litters carrying the royal ladies, while other ladies of the court followed on foot. The Sultan of Pahang entered the audience hall first, with a small dagger in his hand, leading the royal bridegroom to the bridal throne: they were followed by the five bearers of the State Regalia and fourteen others—the Bendahara, Temenggong, Tuan Mandak, Yang di-Pertuan Muda, Tengku Penglima, Tengku Tengah, Tengku Ngah, Tengku Othman, Tengku Musa, Engku Muda, Tengku Long, Enche Mon, Tuan Simbok and Tengku Dalam.

The amusements for the evening then began, prominent among which was the *makyong*, and gambling tables occupied the assembly hall. A *joget* party made up of four persons was presented on a stage within the courtyard of the Istana, and in the reception chamber at the Istana talented female vocalists chanted recitations in praise of Allah and the Prophet Mohamed (*Zikir*).

On Thursday, 30th Rabial-awal the Kapitan Pahang brought his presentation of gifts for Sultan Ahmad consisting of five flags, twelve buffaloes and sixteen trays of foodstuffs, all covered in royal yellow.

The religious part of the marriage ceremony, the *akad nikah*, was held on Thursday, 10th Rabial-akhir in the audience hall at Istana Besar. At 3.00 a.m. Sultan Ahmad gave his official *titah* to the Penghulu Balai, the Master of Ceremonies, ordering that four persons from the bridegroom's party be summoned to court, namely Tengku Tengah, Tengku Muda, Tengku Ngah and Engku Muda. The Penghulu Balai then approached the Bendahara to deliver the Royal '*titah*'. The Bendahara with 8 anak raja-raja and 5 Hajis dressed in ceremonial robes forthwith entered the Istana to escort the royal bridegroom to the bridal throne in the audience hall where the *akad nikah* marriage ceremony was to be performed by the Tuan Kathi, Haji Mohamed bin Haji Yusof of Trengganu. The royal bridegroom, seated upon a golden mat, size four by four studded with two hundred diamonds, and surrounded by all the ladies of the court in colourful dresses, provided a magnificent spectacle. The ceremony lasted till dawn and closed with the usual prayers by the Kathi.

The *Berhinai* (Henna-sprinkling) ceremony followed a week later on Sunday, 18th Rabial-akhir. Eight yellow and eight white flags preceded the royal bridegroom who was carried in a litter followed by a *Zikir* party, behind which came the bride's palanquin accompanied by a bodyguard of 16 men wearing ceremonial yellow sashes across their shoulders and another 12 armed with muskets. The procession moved from the Istana Besar past the assembly hall and out to the main road. At the entrance to the compound of the assembly hall everybody lined up opposite the main pillars holding the daggers of state with yellow sashes slung across the shoulder. In the meantime a *mengarok* display (men dressed in white tunics and trousers with black sarongs and headresses) had assembled in the compound. At this moment Sultan Ahmad arrived with his consort Tengku Besar in a litter; this display ceased temporarily to make way for the royal arrival. As soon as His Highness ascended the royal dais in the assembly hall, the Temenggong and Engku Muda and other distinguished personalities took their seats on

both flanks of the dais, the Pahang men on the right and Trengganu on the left, and were then entertained to a banquet which lasted till 10.000 p.m., the Penghulu Balai then informed the Temenggong of the royal titah summoning him to bring Tengku Muda, Tengku Tengah and Tengku Penglima into the istana. The aforenamed gentlemen with several court ladies then escorted the royal bridegroom to the *pebalaian* (pavilion) and dressed him in ceremonial garments with gold bangles around the wrists and ankles. The Temenggong led the royal bridegroom to the wedding dais and the *letak inai* (ceremonial sprinkling with henna) ceremony opened with Sultan Ahmad first performing the ritual. By royal command the Temenggong, Engku Muda, Tengku Tengah and Tuan Mandak followed suit, after which the royal bridegroom then retired to the pavilion. Acting on the *titah* from the Tengku Ampuan the royal bridesmaid Enche Wan Ngah proceeded with the same routine for the royal bride. The ceremony was repeated successively for three days; on the first day the 5 persons above named performed the ritual; on the second day 7 with Tengku Muda and Tengku Ibrahim; and on the third 9, with Tengku Hitam and Enche Wan Buang. The firing of a 16 gun salute marked the end of the *berhinai* ceremony. With Tengku Tengah taking the lead, the royal bridegroom in a litter borne by Enche Othman and Enche Tahir, and a retinue of about 600 men and women, returned to the Pengkalan Dewan.

On the morning of Thursday, 22nd Rabial-awal the courier bells rang and crowds of people streamed into the precincts of the *balai* (assembly hall). Three palanquins were brought in; one was called the Jempana, meant for the royal bridegroom, and the others carried the joget and sets of musical instruments. The procession was arranged in this order: twelve persons with muskets in the forefront; the *tombak pechah logan kerajaan*, (the State Spear with gold blade and gold handle intertwined with silver); a *tombak* with andong wood handle, and 15 other spears of kamuning; *tombak gahara* belonging to the royal bridegroom, 16 andong wood spears with handles wrapped in gold; 16 javelins, 16 women holding candles, 16 women with folded sarongs on their shoulders (*kain selapai*); and then the palanquins for the *joget* and musical instruments. Everyone including Sultan Ahmad himself took part in the pageantry. The royal bridegroom occupied the Jempana, sitting on a velvet upholstered chair lined with richly embroidered white silk. Among the articles of the State Regalia appearing on this occasion were the *pedayang*, a trapezium-shaped box of gold studded with diamonds, the *sireh puan*, the state betel box, the sword of state, and the long keris. Two Bestmen flanked the royal bridegroom, each holding golden fans—Tengku Ismail on his right and Tengku Mansor on his left; the gold salver and cuspidor were in the charge of Tengku Hitam bin Tengku Muda and another. On either side of the Jempana (the bridegroom's palanquin) stood four more *biduandas*—Tengku Ibrahim, Tengku Hitam, Tengku Othman and Tengku Kadir. On instructions from the Yang di-Pertuan Muda, Tengku Tengah gave the order to move. Following the Jempana were 16 attendants with the *kain tetampan*, 16 with the "*kain lokong*" and 16 female attendants plus about 200 ladies including members of the royal family. On reaching the precincts of the *balairong* the royal ladies turned away into the istana compound while the procession resumed its route before finally stopping at the entrance of the Istana Besar. Sultan Ahmad then gave orders to the Bendahara to receive the royal bridegroom from the Jempana and *bunga rampai* of gold and silver petals were scattered over it. After paying due respect to the royal bridegroom, the Bendahara taking his right hand with the Yang di-Pertuan Muda on the left and Tengku Tengah behind led him into the istana. At the steps inside the istana Sultan Zainal Abidin was then passed into the hands of the Tengku Ampuan and other ladies of the court. The royal bride was then made to lead the royal bridegroom by the right hand to the throne accompanied by Tengku Hamidah, Tengku Safiah, Tengku Bukit, Tengku Besar and Tengku Jah. Having set themselves on the dais, Tuan Kenik wife of Perdana Mentri Zambir Amir took the right hand of the royal bridegroom and washed it and then made him feed the royal bride with three mouthfuls of the *nasi kunyit* (saffron tinted rice). The

royal bride in turn was made to do the same thing. After having completed this Tuan Kenik then turned to Sultan Ahmad and suggested a royal titah for a thanksgiving prayel. Penglima Dalam Haji Enche Hitam was duly summoned to perform the *"bacha doa selamat"* (prayers for safety), at the end of which a salute of sixteen guns was fired. Tuan Kenik then requested the royal couple to proceed to the wedding dais. As the royal couple stood up the royal bridegroom's hand was placed to rest on the royal bride's shoulder and vice-versa and the royal couple was then led up the steps of the wedding dais. While mounting the couple dropped hands, then the right hand of the bridegroom was joined to the left hand of the bride. On reaching the top of the wedding dais the bridegroom was made to sit in front of the *Nasi Damai* with the bride sitting opposite him.

The wedding ceremonies ended on Monday, 10th Jamadil-awal. The *bendera putus* was lowered and a smaller flag hoisted instead; the daily firing of guns henceforth ceased. On Thursday, 13th Jamadil-awal at 12.00 p.m. the flag was lowered to mark the close of the occasion.

Note: The period from the date of the arrival of the Trengganu party until the conclusion of the wedding ceremonies covered a period of three and a half months.

(Translated by Tengku Ismail bin Tengku Muhammad, Malay Administrative Service)

The Weaving Industry in Trengganu

(*Received, May,* 1948)

By A. H. HILL, M.A., B.SC.

Since the liberation of Malaya the demand for textiles has given a new impetus to the weaving industry in Trengganu. This village craft is carried on in nearly a thousand Malay homes in the State, mainly concentrated in an area round Kuala Trengganu town and upriver as far as Paloh, comprising the Mukim of Chabang Tiga; and a few coastal villages, Kuala Ibai and Chendering, south of the estuary. The Chabang Tiga looms, on which some 600 workers are employed, are controlled by Tuan Bharu and his sister Tuan Sharifah who buy and process the silk before passing it out at piecework rates to the weavers. The industry is a colourful one in every sense and although marketing is arranged centrally, up to now with the assistance of the Department of Industry and Commerce, it still remains as it has been for many years a co-operative home industry, carried on entirely by women and free from the trammels of big business.

Through the kindness of Tuan Bharu and Tuan Sharifah I was allowed to visit the homes where the processing and weaving are done and to see details of the technique used in making the silk cloth. I am grateful for the assistance given me by Tengku Besar Mahmud ibni al-Marhum Sultan Zainalabidin, who until recently was in charge of the Department of Industry and Commerce; by Miss M. Dickinson, Personal Assistant to the British Adviser, Trengganu; and by Che Ali bin Long, Inspector of Malay Schools, Trengganu. Dr. C. A. Gibson-Hill has kindly allowed me to select illustrations from his collection of Malayan photographs.

I give below a description of the technical processes involved in making the cloth, and some account of the various types of cloth produced in Trengganu.

Initial Processing.

Chinese 2-ply silk thread is bought from importing houses in Singapore, through local Chinese Agents, in bundles (*bantal*) of 3 katties weight each. Thread for the warp (*loseng*) is finer than that for the woof (*pakan*), and each bundle contains 36 hanks (*tongkol*) which are further divided into 10 skeins (*gechik*), each weighing ¼ tahil. The hanks are separated and thoroughly washed in cold water to remove superficial dirt. The light straw coloured silk thread, which is not bleached, then passes straight to the dyers.

Dyeing.

Aniline dyes of American manufacture are imported from China. It is claimed that British dyes cause too rapid deterioration of the silk fibre. The dyes used are reasonably fast and the old local vegetable dyes (e.g. *kesumba*, etc) are no longer used at all, except occasionally the kunyit yellows. Four different colours are bought; the three primary colours, red, yellow and blue; and, curiously enough, green. The dye crystals are dissolved in boiling water in an iron bowl (*kuali*) over a small open wood fire to make a solution of the required strength. At one mixing sufficient silk is dyed to make about eighty sarongs. The hanks are dipped one by one in the hot dye and vigorously squeezed for 10-20 minutes until the desired shade of colour has been obtained, then are rinsed in boiling and in cold water until the colour no longer runs. After about half-an-hour's rinsing the dyed hanks are hung on a horizontal bamboo pole to dry in the shade for 2—3 hours. This is intended to ensure no further shrinkage or fading.

Much skill is shown in the blending of the dyes in varying proportions to give minute but definite differences in shades of colour, which the local experts can identify from experience. A general distinction is made between light or medium shades (*warna muda*) and rich dark shades (*warna tua*). The following are among the commoner colour used:—

(a) Mauves—*bulir gemia, butir setar, ungu, ungu manis* (crimson)

(b) Blues—*biru ayer laut, biru ungu.*

(c) Greens—*puchok pisang* (leaf green), *batang bemban* (bottle green) *lumut, terusi* (turquoise).

(d) Yellow—*kunyit* (lemon yellow), *kunyit chat* (royal yellow).

(e) Browns—*kunyit pinang masak* (orange), *kunyit bata, bulir kahwa* (chocolate brown).

(f) Reds—*jambu* (scarlet), *darah ikan* (blood red) *asam jawa* (maroon).

Winding on to Spools. (see Plate 5).

The dried hanks are then stretched taut on a machine which has four strings connecting the ends of two interlocking bamboo cross-pieces (*daun ruing*) which open out to form a frame (*ruing*) about 12 inches square. The thread is run off on to a bamboo spool (*peleting*) of ½" in diameter which is connected to a winder (*rahat*). The end of the silk thread is twisted round the spool which is mounted on the end of a projecting metal axle (*mata*

rahat), slightly tapered to hold it firm and kept in position by a thwart tied to it with short rattan stays (*telinga rahat*). A driving belt (*tali rahat*) made of strong thick thread (*kelindan*) passes round the middle part of the axle and over a wheel made of wooden flanges (*daun rahat*) threaded with cord to form a cylindrical frame, which is mounted horizontally between wooden uprights and fitted with a handle (*tangan rahat*). (There were the types of wheels used by Tuan Sharifah at her working centre; elsewhere we saw solid machine-turned wooden wheels replacing these more primitive types). After the hank of thread has been stretched on its frame this is placed in wooden guides so that it cas revolve easily and the thread is rapidly wound off onto the spool. For the warp the spool is 4—5 inches long while that for the woof is twice this lengh. The spools holding the woof are now ready for use by the weavers.

Arranging the Warp (see Plate 5b.)[1]

The threads for the warp are next arranged by so combining them that they form a repetitive pattern (*chorak*) when stretched on the loom. The design usually takes a tartan or check form, or one with simple straight lines of harmonising colours. This is pre-determined at the processing centre by selecting threads of of various colours and winding them off the spools on to a special type of frame (*anian*). Spools containing thread of the required colours for all different effects to be produced in the finished cloth are fixed in the right proportions (usually 40—60 spools) in two parallel rows of a horizontal wooden rack (*metek*) by means of thin metal skewers (*lidi*) which fit through holes in the wooden frame.* The rack is about 5 feet long and one foot wide and is mounted on wooden supports at either end. The frame to which the threads are to be transferred is placed beneath the spool rack, and consists of two wooden bars about 3 feet long, one at each end, connected on extensible wooden guides. Each bar is fitted with a single row of upright wooden pegs (*anak anian*) about 8 inches high and about 2 inches apart. Adjacent to the last peg in the row is an extra peg (*kepala anak anian*). The frame is extended to a length convenient to the operator (*pengani*) who sits at the side with the extra peg on her right. The number of pegs is not always the same; on the one illustrated there are seventeen pegs, and sufficient warp for 10 sarongs is usually produced at one operation.

1. The Plate 5b shows a woman using a shortened *anian* for a small-sized cloth, perhaps a *kain selendang*, not a full-size one as described in the text. The general procedure is, however, the same.—C.A.G.-H.

* The unit of cloth measurement is the *lok* which consists of 40 strands of the warp on the loom, normally one inch in width. The colour strips which make up the pattern are measured up as simple fractions of one lok. Thus at this stage of ani process 5 - 10 - 20 - 40 etc. spools will be in use.

The operator pulls down the threads from the rack, gathering those required to make the border of the cloth in her hand. These are looped over the extra peg on the side opposite to her and are then cast on (*mengani*) to each peg in turn from side to side as she works towards the extra peg near her right side, where the threads are sorted into the component colours (*pungut*) and looped round it. The threads now placed out constitute the warp for the first line of pattern to be placed on one of the lines of heddles. The operator works back again to the further end of the frame, the new set of threads coming over the first set and constituting the corresponding warp to go on the other line of heddles. During this process the operator holds the threads between forefinger and thumb, guiding them skilfully from side to side. She now selects the threads required for the next line of pattern and the process is repeated until enough threads have been placed to cover the whole width of the cloth. Everytime she reaches the end nearest her she sorts out the pattern on the extra peg on which is built up the strips of colours (*ragi*) in the order which they will appear in the finish cloth. When sufficient threads has been placed out on the frame to cover the width of the sarong the strips of colour looped round the end peg are tied separately with white string, and all the thread is then taken off the frame and rolled into large bundles. The warp is now ready for the weavers.

Collecting the Materials for Weaving.

To the working centre come the weavers from their houses in the neighbourhood, bringing with them the detachable boards (*papan gulong*) which hold the thread at the foot of the loom and baskets to hold the spools for the woof and any special gold or silver thread which they may use. Standing on the paths outside they unwind the bundles of warp to their full length (about 60 feet), holding the threads carefully off the ground. The cables of thread already tied in their separate colours are mounted on a wooden slat in the correct order and spaced evenly in the order in which they will be attached to the loom. From this they are wound up carefully on to the board.

Weaving. (see Plate 8).

Weaving is an ancient industry and the Malay hand loom (*kek*) in design and operation is much the same as that of any other country. A brief description of its structure will suffice, the weaving frame holding the warp is stretched between 4 wooden posts (*tiang kek*) about 4 feet high and sloping down from a height of about 2 feet at the weaver's end to about 6 inches from the ground at the opposite end where the board holding the warp is fixed in slotted wooden guides (*pasong*) suspended from a crossbar. Another crossbar holds the heddles (*karap*) and the comb (*jentera*) and both bars rest on two horizontel wooden beams

running the length of the whole loom, about 8—10 feet, and fixed to the wooden posts which are held rigid by wooden beams socketed into the feet round the four sides. The weaver sits on a wooden bench about 5 feet long built into the loom.

For each loom there are several pairs of heddles. These consists of wooden rods (*geliging*) made of nibong clamped together and mounting fine white cords for holding the warp to each interlocking heddle. The usual width of a sarong requires a total of 1,680 warp threads. There are 20 heddles to the inch, two stands of the warp being passed through each of the tiny loops tied about 3 inches below the rods. Sometimes there are 3 threads per loop (*tiga sekarap*) and very rarely 4 to make a thick coarse material, especially if it is to be richly embroidered. The other ends of the cords are held by rods below the warp, connected by strings to the treadles (*jijak karap*). After threading (*mengarap*) the assembly is fastened to the loom by attaching either end of a pair of strings (*tali chaman*) to each heddle. At the top these strings pass through two short bamboo tubes (*chaman*) suspended at their centres from a crossbar. These swing in a vertical plane to move the heddles up and down in turn when the weaver presses on the treadles with her feet. Next the threads are drawn through the comb (*masok champak*) by a bamboo or nibong hook (*pengait*), somewhat like a large flat crochet hook in shape. The comb consists of a row of teeth (*gigi jentera*) 40 to the inch, made of fine langkap wood shavings. These are held in a frame consisting of an upper part (*gerak*) with carved hand-grips and a lower part (*dagu*) joined at the sides by carved tenons (*keng*). The comb hangs by strings from a crossbar and is free to swing along the line of warp from the heddles up to the woof which it presses into position. The ends of the warp are attached to a thin bamboo slat which fits into a recess in a wooden bar (*pesa*) mounted on supports by the weaver's bench. Slots are cut in the ends of the bar which fit over notches on the supports, so that the cloth can be wound up as the weaving progresses. The warp frame is stretched taut by attaching the board holding the warp to a strong bamboo pole (*buloh penarek*) which is tied to a foot beam (*kayu penegang*) by several turns of strong twine. One or more pairs of wooden slats (*belira karap*) depending on the type of cloth being woven, are inserted in the warp, and separate the component strands according to the pattern required. If the cloth is a *kain songket* requiring the use of gold or silver thread to produce the characteristic raised pattern, another slat (*belirag bunga*) is inserted close to the heddles. The slats can be turned edgeways to the warp so that they force different sections apart for the needle weaving the gold and silver woof thread.

In its simplest form the weaving operation requires little description. The weaver moves the treadles with her feet and passes the spool holding the woof from side to side in a cigar-shaped case

(*lorak*). In the simplest type of cloth (*kain gelek*) one colour only is used; in others (e.g. *kain bugis*, etc.) the pattern outlined on the warp is followed either exactly or in harmonizing colours by changing spools as required.

Much greater skill is required in making the well known *kain songket*. This type of cloth possesses a more or less intricate repetitive pattern in gold or silver on a background of a single colour. For the main design the silver threads are carefully twisted round those of the basic colour when the edges are reached to ensure firmness, and the slats controlling the warp are changed as the design takes shape. For the borders a special type of bamboo embroidery needle (*chubang*) with a grooved tongue is used. The silver thread is wound round the base of the needle and sewn into the ward.

When sufficient material for a complete sarong has been woven a short length of the next sarong is completed, a slat being inserted up against the bar on to which the finished sarong has been rolled. The latter is then cut off with a sharp knife and the slat is fixed in the bar.

Into the centre of each sarong is woven a strip (*kepala*) of varying width often contrasting strongly in design and colour with the rest of the sarong. Simple in the unpretentious *kain bugis*, this is often of ornate design in the *kain songket*.

Types of Cloth.

It would need quite a long thesis to describe fully all the different types of cloth made by the local weaving industry. As is only to be expected in an art form which offers to the artist such a wealth of traditional designs on which to ring the changes, there is no rigidly scientific classification of the products. Types of which appeal to the public taste, or to sections of it, find a ready market all over Malaya. As popular lines are developed and extended they acquire an extensive and often elaborate nomenclature of their own. Fashions come and go in this country as they do in Bond Street. In general the locally-produced cloths may be grouped according to:—

(1) their size and the way they are made up

(2) the ground pattern (*chorak*).

(3) the gold and silver embroidery, if any, used to ornament the main part of the cloth, the edges and the centre (*kepala or pantat*), each of which are separately designed in the finer types of sarong,

(4) the method of dying used.

The normal full-size sarong (*kain bujang*) is woven in one piece (*sa-lerang*) 6-6½ feet long and is then sewn up end to end to make the familiar large skirt, which reaches just below the knees and is normally worn with seluar. The *kepala* appears, correctly, at the back of the wearer and the join is hidden by the folds of the wearer and the join is hidden by the folds of the garment in front, though there is a modern tendency among women to wear it with the *kepala* in front. The width of the sarong ('length' when worn) is limited to 42 lok, say 40-44", by the width of the loom, and is determined by the greatest distance through which the weaver can conveniently move from side to side during her operations. Greater widths for making larger sarongs which reach to the ankles are obtained by sewing together side by side two single pieces of cloth to make what is called a *kain kampoh* (*dua lerang*). The single piece is narrower than a full-size *kain bujang*, being normally about 24-30 inches wide; and to make it small heddles and comb are used on the loom. With a full pattern and a neatly embroidered border round the edges a cloth of indeterminate size is used by itself (*kain lepas*) for wearing as a short apron (*k. samping*) with *baju* and *seluar*, or sometimes rolled up round the waist (*k. bekong*). A very fine *k. lepas* was included in the wedding gifts sent to Princess Elizabeth in October 1947 by Their Highnesses the Sultans of Malaya. Made in Trengganu before the war, it had a broad border exquisitely embroidered in gold thread (*benang mas*). Smaller sizes are worn loosely over the shoulder (*k. selendang*) by women, who also use them as head-cloths partially veiling the face (*k. kelubong*). As the traditional Malay head-dress for ceremonial occasions men wear the *destar*, made of finely embroidered cloth 18-24 inches square wound round the head in a special way. In Trengganu it is known as *kain setangan* (= *sapu tangan*).

The simplest type of unembroidered cloth is one of uniform colour all over, with no pattern (*k. gelik*), though it may have a narrow white border and a *kepala* of different colour, sometimes with thin pencil lines of white thread (*chinchang*) running through it. An example of the *k. gelik* is seen in Plate 6., No. 1., though owing to its decorated *kepala* this particular cloth would be more usually described as a *kain songket* (see below), and the embroidered lines as *chorak berdiri*.

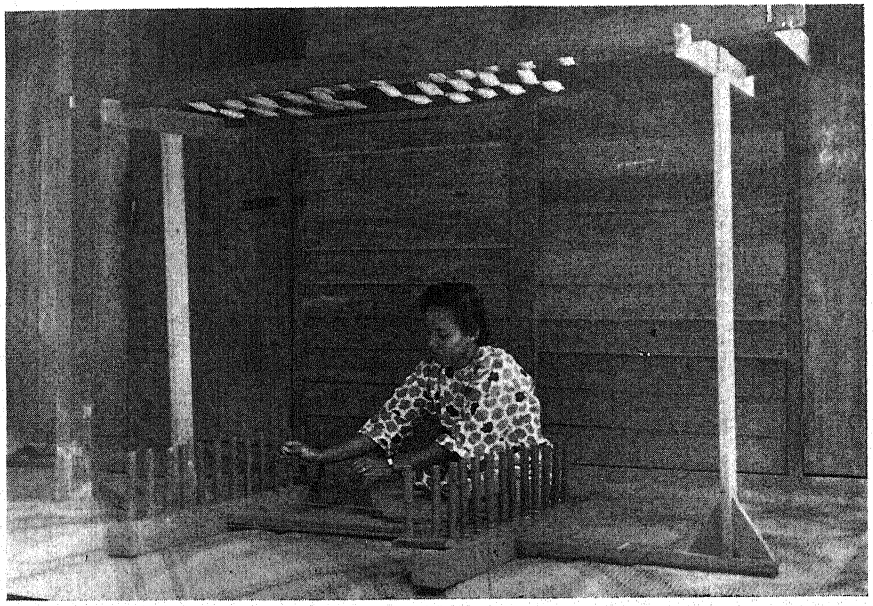
As has already been explained the design on patterned cloths (*k. beragi*) is set out during the arrangement of the warp on the *anian*. In the simplest type the woof threads are of one colour throughout (*selajak*), forming a striped cloth of contrasted colours. Commonest is the *k. semerenda* which usually has broad lines of medium or dark colour running through a black background. A

variant of this is the *kain mastuli*, a name derived from a particular type of coarse unprocessed silk which used to be spun (*mengolak*) in the southern States of Malaya. This silk is no longer used, but the name has lent itself to a rather striking pattern, derived from the old locally-produced dyes which were used, in which broad stripes of mauve or chocolate-brown with white borders run through a background of green or brown. An example of the *k. mastuli* form, with modern additions, is seen in Plate 6., No. 2.

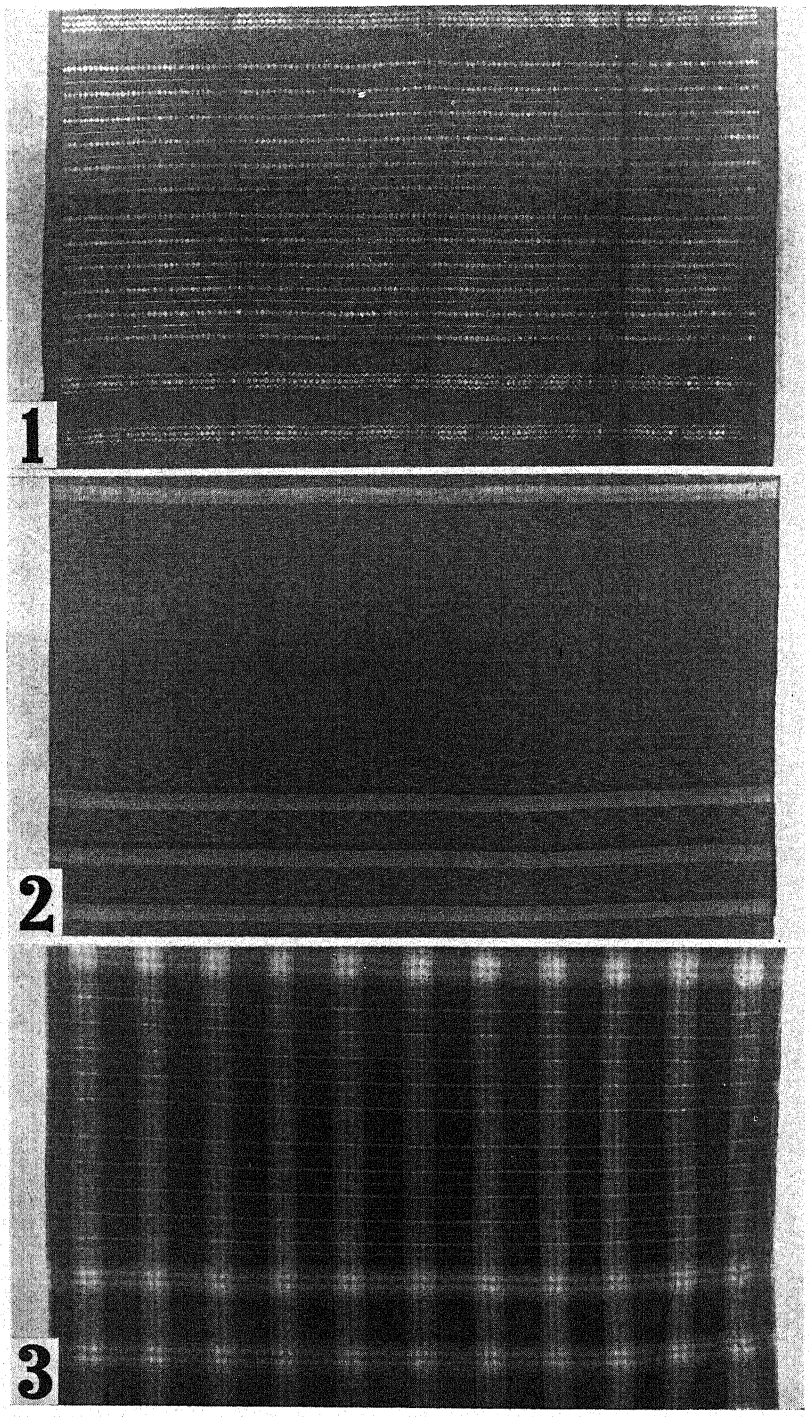
Of the true *kain berchorak*, where the weaver follows the pattern on the warp in two or more identical or harmonizing colours, the cheapest and most ordinary is the *k. chorak muar* which has a simple check pattern of board squares in light pastel shades, greys, pinks and white. The most popular of the medium-priced cloths is the *kain bugis* of which there are many varieties. Its pattern is a close and often intricate network of small squares in which several colours may be used, usually on a green or red background. The chequered design may be sub-divided into small units by thin lines of light colour, and strips of the same colour may be grouped together to give a tartan effect. But the real tartan style is achieved in the *kain giling* where broad bands of colour cross each other in groups leaving 'holes' on a background commonly of yellow. These spaces may have embroidered flowers or other designs in them, and in general the *k. giling* is the only type of *k. beragi* on which needlework in gold and silver thread is employed to improve the design (Plate 6, No. 3: and Plate 7, No. 4). Other well-known patterns are *chorak melintang, tapak chator* and *mata bilis*.

The finest types of finished cloths all belong to a class known generically as *kain songket* in which gold or silver thread (*benang kilat*) is sewn or woven into the material as it takes shape on the loom. The word *songket* (= *sungkit*, Wilkinson's Mal.-Eng. Dict.) really means 'to sew' or 'to embroider' with the special type of needle (*chubang*) already described. But it has come to be used of any kind of cloth decorated with gold or silver thread. The weaver divides the warp threads into segments by means of a tranverse wooden slat, which is turned up so that its edges force the segments apart for the shuttle to pass through. The gold or silver thread is then woven into the cloth in the usual manner, sometimes passing on top of as many as five consecutive warp threads. Then the heddles are changed over, the slat readjusted and the operation repeated. This gives the characteristic low relief of the design on such cloths. If the pattern is to be an intricate tracery of connected thread running all over the cloth a third heddle, without treadle and operated by hand, is placed behind the two ordinary heddles. The fully woven *songket* is called *songket penoh* to distinguish it from that worked with a needle

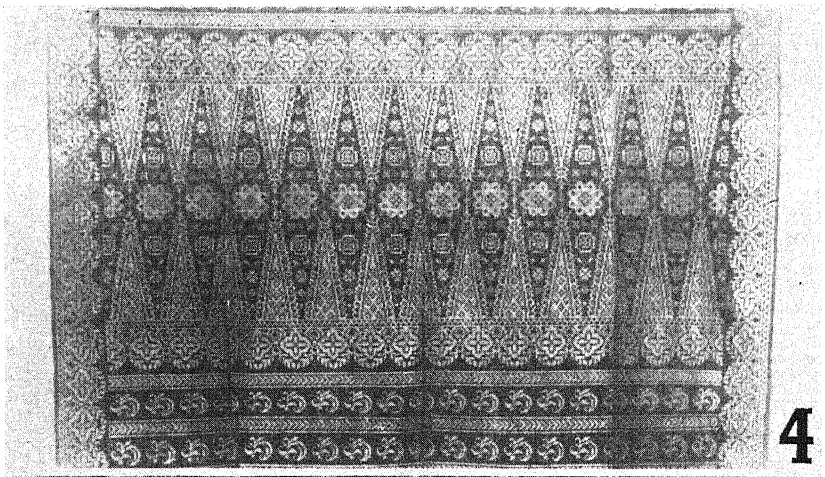
The *rahat* and *ruing* for winding the thread on the spools.

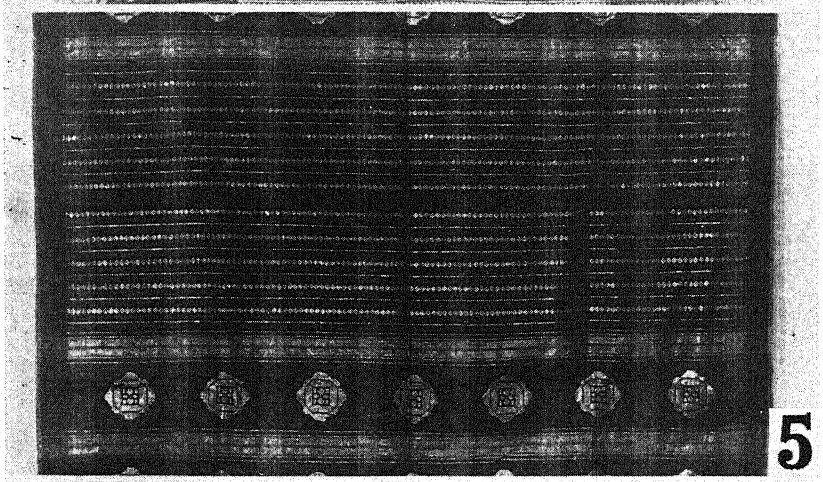


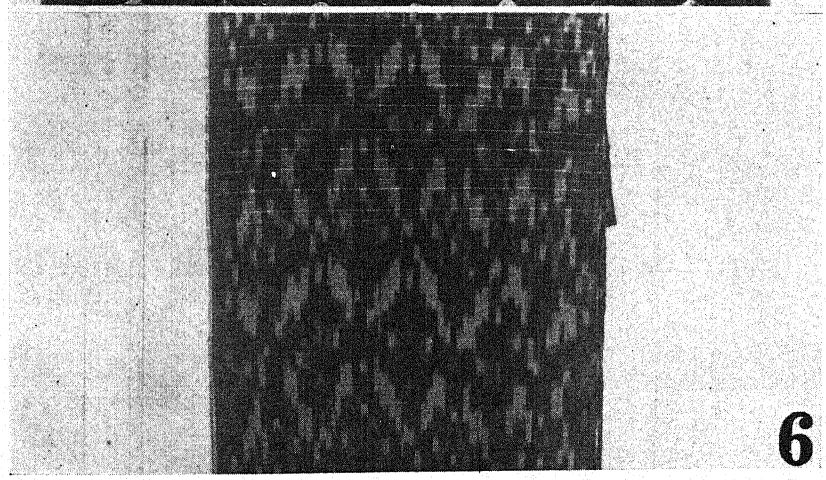
A *pengani* fixing the *chorak* by arranging on the *anian* the warp threads selected from the loaded spools on the *metak* above it.



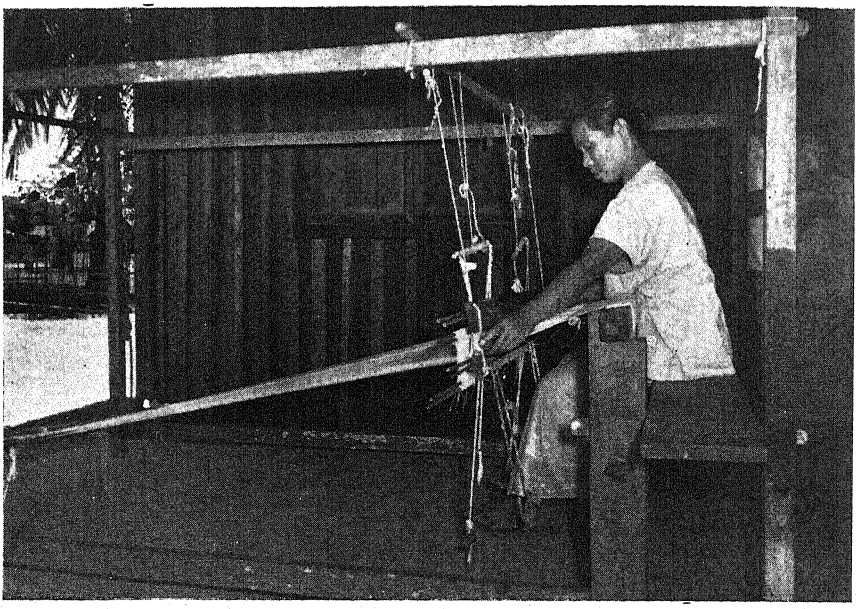
Trengganu sarong. (1) *kain songket, chorak berdiri*: with *kepala jari*. (2) *kain mastuli* with bands of *bunga selumbar nibong* (*ikat chuai*): *kepala jari*. (3) *kain giling, chorak gilings* with *kepala jari*.



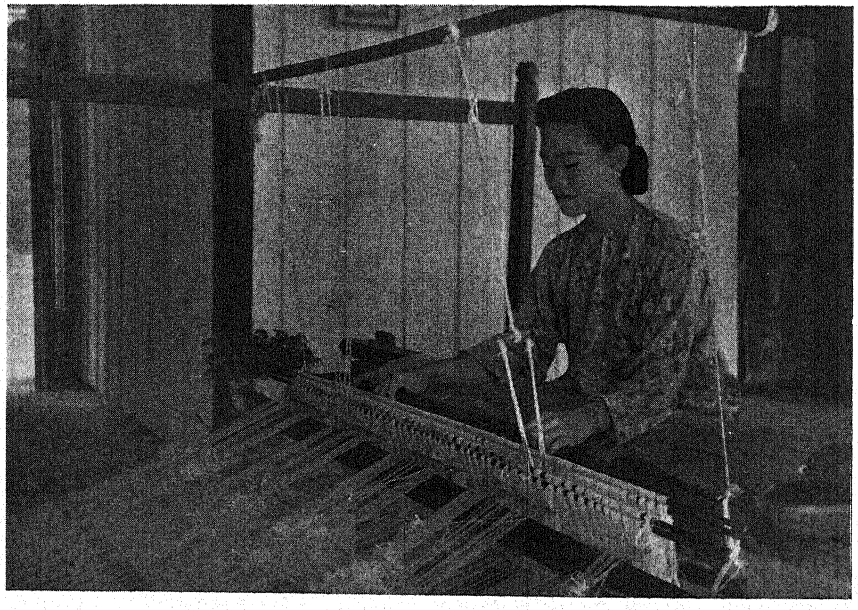




Trengganu sarongs. (4) *kain songket penoh* with *kepala puchok rebong*: flower motif is *bogan*. (5) *kain giling selit bertabur*, with *bunga atlas*. (6) *kain perang rosak* (*ikat chuai*).



Side view of the *kek*. The weaver is pressing the woof thread into place with the *jentera*.



Close-up of the *karap* assembly. A *belira bunga* is inserted to separate component sections of the warp for weaving a *kain songket*.

(*songket chubang*) where a thicker stronger kind of thread (*benang mas*) is often used. Plate 7., No. 4 is a good example of the *songket penoh*. The weaving of a *k. songket* is slow and difficult work calling for judgment and experience. The weaver can produce many rich and exotic effects by using the techniques at her command. A plain background may be improved by conventional designs (*bunga tabur*) like *chempaka, bogan* (Plate 7, No. 4), (Plate 7, No. 5) *jambangan, pechah rotan,* etc. repeated at even intervals on the cloth. As has been noted the *k. giling* may be so treated, to make a popular style of cloth known as the *k. giling bertabur*. Another common device is the pencil trace of parallel silver threads running across the pattern of the *kepala*. It is often employed in decorating the edges of the strips of colour in the main pattern of the cloth, which is then known as *kain selit* (See Plate 7, No. 5).

It is in the *k. songket* that the *kepala* blossoms out into a real work of art. The two most commonly met with in Trengganu are the *kepala puchok rebong* (Plate 7, No. 5) and the *kepala lawi ayam*. Of the *k. beragi* only the *k. giling* can normally have an embroidered *kepala*, while the *k. bugis* and others of the type usually have *kepala* of contrasted but not very striking pattern known generally as *kepala jari*. Often the *chorak giling* is superimposed on *kain ikat chuai* (see below), onto which gold *bunga tabur* and *kepala* are sometimes embroidered. To call such types hybrids would be to do less than justice to the subtle harmonies of pattern and colour which are produced, and to misconcieve the art of cloth designs. It is rather that the technical devices employed allow of so free a style as to defy systematic nomenclature. The few details I have given here can serve only as in introduction to a subject of considerable complexity.

Most brilliant and gorgeous of all the *k. songket* are those to which the term *k. benang mas* is specifically applied. In these rich garments every space on the cloth is filled in to make a regular interlocking pattern (*telok berantai*) in gold against a background usually of black or dark monotone. Those made nowadays never seem to achieve quite such a fine finish as the older ones which they imitate. Their prototypes have been jealously guarded for generations as family heirlooms, relics of the days when such costly things were *larangan raja*, the perquisite only of royalty. On the market they fetch collectors prices.

Mention must be made of another and very different type of pattern which is produced by partial dyeing of the material during the manufacturing process. In one process, called *ikat chuai*, the bundles of undyed silk thread after the arranging of the warp are unwound, and selected short lengths of the cable are firmly bound with banana skins tied tightly to them with strong thread. On

immersion in the dye bath the untied portions only receive the colour. Two or three successive immersions may be made, the positions of the bindings being changed between each. The light colours of the first dyeing may be deepened to dark greens, dark mauves and even black by combination with dyes of other colours, while other parts of the thread may be left undyed. The woof in the weaving may be of one colour only or it may be similarly dyed to the pattern required and woven in so that colours fall into their correct positions, the weaver pulling the thread from side to side until it is in exactly the right place. This slow work calls for much patience and is now rarely done. One form of the finished cloth, called *k. chorak jepun*, has a curious mirror-image pattern of curves rather like the 'ghost' signatures of the schoolboy's scrap-book. It contrasts strongly with the right-angled regularity of all the *k. beragi*. Another favourite pattern is one having a succession of weird flaky streaks zigzagging in steps across the cloth, called *k. perang rosak* (Plate 7, No. 6). Other popular effects produced by this process are known as *bunga rumput*, and *selumbar nibong* seen in Plate 6 No. 2. In another process various simple geometrical designs are printed onto the woven but undyed cloth with a wooden stamp. The edges of these designs are then stitched tight. They are then bound round with thread, or if large by using the banana skin technique, before the rest of the cloth is dyed. By this method the well-known *kain pelangi* are produced. The patterns are rather crude and resemble some of those produced by batek work on fabrics seen in Malaya.

This short account of Trengganu weaving is not concerned with the economics of the industry. But it is interesting to note that the rates of remuneration vary considerably according to the degree of skill required to make the different types of cloth. For the small-size *k. selerang* the weaver receives about fifty cents a piece, for a *k. bujang* eighty cents. One of these takes only a day or two to weave. For the ordinary *k. songket* rates start at about two dollars and go up to eight or ten dollars for the fully worked *k. benang mas* which may take several weeks to complete. An ordinary *k. Bugis* sells retail at about fourteen dollars and the choicest *k. benang mas* for anything up to two hundred dollars, so it is evident that labour costs are small and the profit to the manufacturer and the middleman presumably high.

Wayang Kulit Stories from Trengganu

By A. H. HILL, M.A., B.SC. (Oxon).

(*Received, September* 1948)

In Malaya the shadow play is rapidly becoming a thing of the past. At amusement parks and important public functions on the east coast of the Peninsula the 'To Dalang still erects his panggong, and, using nowadays a car headlamp and 12-volt battery, works his buffalo-hide puppets before a critical audience of the older generation which still delights in the epic struggles of Panji against the demons and divine monsters of Indra's heaven, and a handful of young Malays who drift in and out and have little idea what the story is about. But in front of the Public Relations cinema van a short distance away Malay men and women of all ages crowd eagerly to see films about coal-mining, deep sea fishing or the Royal Wedding. This is just as it should be in a country whose heirs are keenly alive to the importance of modern education, and realize the part it will play in their own advancement. Sir Richard Winstedt has drawn attention to the possible factual basis of the Panji tales, but it is not as history that they are presented on the screen, and they have little real cultural value.

To the historian and the folklorist, however, they are interesting for the light they throw, or may be expected to throw when a great deal more research has been done, on the complicated anthropology of the Far East, the migrations of various cultural groups and the results of their impact upon one another. The few manuscripts that have been preserved have been studied in some detail, but apparently little has been done in collecting stories, corrupt though they be after passing from generation to generation by word of mouth, from the performers themselves.

The following extracts from the repertoire of a wayang kulit performer were collected from the Kemaman district of Trengganu. The first, Bentara Keripan (or Kuripan), I took down from the words of 'Che Awang bin Abdullah, a 'Toh Dalang who enjoys a high local reputation, after I had seen part of it performed at the Chukai Agricultural Show in 1947. He told the story in his own way throughout, and I did not prompt him or interrupt, except to get him to repeat words or phrases, which he was able to do without variation, while I wrote down his words in longhand. In addition I showed the method of transcription that I wanted to my group teacher, 'Che Muda bin Abdul Rahman, and in the course of the next few weeks he obtained for me the remaining four extracts. For convenience of reference I give summaries of all five as separate sections although they are fragments, isolated or

slightly overlapping episodes, covering a part of the Chekel Waneng Pati, called by Sir Richard Winstedt "this interminable romance". 'Che Awang in fact said to me: "Were I to tell you the whole story, not even ten of those large books which your teachers use could contain it". He claimed that the stories given were those best known to, and liked by, his public. In the course of departmental duty I have since been transferred away from Trengganu, and it seems worth while giving the stories told me in this rather incomplete state. To show the style of language used in the narratives, I am also giving, after the summaries, the Malay text of the first extract.

'Che Awang took credit in claiming that his story-cycle contained a purer element of the Javanese in it than did those of other performers on the east coast, which he scorned as being corrupted by Siamese influence, though he admitted they were more popular with the crowds than his own. He said that some years ago a manuscript had come into his hands, and from it he had obtained most of the material that he now uses. He had parted with the MS sometime ago, and was vague when pressed for details, but presumably this was some version of the Chekel Waneng Pati. Anker Rentse has stated that two forms of the wayang kulit are found in Kelantan: the Siamese, in which the Ramayana cycle is performed, and the Javanese which he says is of recent importation. Some grounds for 'Che Awang's claim may perhaps be found in the use of Javanese words like 'kaula' and 'yadi' along with their peninsular equivalents 'patek' and 'adek', but the narration contains a number of modern idioms like 'walau beberapa di-pujok pun', and 'walau sa-macham mana pun'. The Chekel Waneng Pati tale shows Ramayana influence, episodes like the hero marrying his sister and the demon Raksasas attacking them being common to both. The phrase 'dewata mulia raya' is used for the Deity, but Mecca is named and words of the Mohammedan religion like 'amal' and 'Kiamat' are found.

Summaries in English

I. BENTARA KERIPAN

Four brothers, the princes of Keripan, Deha, Gegelang and Singasari are sent by Semar to Mecca after which they return to rule their own countries.

One day the ruler of Keripan shouts to Betara Guru in the Sixth Heaven for a warrior of supernatural power to help him in his fight against the Demon Giants. Alarmed by the noise and shaking, Betara Guru confers with the other six gods Betara Nengada, Betara Omar, Betara Burhan, Betara Kerma Jaya, Betara Indera and Betara Indera Jaya. Only Kerma Jaya is equal to the task, but he is the favourite of Sangyang Tunggal, the Lord of the Highest Heaven. So they go off to the Seventh Heaven, and in

answer to their entreaties Sangyang Tunggal agrees to send Kerma Jaya down to Earth, at the same time counselling them to return and guard carefully Princess Lela Anata 'Ajaib, and the sacred flower Jayang Malai which grows in the Princess's garden.

Then Sangyang Tunggal takes Kerma Jaya and, turning him into a custard apple, casts him down to Keripan. The nymph Lela Kesokma he turns into a pomegranate and sends to Deha. Sang Gera he sends to Gunong Wilis, and Wiron into the hinterland of Keripan. He turns Sang Kala into a wild rambutan fruit and sends him down to the forest. Unwillingly Sangyang Tunggal also allows Bentara Busu (= *Bongsu*, youngest) to go, turning him into a piece of rotten wood the size of a coconut, and casts him into a lake called Martapura, on condition that he never returns to the Seventh Heaven.

One day Betara Keripan is out hunting with Wiron and Andaga and his followers. They have spent several days in the forest without finding anything, when suddenly they see a golden hind which disappears when they chase it. Then they meet seven sisters of the pagan tribes which inhabit the forest. Pursued, the sisters all escape, except the beautiful Princess Bungsu Pangan who becomes Betara Keripan's mate. She longs to eat a rambutan fruit, and when the wish is miraculously granted she becomes pregnant. Thinking of the embarrassment which the love-child of an aboriginal mother would cause him when he returned to his kingdom, he decides to kill the Princess, but on the advice of his chief minister she is given his ring and placed in a well. After a son named Keratala is born to her in the well she places the ring on his finger, and exhorts him to go and search for his father when he is older.

Back in Keripan the King's wife longs one day for a custard-apple, and when this wish is also miraculously granted she becomes pregnant and bears a son Radin Inu Kartapati. As he grows up the fame of his good looks spreads far and wide, but his parents refuse all marriage proposals made by the envoys of foreign countries. To the King of Deha a daughter, Princess Radin Golok, is born. At length the news reaches the ears of the ruler of Menggada, a large and important kingdom of Java, who wishes to find a match for his daughter of surpassing beauty, Princess Sinaran Pati. The King himself heads an embassy of his ministers and warriors to Keripan, but Radin Inu is unwilling, and vowing vengeance the King returns to Menggada. A month later he sends three of his trusted ministers to capture Radin Inu. They snatch him away as he is playing in the palace garden, and carry him back to Menggada where he is looked after by forty duennas of the royal household. Summoned into the presence of the King of Menggada, and offered his daughter's hand and the kingdom, Radin

Inu turns his back defiantly and walks out. No amount of coaxing, not even binding in chains, makes him change his mind, for, he says, Keripan is a greater kingdom than Menggada. He is thrown into a dungeon guarded by seven ranks of warriors, starved and made to work as a slave.

Sangyang Tunggal descends to Earth and, donning a beggar's garb which he finds under a tree, suddenly turns jet-black in colour, his body swelling out and three tufts of hair sprouting from his head. He bathes in the lake of Martapura and rubs himself vigorously; then he throws the lump of removed dirt, the size of a coconut, into the lake and at once a human form emerges and climbs onto the bank. Sangyang Tunggal gives him the name of Turas and changes his own to Semar. They travel on together, and reach an old disused well from which comes the sound of a voice. Turas, frightened of the ghostly sounds, runs away but Semar lifts the stone lid and finds inside a woman of the forest tribes and her child. Semar says he is searching for a prince to make his follower, and Princess Bungsu Pangan says that her son is the Prince of Keripan. She tells him their story and then he and the young men set off to find the King of Keripan, after he has taught him how to make a correct obeisance before a ruler. But then he recognises the ring on his finger, and says that he has no need to do obeisance before the King.

While he is making his way through the forest Turas is seized by the Cannibal Demons, ruled by Bota Kala Sunyi. They are about to devour him when he tells them that he is the Head Keeper of the Forests, at which they release him with profuse apologies and show him the way to Keripan, with promises of help if he should ever need it. He meets Semar and is told that the voice in the well was that of a human being, and that the young man following him is Keratala, the son of Bentara Keripan.

When Semar and Turas appear before the King of Keripan to ask to be taken on as palace slaves, they find him stricken with grief at the loss of Radin Inu, and are told that they must first bring his son back to Keripan. Semar mentions that they have a man who will do this and Keratala, summoned before the King, reveals his identity. On learning of it the King withdraws to the palace and Keratala, left standing in the entrance-hall, is so angry that he shakes the walls until the whole palace trembles. Coming out again, the King says that he will acknowledge Keratala as his son, if he will bring Radin Inu back. He agrees and asks for weapons. A box of "kĕris" is brought, and he tests them one by one by stabbing his chest. The points of all except one break, and this one he hands to Andaga. He tests another box-ful in the same way and hands the one unbroken kĕris to Wirun. In the third test he selects for himself a kĕris called Lok Sangsokugo

(the Kĕris with Twenty-five Curves in its Blade). He sets out for Kingdom of Menggada in company with Semar and Turas, while Andaga and Wirun watch out for their return in Keripan. Semar and Turas become slaves at the court of Menggada, and soon make themselves favourites with the King. They are told to guard the palace precincts, and find a very emaciated Radin Inu in the dungeon. Primed with a plan of escape Keratala goes down and smashes open the dungeon, grabs Radin Inu and dashes up out of the gate of the fortress. But the noise has disturbed the whole palace, and he finds himself surrounded by soldiers of the King's bodyguard. He passes Radin Inu on to Semar, and then runs amuck, killing many of his opponents. Remembering the King of Keripan's promise he breaks off, and they all return safely to Keripan with Radin Inu. The King goes back on his word and Keratala, furious at his perfidy, again shakes the entrance-hall of the palace until the whole building trembles. Enquiring the reason for the disturbance Radin Inu is told the whole story by Keratala, whom he then addresses as elder brother and accords the new name of Sila Kalam, "Foster Prince."

Six months later the King of Menggada starts out on expedition to ask for the hand of Radin Galoh, the Princess of Deha. Coming to the borders of Keripan they are met by Sila Kalam, Wirun and Andaga, sent by Radin Inu, who has recognized the standard of his enemy. Radin Galoh is already betrothed to Radin Inu, and in a fight lasting seven days and seven nights his three protagonists utterly rout the hosts of Menggada.

II. KERA EMAS

One day while on his travels through foreign countries Radin Inu, accompanied by Semar, Turas, Andaga, Wirun and Sila Kalam arrived at the court of Betara Deha. He tells the King that after hunting for some time in the forest they are tired, and wish to rest. The King is delighted to see them for his land is threatened by his enemies, and Radin Inu's fame as a warrior is widespread. He sends for the Queen and their daughter Princess Radin Galoh, and a sumptuous feast is laid before the visitors. Radin Inu is invited into the King's dining hall and sits at table with his brothers, Radin Emas Aria Gunong Sari and Radin Perbuang.

One day Radin Inu defends the town of Deha against a Demon Giant who attacks it trying to abduct Radin Galoh. All his comrades except Semar fall unconscious after being bitten by the Demon, and Radin Inu is compelled to retreat because the Demon's magic powers make him invulnerable to Radin Inu's sword. Radin Inu shows his sword to Semar who spits on it, and at their next encounter he thrusts it into the Demon's mouth and kills him. Semar revives the unconscious men, and they all return to the palace.

Not long afterwards Radin Inu suggests to Semar that they should all go into the mountains and practise asceticism, in order to gain supernatural power the better to protect the Kingdom of Deha. With the King's permission they leave for Gunong Wandang-Wandang, after Radin Inu has made Radin Emas Aria Gunong Sari promise on his life that he will guard Radin Galoh from all, whether good or bad, who come pressing their suit. Then Radin Inu ascends to the highest peak of the mountain while his followers remain at the foot.

Meanwhile the King of Keripan is becoming more and more anxious for news of Radin Inu. At length one of his other sons, Radin Charang Chenaloh, begs to be allowed to go and search for him, and when this is refused threatens to leave by force. Angered, the King turns him into a Golden Monkey who leaps away and runs into the forest. By and by he comes to Gunong Gandang Wandang, on top of which lives an old hermit monkey who possesses very great magic powers. His name is Hanuman Kapi Wara. He warns Radin Charang Chenaloh that only his elder brother, Radin Inu, can restore him to proper shape, and that he is practising asceticism. He advises Radin Charang Chenaloh to do likewise, and together they go to the summit of Gunong Gandang Wandang. The princes of Deha carry out their promises faithfully. An expedition under Prince Belamangan Jaya comes to Deha, and demands Princess Radin Galoh with angry threats, but the King, exhorted by Radin Emas Aria Gunong Sari, procrastinates and the foreigners wait impatiently outside the town. But the Prince says that if his request is not granted he will lay waste the whole land of Deha.

Hanuman Kapi Wara decides to release Radin Charang Chenaloh, although his period of devotion is not yet finished, so that he can go to the aid of Princess Radin Galoh. He tells him that after his past studies no one except Radin Inu would be able to resist him, and takes him to the borders of Deha, where he instructs him to make for the garden of the Princess. Radin Charang Chenaloh arrives at the gate of the garden, but the janitor refuses to admit a monkey. So he kills him with a vicious kick. Then he pushes into the garden and creates a disturbance by uprooting all the plants and trees. The gardeners run off in a panic, and tell the King and Prince Belamangan Jaya, who is with him, that a Golden Monkey is destroying the garden. Three of Belamangan Jaya's warriors are despatched and the monkey kills two of them by banging their heads together. Then the Prince himself at the head of his fighting men tries to capture the monkey, but the monkey strikes at him with the branch of a tree while his body is invulnerable to their weapons. The attackers are killed and scattered, and the Prince, deprived of his clothing during the fight, returns disconsolate to his own country.

The King of Deha tells all the other claimants that anyone who can capture the Golden Monkey shall win his daughter's hand. They all try but none can prevail against the monkey's magic. In the end only four are left; Prince Solok, Prince Seludang, Prince Chempedak and Prince Raga-Raga. They decided that it is useless to continue, and return to their own countries, resolved to find other brides, while the Golden Monkey remains in possession of the Princess's garden.

After Radin Inu has been living as an ascetic on top of Gunong Wandang for nearly forty years Semar, afraid that if he completes his devotions his magic power will be so strong that Heaven itself will be consumed, summons him down to the foot of the mountain. There they bathe themselves and Radin Inu combs his long hair. Semar notices that he has a curbuncle growing from the back of neck, and he replies that this is a sign of the special favour bestowed upon him by the gods. They rouse the others and all set out for the kingdom of Deha after changing their names, Radin Inu to Mese Gemete, Semar to Lebah Labu, Turas to Abu Tatir, Sila Kalam to Keratala, Andaga to Pota Wira Yura, and Wirun to Jeludeh. The King of Deha does not recognize Mese Gemete and asks brusquely from what country he comes. But he is pacified when Mese Gemete promises to capture and slay the Golden Monkey. The monkey is enraged at the approach of the warriors, and starts by thrusting at Mese Gemete with an areca palm, while Mese Gemete lunges forward with his sword. The fight is long and bitter, and the latter is getting the worst of it. Keratala strikes with his magic kĕris Sangsokugo, and the others also unsheathe their weapons and rush to his aid. But the monkey's powerful magic makes them fall in a faint and Mese Gemete, fighting with bare hands after sheathing his useless weapon, is seized and thrown into the air, landing unconscious in Waringin tree,[1] as far away as a bird can fly in seven days. After reviving he returns at once to the fight, remembering his promise to Sang-yang Tunggal to subdue the world, and upbraiding himself for being worsted by a mere monkey. With a hard blow he fells the monkey to the ground and stamps on him, but the monkey seizes the trunk of a tree and breaks it across Mese Gemete's body. In trying to grab another tree-trunk he is seized round the waist by Mese Gemete who with a mighty effort hurls him high in the sky into Heaven. There he is met by Sang Kaki Betara Kala, who tells him that Mese Gemete is his elder brother. If he returns to Earth and does obeisance to him he will regain his human shape. He returns and greets his brother as Radin Inu, begging his forgiveness and telling him the story of his plight. He is changed back into human shape. Then they both resume their former name

1 Ficus benjamina Linn. It is an old Malay custom to plant two of these trees before a royal dwelling, while according to a folk tale the shadows on the face of the moon in part represent a Waringin tree.

and Radin Inu takes Radin Charang Chenaloh, escorted by their six comrades, back to the land of Keripan.

III. KELANA WIRA JAYANG SAKTI

The King of Menggada is told by his chief minister that Radin Galoh, the daughter of the King of Deha, is a Princess of peerless beauty, and would make a fitting wife for so important a ruler as him. But she is already betrothed to Radin Inu Kartapati, the son of the King of Keripan. The King of Menggada, threatening to devastate the kingdom of Deha if he cannot wed the Princess, gathers all his available force, and marches to Deha to find preparations for the wedding in progress. Arrogantly he demands the bride, but is challenged to fight by Radin Inu. In the ensuing struggle, in which "blood flowed like a river", he is stabbed by Radin Inu and killed.

One night Sang Kaki Betara steals away the Princesss Radin Galoh, and puts her on Gunong Maha Meru with duennas and attendants to wait on the royal captive. The next morning the palace is searched high and low for Radin Galoh, but the door of her chamber is open and she is nowhere to be found. The King deeply mourns her loss, and Radin Inu volunteers to go and find her. With his two attendants, Semar and Turas, and his three warriors, Sila Kalam, Sila Andaga and Wirun he arrives at the boundaries of a certain country which Semar tells him is Sembawa.

The King of Sembawa is holding council with his captains when three of his subjects enter to say that a strange man and his two wicked henchmen have been stealing vegetables from their orchard. Enraged, the King sends two of his captains, the Temenggong Sembawa and the Temenggong Gelombang Senggora, to the hut where the strangers are lodging. To their question, Radin Inu answers that his name is Kelana Wira Jayang Sakti, that his two attendants are Lebah Labu and Abu Tatir, and his three warriors Keratala, Pota Wira Yura and Jeludeh. He says haughtily that they do not seek an audience with the King, and that if the King wishes to know who they are it is for him to seek an audience with them. The two captains prepare to kill them but Keratala rushes out and puts them to flight. They report to the King who assembles his fighting men to capture Kelana Wira Jayang Sakti, but when the battle is joined they are overcome by his magic power, and the King and all his warriors are killed. Only one of the King's wives remains, and she is taken by Kelana Wira Jayang Sakti who becomes the ruler of Sembawa.

IV KERAK NASI

Pegawan Besmi, the King of Menggada, before going off to practise asceticism, hands over his kingdom to his son when he

comes of age. Wishing to find a wife, he learns from his chief minister that the most beautiful maiden is Radin Galoh, daughter of the King of Deha. So he despatches the minister with a letter proposing marriage to the court of Deha, where he is asked to wait seven days for the answer.

Radin Galoh is already betrothed to Radin Inu, the son of the King of Kuripan, who is hastily sent for to claim his bride in the face of other suitors. Elaborate preparations are made for the marriage. The King of Kuripan and his host of warriors, court attendants and subjects are received in Deha with royal honours. His announcement that he has come to give his son in marriage to Radin Galoh is the signal for dancing, singing and all kinds of entertainment, lasting for forty days and nights. Semar and Turas are put in charge of the merry-making, but they soon start quarrelling with each other when Semar asks to share the gleanings from the rice-pot, which he sees Turas eating off a long-handled scraper. Turas hands him the scraper, but every time he dips it into the pot and scoops out some rice, Turas licks it clean. The noise of their brawl wakes the whole place. Radin Inu angrily chases them both out of the grounds, brandishing a bow and arrow to speed them away.

The pair arrive at the foot of Gunong Wandang. There Semar leaves Turas under a tree and ascends to the summit to practise asceticism for three years. At the end of this period he rejoins the waiting Turas and confides in him that he intends to abduct Radin Galoh. They go back to Deha, and when Radin Inu peremptorily refuses the demands of Semar (whose real identity is not known to him) the ensuing fight goes against him. So he visits Betara Guru in Heaven to appeal for help, and Betara Guru advises that only one man can aid him, his old follower Semar. But Radin Inu says that Semar has left him. He returns to Earth and receives the same advice from the King of Kuripan. Baffled he sits down in the middle of the field and implores Semar to come to his aid. This so touches the heart of Semar that he calls for his beggar's garb, and putting it on approaches Radin Inu who asks where he has been all this time. Radin Inu tells him that he has been attacked by a young man possessed of great strength and supernatural power. When Semar asks where he is Radin Inu replies that the young man disappeared when he called for Turas. At Semar's suggestion they all return to Keripan with their band of followers.

V. PANJI GAGAK BAKONG

The gods in Heaven are troubled by a Demon Giant, Ratudu Putaran, who wishes to become their ruler. Betara Guru refuses as it is against the wishes of Sangyang Tunggal, the Lord of the Highest Heaven. Whereupon the Demon Giant threatens to

destroy Heaven, and waits in the middle of the battle-field to meet the challenge of the gods.

Betara Guru consults with Betara Nengada, and they agree to start the fight the next day. Betara Omar is put in command, with Betara Burhan on the left flank, Betara Brahma on the right, and Betara Indera in the centre. On the morrow the ranks of the gods pit their strength against Ratudu Putaran but cannot prevail; Betara Guru asks for a week's truce which is given.

Summoning all the gods in audience before him at Sangga Maya, Betara Guru asks how the Demon Giant may be overcome. Betara Nengada consults a book on astrology which says that only Panji Gagak Bakong, a child of Singasari, will save them. But the child is still in its mother's womb. Sent down to Earth Betara Omar goes to the kingdom of Singasari, where he finds all the inhabitants anxiously awaiting the birth of the child to the Queen. The child is born in a gorgeously decorated chamber in the palace and is laid on a silver tray. Quickly Betara Omar snatches the child from under the eyes of the seven midwives who have come down from Heaven to be in attendance, and returns with it to Betara Guru who is beginning to fear that some mischance has occurred. Betara Guru sees the frailty of the newly-born infant with some misgiving, but is assured that it will beat the Demon Giant.

On the next day the truce is up and the best of drums and other alarums herald the arrival of the Demon Giant at the gates of Heaven. The child is escorted onto the field of battle by the assembled gods, but it faints away on hearing the voice of Ratudu Putaram. A further forty days truce is agreed to, and the gods reassemble at Sangga Maya where Betara Nengada consults the book on astrology, and finds that the child must be cut in pieces and placed in a cauldron with poisoned weapons. The directions are followed, Betara Guru standing by the cauldron and reciting a magic incantation calling on Sangyang Tunggal to restore the child to life. The seven-layered cloth covering it is then removed and out steps the child alive. He is bathed at the well of Bandun Kasua and presented to the assembled gods at Sangga Maya. They endue him with their magic power and he is named Panji Gagak Bakong, the Champion of Heaven.

At the end of forty days the Demon Giant appears again, and Panji Gagak Bakong goes out onto the battle-field to find him waiting. They hurl abuse at each other. Then Panji Gagak Bakong draws his sword and falls upon Ratudu Putaran. At the end of a day and a night Ratudu Putaran is defeated and returns to Earth, pursued by Panji Gagak Bakong who chases him into a cave in Mount Miang Tunggal, but the Demon Giant closes the entrance against him.

Two suitors for the hand of the Princess of Mentaung, named Kelana Lang-Lang Buana Sakti and Kelana Jayang Sakti, arrive to find two Princes, Champaka and Roga-Raya, already there on the same quest. Kelana Lang-Lang finds high favour with the King of Mentaung, who offers his daughter to him in marriage. This angers the two Princes and a furious battle starts, Heaven itself shaking with its vehemence. Panji Gagak Bakong asks what is causing Heaven to shake, and is told that his cousin Radin Inu Kartapati is fighting with the two Princes. He descends to Earth and witnesses the fight in which Kelana Lang-Lang Buana Sakti is victorious. In answer to his enquiry the latter denies that he is Radin Inu Kartapati. Then he asks what the fight was about, and hearing that Kelana Lang-Lang Buana Sakti wishes to abduct Princess Chendera Wati, the daughter of the King of Mentaung, he claims that she is already betrothed to him and that he will take her off by force. The fight that follows is heard in Heaven, and Betara Nengada tells Betara Guru that Radin Inu Kartapati and Panji Gagak Bakong are in mortal combat. Advised by Betara Nengada, Betara Guru goes down to Earth and stops the fight, telling Radin Inu Kartapati that the man he is fighting is his own cousin, the Prince of Singasari. After Betara Guru has returned to Heaven the pair of them go to Mentaung, where Radin Inu Kartapati marries Princess Chedera Wati. Then they return to Keripan, where the King is overjoyed at the return of his son after so long an absence. Already old, Betara Keripan hands over his kingdom to Radin Inu Kartapati, who promises not to go on any more of his travels, and Panji Gagak Bakong stays in Keripan as the captain of his forces.

Comments.

We may first distinguish the comic episodes to which every patron of the wayang kulit looks forward as light relief after the life-and-death struggles between the hero and his opponents, neither side scrupling to use the supernatural powers with which it is somewhat capriciously endowed. These interludes centre round Semar, an incarnation of Sangyang Tunggal, the Supreme Lord of Indra's Heaven, and his weak-kneed comrade Turas. The story in No. 1 of the birth of Turas from the dirt removed from Semar's body is well-known in the Kelantan wayang kulit, where Pa' Dogah (Semar) bathes at a well or spring, and Wa' Long (Turas) emerges from the ground at the spot where he buried the dirt. The seizure of Turas by a raksasa in No. 1, Semar's discovery of a carbuncle on Radin Inu's neck in No. II, and the quarrel over the rice gleanings in No. IV, are all examples of such interludes.

As to the principal story there is no account of the divine birth of Radin Inu and Radin Galoh. Nos I and III mention four brothers, the princes of Keripan, Deha, Gegelang and Singasari, who are descended from the gods. In the Chekel Waneng

Pati it is Betara Kala who arranges the kidnapping of Radin Inu, who is betrothed to Radin Galoh, and the carrying off of Radin Galoh by a raksasa: in No. I Radin Inu is captured by the ruler of Menggada after refusing to marry his daughter, and in No. II Radin Galoh is the object of an attack by a raksasa on Deha. There are three accounts, in Nos I, III and IV, of the Chekel Waneng Pati story in which the ruler of Menggada comes to claim Radin Galoh as his bride but is overcome by Radin Inu. A golden hind is mentioned inconsequentially in No. I. In the Chekel Waneng Pati, Betara Kala, angry because the King of Deha has refused his daughter Radin Galoh to her rescuer Radin Inu as promised, throws a ring to earth where it becomes a hind with golden antlers. Radin Galoh longs for it and the King promises her in marriage to anyone who can capture it, but Radin Inu is again cheated of his reward.

In the Chekel Waneng Pati, Radin Charang Chenaloh, the brother of Radin Inu, attacks Deha and is defeated by Radin Inu who then recognizes him and faints. To judge from Winstedt's summary there is no mention in it of the golden Monkey (No. II) and Mese Gamete (Winstedt mentions a MS called the Mesa Kumitar). Before they recover, Betara Kala has carried away Radin Galoh in a storm. No. III mentions her abduction by Betara Kala to a mountain.

Many MSS of the Panji tales mention the jungle princess in No. I. In the Ken Tambuhan poem she is the daughter of the ruler of Deha, and is murdered by Radin Inu's mother. The story teller here has perhaps given his own twist to the tale to bring in Keratala, Radin Inu's half-brother, who wields the magic kĕris Lok Sangsokugo, and rescues Radin Inu from the clutches of the King of Menggada (No. I). But it would be interesting to know whether this story is found in any of the Panji MSS.

No. IV is largely a repetition of the episodes in No. I, the King of Menggada's interference with the preparations for Radin Inu's marriage to Radin Galoh, his appeal to Betara Guru, with the usual comic interludes featuring Semar and Turas.

No. V seems to take its subject matter from a different source, and it would be interesting to know where, if anywhere, the name Panji Gagah Bakong, or the story of his dismemberment, occurs in original texts. If Panji Gagah Bakong is to be identified with Radin Inu, it would be easy to account for the rather *ad hoc* end to the story by supposing that the narrator, not recognising this, had grafted new names onto a familiar story to give a garbled version of the visit of the King Menggada to Deha. The story as it stands is hopelessly confused; it is under the name of Jayang Sakti that in No. III Radin Inu searches for Radin Galoh. The identical changes of name of his five followers in Nos

II and III may be noted. The name Sila Kalam for Radin Inu's half-brother Keratala also occurs in No. I. Is Mentaung to be identified with Deha of the other extracts?

Radin Emas Gunong Sari, a younger brother of Radin Inu, is mentioned in No. II as the special protector of Radin Galoh, abducted in No. III. The names occurs in the Chekel Waneng Pati as the son of the King of Deha who goes to look for the lost Radin Galoh.

BENTARA KERIPAN: MALAY TEXT

Tersebut-lah raja empat beradek ia-itu raja yang berketurunan daripada Dewa[2] ia-itu Bentara Keripan, Bentara Deha, Bentara Gegelang dan Bentara Singgasuri, keempat[2] beradek ini telah di-bawa oleh Semar pergi ka-Mekah.. Apabila ka-empat[2]-nya telah turon dan balek ka-negri-nya masing[2] menjadi raja bagi negri masing[2].

Pada suatu masa Bentara Keripan telah berseru[2] memohon kapada Bentara Guru yang di-kayangan yang ka-enam memohon sa-orang anak laki[2] yang berani lagi gagah perkasa serta kesaktian supaya dapat membunoh bota[2] raksaksa. Pada masa itu kayangan pun bergerak. Maka lalu bertanya Bentara Guru kapada kakang-nya Bentara Nengada, "Mengapa dan apa sebab-nya kakang-ku, maka kayangan-ku ini bergerak?" Maka jawab Dewa Bentara Nengada, "Ya yadi-ku, tidak-kah kamu dapat tahu Bentara Keripan yang sudah memohon kapada yadi akan sa-orang anak laki[2] yang gagah perkasa lagi kesaktian?" Maka jawab Bentara Guru, "Di-mana-kah kita hendak ambil?" Maka bermeshuarat-lah ia dengan adek-beradek-nya yang ketujoh bersaudara itu, ia-itu baginda sendiri, Dewa Bentara Nengada, Dewa Bentara Omar, Dewa Bentara Burhan, Dewa Bentara Kerma, Dewa Bentara Indera dan Dewa Bentara Indera Jaya. Di-dalam bermeshuarat itu, berkata-lah kakang-nya yang tua, ia-itu Dewa Bentara Nengada, "Pada pemandangan kakang tidak-lah lain daripada Dewa Kerma Jaya yang boleh kita bawa turun ka-alam dun'a yang boleh di-jadikan anak kapada Bentara Keripan." Maka jawab yadi-nya Bentara Omar, "Harus tidak boleh kerana Dewa Kerma Jaya itu kekasehan Dewa Sang Senohon Wong Agong Sang Yang Tunggal." Maka jawab Bentara Guru, "Baik-lah, choba kita bertujoh bersaudara ini naik kekayangan yang ketujoh mengadap Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal, kita pohonkan kapada-nya akan Dewa Kerma Jaya itu." Maka ka-tujoh bersaudara pon naik-lah ka-kayangan yang ka-tujoh, bila sampai, maka Bentara Guru pon masok mengadap Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal lalu menyembah, sembah-nya, "Ampun tuanku beribu[2] ampun jangan-lah tuanku murkakan kapada patek." Titah Sang Yang Tunggal, "Apa hajat mu naik ka-kayangan yang ka-tujoh berjumpa dengan aku ini?" Maka sembah Bentara Guru, "Patek hendak pohonkan kapada tuanku ia-itu patek pohonkan Dewa Kerma Jaya hendak minta turun ka-'alam dunia supaya jadi anak kapada Bentara Keripan." Bertitah Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal, "Apa sebab-nya maka kamu minta kapada aku?" Maka sembah Bentara Guru, "Ada pun sebab-nya maka patek pohonkan kapada tuanku, kerana anak patek Bentara Keripan memohon sa-orang anak laki[2] yang gagah perkasa lagi kesaktian yang mana boleh membunoh segala Bota, Raksaksa yang mengachau di-dalam 'alam dunia, jika tidak dapat neschaya anak patek tidak hendak memerentah 'alam dunia." Maka titah Sang Yang Tunggal, "Hai Dewa Kerma Jaya, sekarang turun-lah engkau ka-alam dunia, hendak-kah engkau atau tidak?" Maka sembah Dewa Kerma Jaya, "Ampun tuanku, titah di-junjong." Kemudian Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal pon bertitah kapada Bentara yang ka-tujoh yang naik mengadap itu, "Sekarang turun-lah tuanhamba balek ka-kayangan yang ka-enam. Hendak-lah tuanhamba jaga akan Puteri Lela Anata 'Ajaib dan bunga Jayang Mala yang di-dalam taman Tuan Puteri itu, serta berikan makanan[2] kapada-nya dengan sechukop dan jangan di-beri hilang satu[2] apa pun, jika kira-

nya hilang salah satu daripada-nya neschaya aku rontohkan kayangan ini, sila-lah tuanhamba turun." Maka Bentara yang ka-tujoh beradek itu pun turun-lah.

Sa-telah itu, maka Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal memegang Dewa Karma Jaya, lalu di-upar-nya sa-hingga menjadi sa-butir buah lonan di-lemparkan dia ka-alam dunia dan terjatoh ka-dalam taman Bentara Keripan Kemudian baginda Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal pegang kapada bidadari yang bernama Lela Kesokma, di-uparkan sahingga jadi sa-biji buah delima, di-lemparkan ka-alam dunia dan terjatoh ka-dalam taman Bentara Deha. Kemudian baginda pegang kapada Dewa Sang Gerga di-lemparkan ka-alam dunia jatoh ia kapada Gunong Wilis. Kemudian di-pegang kapada Dewa Wiron di-lemparkan ka-alam dunia jatoh ia di-hulu negri Keripan dan akhir-nya sa-kali di-ambil sa-ekor Dewa Sang Kala di-uparkan dia sahingga menjadi sa-buah rambutan Pangan, di-lemparkan dia jatoh di-dalam hutan. Di-dalam itu berkata-lah Dewa Bentara Busu kapada Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal, "Patek misti bersama[2] turun ka-alam dunia juga tuanku." Maka jawab Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal, "Engkau tidak boleh turun, engkau misti jaga kayangan ini." Maka jawab Bentara Busu, "Patek tidak suka sa-kali[2]." Titah Dewa Sang Tunggal, "Jika engkau turun tidak boleh naik lagi ka-kayangan ini." Jawab Dewa Bentara Busu, "Biar-lah patek tidak boleh naik pun." Maka Dewa Sang Tunggal pun memegang akan Dewa Bentara Busu lalu di-uparkan dia sahingga menjadi sa-buah daki kayu besar-nya sa-besar buah kelapa, kemudian di-lemparkan dia ka-alam dunia jatoh ka-dalam sa-buah kolam yang bernama Martapura. Maka tinggal Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal sa-orang diri di-atas kayangan itu.

Tersebut-lah kesah Bentara Keripan pergi berburu rusa pada suatu hutan bersama[2] dengan Pateh Keripan, Wirun dan Andaga serta raayat sakalian mengiring baginda. Apabila sampai ka-dalam hutan maka baginda pun menitahkan supaya mendirikan bangsal dan pondok. Lebeh kurang tiga kali Jumaat baginda dudok[2] di-dalam hutan itu ta' usahkan berjumpa rusa, akan lalat langau tiada melintas. Maka di-panggil oleh baginda akan Pateh Keripan kata-nya, "Ayohai kakang Pateh Keripan, selama kita di-dalam hutan ini tiada nampak apa[2] binatang pun usahkan rusa lalat langau pun tidak melintas, lebeh baik kita balek." Apakala terluchut sahaja perkataan baginda yang demikian itu, tiba[2] melintas sa-ekor kijang emas di-hadapan baginda. Apabila terpandang oleh baginda akan kijang emas itu, maka baginda pun kejar-lah bersama[2] dengan raayat baginda, di-dalam hal itu, maka kijang emas itu pun ghaib-lah.

Tiba[2] berjumpa-lah oleh baginda dengan sa-puak pangan tujoh orang ia-itu adek beradek, lalu di-kejar oleh baginda, pangan[2] lain dapat lari, melainkan sa-orang puteri Bungsu Pangan sahaja yang tiada sempat lari. Maka baginda pun menitahkan kapada Pateh Keripan suroh bawa balek puteri Bungsu Pangan ini ka-pondok baginda, di-pakai oleh baginda sa-bagai orang laki bini di-dalam hutan itu. Ada pun sifat dan rupa paras Puteri Bungsu itu tidak-lah dapat di-katakan lagi betapa elok-nya paras-nya, sa-kadarkan yang menyachat rupa-nya itu di-sebabkan bangsa pangan sahaja. Pada suatu hari Peteri Bungsu Pangan telah mengidam hendak makan buah rambutan, maka dengan takdir Dewata Mulia Raya tiba[2] terlihat-lah ia sa-biji buah rambutan tergolek di-tepi pondok tempat dudok-nya. Maka Puteri Bungsu pun ambil lalu di-makan-nya, dengan hal yang demikian Puteri Bungsu itu pun hamil-lah.

Shahadan, apabila diketahui oleh baginda Betara Keripan akan Puteri Bongsu itu sudah hamil, maka baginda pun berfikir di-dalam hati-nya, hendak pun baginda membawa balek Puteri Bongsu ini ka-dalam negri-nya tentu sahaja akan mendapat suatu kaaipan yang besar, kerana Puteri itu tidak sa-bangsa dengan-nya, lagi pun ia daripada bangsa pangan. Maka di-panggil oleh baginda akan mentri-nya Pateh Keripan, titah baginda, "Hendak pun kaula bawa balek Puteri Bongsu ini ka-dalam negri, telah tentu kaula akan mendapat keaipan, kerana puteri itu tidak sa-bangsa, lagi pun ia daripada bangsa pangan, apa fikiran kakang hendak kita bunoh-kah

dia?" Maka sembah Pateh Keripan, "Ampun tuanku beribu[2] ampun, sembah patek harapkan di-ampun, ada pun pada bichara patek, jikalau tuanku bunoh Puteri Bongsu itu tentu-lah menjadi sedeh hati memandang darah paduka anakanda yang di-dalam perut ibu-nya, pada fikiran patek lebeh baik tuanku kurniakan chinchin Kerajaan kapada Puteri Bongsu dan kita buangkan dia ka-dalam sa-buah telaga kita tutup dengan batu[2] besar." Apabila di-dengar oleh Bentara Keripan akan sembah Pateh Keripan itu, maka baginda pun senyum seraya bertitah, "Ayohai kakang, tersangat-lah perkenan kaula akan fikiran Pateh," Lalu baginda pun menchabut chinchin yang di-jari-nya di-masokkan kapada jari Puteri Bongsu itu, lalu di-panggil sakalian hulubalang bawa Puteri Bongsu itu masokkan ka-dalam telaga, serta di-tutup-nya dengan batu[2] besar. Sa-telah selesai, maka Bentara Keripan dan mentri hulubalang sakalian pun balek-lah ka-dalam negeri Keripan.

Shahadan, maka tersebut-lah kesah Puteri Bongsu yang dudok di-dalam telaga itu, tiada berapa lama-nya selang daripada itu beranak-lah ia sa-orang anak laki[2] di-namai-nya Keratala. Bila Keratala sudah besar, maka Puteri Bongsu pun sarik-kan chinchin yang di-jari-nya yang di-beri oleh Bentara Keripan itu kapada jari anak-nya Keratala itu seraya berkata, "Hai anak-ku, ada pun chinchin ini ia-lah chinchin yang di-kurnia oleh paman-mu Bentara Keripan, pesan-nya apabila engkau besar kelak pergi-lah engkau menchari paman-mu yang menjadi Raja di-dalam Negeri Keripan." Maka Keratala pun berdiam diri tidak berkata[2].

Tersebut-lah kesah Bentara Keripan yang balek daripada berburu itu sa-telah sa-tahon lama-nya, maka isteri-nya pun mengidam hendak makan buah lonan. Maka titah baginda kapada mentri-nya Pateh Keripan menyuroh chari buah lonan itu kalau[2] ada, kemudian di-chari oleh Pateh Keripan tiba[2] berjumpa-lah ia sa-biji lonan sedang tergolek di-dalam taman baginda. Maka di-persembahkan-lah kapada baginda lalu di-bawa masok di-berikan kapada isteri-nya, lalu di-makan-lah oleh isteri-nya. Selang tiada berapa lama-nya, isteri baginda pun hamil-lah, bila genap sembilan bulan beranak-lah ia sa-orang anak laki[2] lalu di-beri nama oleh baginda Radin Innu Kerta Pati Gagak Seri Nala Kuda Lawi[2] Selinggang Emas Chahaya Anak Jintan Putera Jenggala Jongjulok Kakayangan, maka tiada berapa putera baginda pun besar terlalu elok paras-nya. Maka termashor-lah kapada sa-luroh batangan Tanah Jawa yang sambong empat pendahat penjuru alam akan peri keelokkan Radin Innu itu sahingga raja yang besar datang meminang-nya, tetapi tidak di-beri oleh ayah bonda-nya.

Tersebut pula kesah isteri Bentara Deha yang mengidam hendak makan buah delima, maka titah baginda kapada pateh Deha suroh charikan buah delima, di-dalam masa Pateh Deha berjalan menchari-nya, tiba[2] bertemu-lah ia sa-biji buah delima di-dalam taman baginda, maka lalu di-ambil oleh pateh Deha di-persembahkan kapada baginda di-bawa masok dan di-berikan kapada isteri-nya. Maka isteri baginda pun makan-lah. Tiada berapa lama antara-nya, isteri baginda pun hamil-lah, bila chukop bulan-nya beranak-lah ia sa-orang anak perempuan di-namai oleh baginda Radin Galoh Kesokma Ma'eraj Sa-gedong Manya, tiada berapa lama puteri itu pun besar-lah sangat di-kasehi oleh baginda laki isteri.

Shahadan, ada sa-buah negeri di-dalam Tanah Jawa, Raja-nya bernama Ratu Menggada terlalu besar Kerajaan-nya, chukup lengkap dengan segala hulubalang yang gagah[2] perkasa, akan baginda ada mempunyai sa-orang anak perempuan ber-nama Tuan Puteri Sinaran Pati, sangat chantek paras-nya tiada banding masa itu. Pada suatu hari baginda bermeshuarat dengan mentri hulubalang sakalian, baginda bertitah kapada mentri-nya dan hulubalang-nya, titah-nya, "Ada-kah Kerajaan yang lain di-dalam Tanah Jawa ini ada mempunyai anak laki[2] yang chantek yang boleh di-jodohkan dengan puteri kaula " Maaka sembah Pateh Menggada, "Ampun tuanku beribu[2], ampun, ada-lah patek mendengar dengan telinga patek, ia-itu ada sa-orang putera Bentara Keripan yang bernama Radin Innu Kerta Pati Gagak Seri Nala Kuda Lawi[2] Selinggang Emas Chahaya Anak Jintan Putera Jenggala Jong-

julok Ka-Kayangan tuanku, sekarang ia maseh berumor enam belas tahun, tetapi sayang yang Radin Innu ini telah bertunang dengan Radin Galoh Kesokma Ma'eraj Sagedong Manya sa-pupu-nya."

Maka bertitah Raja Menggada kapada mentri-nya Pateh Menggada suroh siap-kan kerana hendak pergi ka-Keripan meminang Radin Innu putera Bentara Keripan itu supaya kahwin dengan puteri baginda, Tuan Puteri Sinaran Pati. Apakala siap lalu berjalan-lah ia dengan segala hulubalang-nya, mentri dan raayat sakalian. Bila sampai lalu masok ka-dalam kota. Maka bertanya-lah Bentara Keripan, "Apa-kah hajat tuanhamba datang ka-mari?" Maka di-cherita oleh Ratu Menggada akan segala maksud[2] kedatang-nya itu. Maka kata Bentara Keripan, "Boleh-lah tuan-hamba tanya kapada-nya sendiri. Bentara Keripan panggil putera-nya Radin Innu keluar lalu dudok, Ratu Menggada bercherita-lah peri hal kedatangan-nya itu. Maka jawab Radin Innu, "Patek belom lagi hendak kahwin."

Sa-telah itu Ratu Menggada pun balek-lah ka-negeri-nya. Antara sa-bulan lama-nya, maka Ratu Menggada menitahkan kapada Temenggong-nya bertiga ber-saudara itu pergi ka-negeri Keripan tangkap Radin Innu itu supaya di-bawa ka-mari. Maka Temenggong bertiga pun menyembah lalu keluar berjalan menuju ka-Negeri Keripan.

Pada suatu hari sedang Radin Innu bermain[2] di-dalam taman dan di-tepi[2] kota, tiba[2] datang-lah Temenggong ketiga masok menangkap Radin Innu itu lalu balek ka-negeri Menggada di-persembahkan kapada baginda. Akan Ratu Menggada ter-sangat-lah sukachita hati-nya oleh kerana telah berhasil maksud-nya. Titah Ratu Menggada kapada empat puloh orang inang pengasoh-nya bawa Radin Innu itu masok ka-dalam istana beri makan dan pakai dengan di-jagai-nya sa-chukup oleh inang[2] pengasoh itu.

Pada suatu hari baginda suroh inang[2] Radin Innu itu bawa Radin Innu supaya mengadap baginda, sa-telah sampai, maka berkata-lah Ratu Menggada kapada Radin Innu itu kata-nya, "Ayohai anak-ku Radin Innu, ada pun tujuan paman mengam-bil anak-ku ka-mari, ia-lah kerana paman hendak kahwinkan anak-ku dengan anak paman Puteri Sinaran Pati, bukan-lah paman hendak buat perhamba dan a'bdi, tetapi paman hendak buat anak menantu dan paman serahkan Kerajaan Menggada kapada anak-ku." Apabila di-dengar oleh Radin Innu akan kata[2] Ratu Menggada itu, maka ia pun menarek muka masam serta berpaling belakang kapada Ratu Menggada sa-olah[2] tidak menerima akan pemberian itu. Maka di-suroh oleh Radin Menggada kapada inang[2] pengasoh-nya memujok akan Radin Innu itu. Supaya membuat bagaimana kehendak baginda, walau beberapa di-pujok pun oleh inang[2] pengasoh-nya, tetapi tiada-lah juga menurut, serta berkata, "Jikalau di-bunoh mati sakali pun kaula tiada redza dan menurut sa-kali[2]. Maka oleh inang[2] pengasoh pun berdatang sembah kapada baginda Ratu Menggada. Dengan hal yang demikian maka murka-lah Ratu Menggada lalu bertitah kapada Pateh Menggada suroh panggil sakalian hulubalang kenakan rantai dan belanggu kapada Radin Innu di-dudokkan di-dalam istana baginda. Di-dalam pada itu segala inang[2], mentri[2], hulubalang dan isteri orang[2] besar di-dalam negeri Menggada pergi memujok Radin Innu itu, tetapi bagaimana pun di-pujok tiada-lah jua menurot lalu ia pun berkata sa-kali lagi, "Walau di-seksa dan di-bunoh mati sa-kali pun kaula tiada menurut, kerana tiada taraf kaula berkahwin dan menjadi menantu kapada Ratu Menggada kerana kaula anak raja lebeh besar daripada Kerajaan Menggada," Perkataan ini di-sembahkan oleh Pateh Menggada kapada Ratu Menggada. Maka baginda pun murka yang terlalu amat sangat seraya bertitah kapada Pateh Menggada menyuroh penjarakan Radin Innu dan di-pukul serta jangan di-beri makan minum walau sa-suap nasi dan sa-tegok ayer sa-kali pun. Maka di-kerjakan-lah oleh Pateh Menggada dan hulu-balang sakalian bagaimana titah baginda itu. Radin Innu itu pun di-masokkan ka-dalam penjara besi di-kawal oleh tujoh lapis hulubalang yang terbilang. Ratu Menggada berpesan kapada hulubalang penunggu pintu kota istana-nya jangan di-benarkan sa-orang pun masok ka-dalam kota.

Tersebut-lah kesah Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal baginda turun kapada sakin-manya berjalan sa-orang diri tiada berjumpa sa-orang manusia dan binatang pun niat hati-nya hendak perhamba, di-dalam perjalanan-nya sambil berfikir di-dalam hati-nya, "Siapa hendak ambil aku jadikan hamba, sebab aku sa-orang raja, lagi pun rupa aku boleh di-katakan chomel juga, di-dalam hal yang demikian tiba[2] sampai-lah ia kapada sa-pohon kayu, di-lihat-nya ada satu sarongan yang amat besar dan huboh rupa-nya saperti sa-orang tua, maka lalu ia pun berfikir, lebeh baik aku masokkan ka-dalam sarongan ini. Sa-telah itu masok-lah ia ka-dalam sarongan itu dengan serta merta, maka rupa-nya pun berubah-lah menjadi gemok tambun, hitam legam dan jambul-nya ada tiga tumpok. Apakala terpandang oleh-nya akan tuboh-nya kotor dan berdaki, maka ia pun berjalan menchari tempat yang ada ayer kerana hendak mandi dan gosok daki[2], tiba[2] berjumpa-lah ia sa-buah kolam yang bernama Mertapura, maka ia pun terjun ka-dalam kolam itu mandi, sa-kali ia menyelam, naik-lah ia ka-tebing kolam itu sambil bergosok daki[2] pada tuboh-nya, dengan hal yang demikian daki[2] yang telah di-dapati pada tuboh-nya itu di-himpunkan. akhir-nya jadi sa-besar tongkolan buah kelapa, kemudian ia pun berfikir sa-orang diri-nya, "Di-mana-kah patut ku buangkan daki-ku ini? Jika di-buang di-dalam hutan neschaya di-makan oleh bota raksaksa atau ular halipan akan jadi makanan-nya, lebeh baik aku buangkan dia di-dalam kolam ini, supaya dapat di-makan oleh ikan[2] yang ada di-dalam-nya, maka dengan tidak lengah lagi di-champak-lah daki[2] yang sa-besar buah kelapa itu ka-dalam kolam itu, tiba[2] naik-lah sa-orang manusia (Dewa Betna Busu) dan dudok di-tepi kolam itu, apabila terpandang oleh Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal, ia pun hampir-lah seraya bertanya, "Mu mari dari mana?" Jawab orang itu, "Aku tidak tahu, mu-lah letak nama aku." Maka Dewa Sang Yang Tunggal pun beri nama orang itu Turas dan dia sendiri di-ubahkan kapada nama Semar. Maka berchakap[2]-lah kedua-nya lalu masing[2] ajak berjalan menchari kerana hendak menjadi hamba, sa-telah bersatuju, maka berjalan-lah kedua-nya sampai kapada suatu hutan tempat Bentara Keripan berburu tadi. Tiba[2] terdengar-lah oleh kedua-nya suatu suara manusia dari dalam sa-buah telaga burok, maka kata Turas kapada Semar, "Baik kita lari ini-lah dia di-katakan orang hantu hutan, kelak kalau dekat habis kita di-makan-nya. Maka kata Semar, "Jangan kita lari lagi, lebeh baik kita pergi tengok dahulu." Maka kata Turas, "Aku tidak mahu pergi." Lalu ia lari sa-orang diri, dalam hal ini Semar pun menuju kapada tempat suara itu, tetapi Turas chabut lari. Bila Semar sampai kapada telaga tempat suara yang berbunyi itu, di-dapati-nya ada manusia dua beranak sedang tertindeh dengan batu[2] yang besar, lalu Semar pun angkat batu[2] itu. Sa-telah habis lalu di-angkat naik kedua manusia tadi, di-kenali-lah nyata rupa bangsa manusia itu di-dapati kedua-nya daripada bangsa Pangan. Maka Puteri Bungsu pun bertanya kapada Semar kata-nya, "Wak hendak ka-mana?" Jawab Semar, "Aku hendak pergi men-chari raja kerana hendak perhamba. Maka jawab Puteri Bungsu, "Anak hamba ini anak raja juga," Kata Semar, "Apa nama raja itu? Maka jawab Puteri Bongsu, "Bentara Keripan." Kata Semar, "Bagaimana mula-nya maka tuanhamba dudok dua beranak di-dalam telaga ini?" Maka Puteri Bongsu pun bercherita-lah hal-nya dari awal hingga ka-akhir-nya. Bila di-dengar oleh Semar akan Cherita Puteri Bungsu itu, maka ia pun hendak berjalan, lalu di-suroh-nya oleh Puteri Bungsu akan anak-nya supaya mengikut dan pergi bersama dengan Semar, moga[2] berjumpa-lah dengan ayahanda-nya Bentara Keripan. Maka Semar bertanya kapada Keratala anak Puteri Bungsu itu kata-nya, "Engkau hendak pergi chari raja, pandai-kah engkau menyembah?" Jawab Keratala, "Hamba tidak pandai menyembah, aaja pun belom kenal lagi." Maka lalu di-ajar oleh Semar kata-nya, "Mu angkat kedua tangan tinggi sampai ka-kening sembah kapada aku." Maka Keratala pun angkat kedua tangan-nya belom sampai ka-kening lagi maka tangan-nya jatoh di-atas kepala Semar. Maka kata Semar, "Mengapa mu tumbok kepala aku?" Jawab Keratala, "Hai Wak, tangan aku banyak berat tidak boleh hendak mengangkat lagi." Berkata Semar, "Chuba aku lihat tangan kamu." Maka di-lihat oleh Semar akan tangan Keratala ada sa-bentok chinchin Kerajaan, kata Semar, "Mu tidak boleh menyembah kapada raja[2] mana pun. Maka kedua-nya pun berjalan-lah hendak pergi menchari raja.

Tersebut kesah Turas yang lari daripada Semar kerana takut suara yang di-lalam telaga itu, tiba[2] ia pun sampai kapada suatu hutan, maka lalu di-tangkap oleh empat puloh bota raksaksa yang di-ketuaii oleh bota yang berna Bota Kala Sunyi hendak di-makan-nya. Maka berkata-lah Turas kapada bota[2] itu, "Hai bota sakalian, engkau manusia itu makanan aku." Maka jawab Turas, "Aku-lah Ratu Bendahara Hutan." Jawab bota[2] sakalian, "Ampun tuanku, patek tidak kenal, jika patek kenal tidak sa-kali[2] patek tangkap tuanku, jangan-lah tuanku sumpah akan patek sakalian." Maka kata Turas, "Sekarang engkau gendong aku kerana aku hendak masok ka-dalam negeri." Oleh bota raksaksa pun gendong-lah akan Turas di-bawa ka-pinggiran negeri, sa-telah itu berpesan-lah bota[2] itu kapada Turas, sa-kira-nya tuanku dapat kesusahan, sila-lah serukan nama patek, supaya dapat patek menulong tuan-ku." Maka kata Turas, "Baik-lah."

Hatta berjalan-lah Turas sa-orang diri, di-dalam perjalanan itu ia pun menoleh ka-belakang, terpandang-lah ia kapada dua orang yang berjalan, maka di-kenali-lah oleh Turas akan orang yang berjalan itu, ia-lah Semar, lalu ia pun berhenti dan hampir kapada Semar, serta berchakap[2]-lah ia mencheritakan hal-nya lari sahingga di-tangkap oleh bota raksaksa tadi. Maka kata Turas kapada Semar, "Hai Semar, siapa dia di-belakang mu itu?" Jawab Semar ini-lah dia orang yang bersuuara yang kedengaran bunyi dari dalam telaga itu, dia bernama Keratala." Turas berkata, "Jika aku tahu manusia tentu aku tidak lari." Maka berjalan-lah ketiga[2] orang menuju dan masok ka-Negeri Keripan. Sa-telah sampai maka Semar dan Turas pun masok-lah mengadap Bentara Keripan akan Keratala di-tinggalkan di-gigi hutan.

Tersebut-lah kesah Bentara Keripan yang kehilangan putra-nya Radin Innu di-churi oleh Ratu Menggada di-bawa ka-negeri-nya itu, baginda terlalu-lah duka-chita siang dan malam sahingga tidak lalu makan dan minum. Pada suatu hari sedang baginda bermeshuarat dengan menteri dan hulubalang-nya di-balai tiba[2] masok-lah Semar bersama[2] Turas mengadap baginda. Titah baginda, "Darimana orang tua datang, dan hendak ka-mana serta apa hajat maka datang mengadap kami di-balai ini?" Maka sembah Semar, "Ada pun patik berdua bersaudara ini ia-lah orang gunong, tujuan patik mengadap tuanku ia-lah kerana hendak menjadi hamba 'abdi tuanku." Titah Bentara Keripan, "Sekarang aku tidak boleh buat hamba akan kamu lagi, kerana aku sekarang di-dalam kesusahan yang amat sangat." Maka sembah Semar, "Apa kesusahan itu tuanku?" Jawab Bentara Keripan, "Ada pun anak-ku Radin Innu itu telah di-churi oleh Ratu Menggada di-bawa ka-Negeri-nya di-buboh-nya di-dalam penjara besi, kalau kira-nya mu boleh ambil dia bawa balek, neschaya aku jadi-kan mu kedua ini hamba aku." Sembah Semar, "Patek tidak sanggop tuanku, tetapi saudara patek harus boleh." Maka titah Bentara Keripan, "Jika begitu segera-lah panggil saudara mu itu bawa kemari." Maka Semar pun menyembah serta keluar memanggil Keratala dan di-bawa masok mengadap baginda, sa-telah sampai lalu mengadap. Titah baginda, "Apa nama mu?" Maka sembah Keratala, "Patek bernama Keratala anak Bentara Keripan." Apakala di-dengar oleh baginda, ia-pun diam-lah lalu masok ka-dalam istana. Keratala rasa hangat hati-nya, lalu ia-pun sandar-kan belakang-nya kepada bali baginda, balai itu bergonchang-lah sa-hingga menjadi-kan gempar sa-isi istana itu. Maka baginda pun keluar-lah lalu berkata, "Hai Keratala, jika sunggoh mu boleh ambil anak-ku Radin Innu itu bawa kembali ka-negeri ini, maka aku akukan yang mu itu anak yang sajalan jadi. Sembah Keratala, "Ampun tuanku beribu[2] ampun, jika dengan berkat daulat tuanku harus akan dapat patek mengambil putera tuanku itu, tetapi patek pohonkan senjata." Titah baginda kapada Pateh Keripan suroh bawa sa-peti keris, apabila sampai lalu di-ambil oleh Keratala lepas sa-bilah sa-bilah di-tikam kapada dada-nya, di-dapati semua-nya patah mata-nya, melainkan sa-bilah sahaja tidak patah dan di-berikan kapada Andaga, kemudian di-keluarkan lagi sa-peti lalu Keratala mengambil-nya lepas sa-bilah hingga habis sa-bati patah mata-nya di-tikam ka-dada-nya hanya sa-bilah sahaja yang tidak, di-berikan kapada Wirun. Kemudian di-keluarkan oleh baginda lagi sa-peti, bagitu jua di-buat-nya hanya sa-bilah sahaja yang boleh di-gunakan oleh-nya sendiri, keris ini bernama Lok Sang-

sokugo Lok tengah tiga puloh itu. Sa-telah itu Keratala, Semar dan Turas pun bermohon keluar. Maka berjalan-lah ketiga orang itu menuju ka-negeri Menggada. Akan Wirun dan Andaga jaga di-negeri Keripan. Sa-telah sampai ka-Negeri Menggada oleh Semar dan Turas masok mengadap Ratu Menggada akan Keratala ditinggal di-hujong negeri itu. Bila Semar dan Turas sampai dan mengadap baginda Ratu Menggada, baginda pun bertitah, "Siapa nama tuanhamba, dan dari mana datang tuanhamba?" Sembah Semar, "Patek bernama Semar dan saudara patek bernama Turas, kedatangan patek dari gunong kerana hendak menjadi hamba abdi kapada tuanku." Titah baginda, "Jika bagitu sunggoh-nya boleh-lah aku jadikan mu dua bersaudara ini hamba kapada aku." Maka dudok-lah kedua-nya menjadi hamba sa-hingga kaseh sayang Ratu Menggada kapada kedua-nya, makin sa-hari makin bebas kedua-nya, sa-hari[2] pekerjaan mereka kedua itu dudok berjalan di-dalam istana serta keliling kawasan istana menyiasat di-mana ada-nya penjara Radin Innu itu. Pada akhir-nya berjumpa-lah ia dengan penjara Radin Innu seraya hampir, masa itu Radin Inu sedang menangis dengan kurus kering tuboh-nya serta berseru[2] akan ayah bonda-nya, kata Semar, "Tuanku, jangan susah, kedatangan patek ini ia-lah kerana hendak melihat tuanku, ada orang yang boleh ambil tuanku bawa balek ka-negeri ayah bonda tuanku, maka jangan-lah tuanku susahkan."

Shahadan, pada waktu suboh, Semar pun keluar serta beritahu kepada Keratala suroh masok. Keratala pun masok-lah sa-hingga sampai ka-dalam kota menuju penjara Radin Innu itu sambil ia berjalan keliling penjara itu, masa itu Radin Innu sedang berseru[2] paman-nya yang tidak dapat lagi hendak mengambil-nya, mati-lah ia di-dalam penjara ini. Akan seruan ini terdengar-lah kapada Keratala, ia pun naik radang lalu di-kopak penjara itu. Oleh kekuatan bunyi besi penjara itu, gempar-lah sa-isi istana itu, penjaga penjara pun terkejut-lah. Keratala pikul Radin Innu di-belakang-nya bawa keluar ka-pintu kota sa-hingga di-lengkong oleh hulubalang Ratu Menggada. Maka Keratala pun mengamok sambil undor, bila sampai sa-paroh jalan Keratala Panggil Semar suroh ambil Radin Innu bawa balek. Keratala maseh mengamok hingga habis lari hulubalang Ratu Menggada, ada yang mati, ada yang patah dan ada yang buta. Hajat Keratala itu hendak mengamok hingga sampai ka-dalam kota, tetapi masa itu terlintas suatu fikiran di-hati-nya, "Ada-kah Bentara Keripan akukan yang aku ini anak-nya yang sa-jalan jadi?" Dengan hal yang demikian itu maka ia pun berpusing balek berjalan menuju ka-negeri Keripan. Akan Radin Innu di-bawa masok ka-dalam istana. Maka keluar-lah Bentara Keripan sa-orang diri-nya ka-balai, seraya berkata, "Hai Keratala, aku tidak boleh akukan yang mu itu anak kapada aku." Bila di-dengar oleh Keratala akan kemungkiran Bentara Keripan demikian itu, maka ia pun gonchangkan balai baginda sa-hingga gempar-lah sa-isi istana terkejut. Akan Radin Innu yang sedang leteh dan kurus kering itu keluar pergi mendapatkan Keratala lalu bertanya, "Apa sebab-nya maka engkau gonchang akan balai ini hai Keratala?" Maka di-persembahkan-lah oleh Keratala akan hal Bentara Keripan yang tidak mahu mengakukan anak akan-nya. Jawab Radin Innu, "Hai Keratala, bagaimana paman aku hendak akukan anak, di-mana paman-ku berbini? Chuba-lah mu cheritakan kapada aku." Maka di-cheritakan-lah oleh Keratala dari awal hingga ka-akhir-nya. Maka kata Radin Innu perkara ini sabar-lah dahulu barang sa-hari dua. Suatu hari Radin Innu pun panggil sa-orang menteri yang tua sama sa-orang suroh cheritakan hal ini. Maka sembah menteri itu, "Ampun tuanku beribu[2] ampun, ada pun segala kata[2] Keratala itu amat-lah benar." Sa-telah itu Radin Innu pun panggil Keratala lalu berkata, "Ayohai kakang-ku Keratala, sekarang kaula akukan kakang-lah kakak kapada kaula yang sa-jalan jadi," lalu di-letak-kan nama kata-nya, "Jangan siapa memanggil Keratala. Jikalau siapa, memanggil Keratala, pekakkan telinga, butakan mata dan keluarkan lidah-nya sambil di-letakkan nama-nya "Sila Kalam." Maka sembah Keratala, "Apa erti-nya nama itu?" Kata Radin Innu, "Ada pun perkataan Sila itu ia-lah raja dan kalam itu berkata[2]; jadi-nya mana perkataan engkau itu, perkataan aku, perkataan aku ia-lah perkataan engkau, tetapi engkau tidak boleh lakukan satu[2] angkara, jika tidak dengan perentah aku."

Hatta lebeh kurang enam bulan lama-nya, maka Ratu Menggada pun hendak pergi meminang Radin Galoh ia-itu Puteri Deha, akan perjalanan daripada Negeri Menggada hendak ka-Negeri Deha misti-lah menempoh negeri Keripan dahulu, sa-telah siap, maka angkatan Ratu Menggada pun keluar-lah dan berjalan menuju ka-negeri Deha, di-iringkan oleh mentri[2], hulubalang[2] dan raayat sakalian; apabila angkatan yang tersebut itu sampai dan lalu kapada jalan negeri Keripan, maka ternampak-lah panji[2] Ratu Menggada kapada Radin Innu sendiri, lalu ia pun memanggil Sila Kalam, Wirun dan Andaga suroh pergi menahankan angkatan Ratu Mengganda di-tengah jalan serta berpesan, "Pergi-lah tuan hamba ketiga tanyakan ka-mana angkatan Ratu Mengganda hendak pergi, jika dia menjawab kasar bunoh-lah ia selalu. "Maka berjalan-lah mereka ketiga orang itu, apabila sampai mereka pun menahan angkatan Ratu Menggada itu seraya kapada Temenggong Menggada, "Kamana hendak pergi angkatan ini?" Jawab Temenggong Menggada, "Raja aku hendak pergi ka-Negeri Deha meminang Puteri Radin Galoh." Jawab Sila Kalam, "Tidak-kah tuanhamba tahu yang Radin Galoh itu sa-pupu kapada gusti aku Radin Innu dan telah menjadi tunang-lanang-nya?" Jawab Temenggong Menggada, "Aku tahu itu." Kata Sila Kalam, "Jika kamu tahu sila-lah mu undor dan balek ka-negeri mu," Berkata Temenggong Menggada, "Tidak sa-kali[2] aku undor." Jawab Sila Kalam, "Memang gusti aku suroh bunoh mu." Di-dalam hal itu berbangkit-lah pergadohan di-tengah jalan itu tujoh hari tujoh malam sa-hingga matilah Ratu Menggada dan sakalian hulubalang[2] Menggada di-bunoh oleh Sila Kalam, Wirun dan Andaga. Sa-telah itu mereka ketiga pun berjalan balek menuju ka-negeri Keripan, ada-nya.

TAMMAT

Appendix

Glossary of certain Javanese and other words in the Texts

asmara; love.

bentala; a dagger.

Bentara (=Betara); divine, holy.

bota; a demon giant, raksaksa.

gusti; a Javanese princely title.

ising (= isin); ashamed.

kakang (= kakak); elder brother or sister.

kaula; I (humble, to a ruler; equiv. patek).

Kayangan; Indra's Heaven.

kebuli; an Afghan (from Kabul).

Kelana; a warrior's title, "knight-errant".

kindayang; follower of a prince.

lonan (=anona); custard-apple. (Annona reticulata Linn).

paman; father (equiv. ayah).

pangan; a forest-dweller.

pustaka; spell, magice formula.

Radin / Ratu ; Prince

rubi; husband

Sakin Maya; the Earth.

Sangga Maya; the Abode of the Gods.

wong; man.

yadi (= yai); younger brother or sister (equiv. adek)

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Cargo Boats of the East Coast of Malaya

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There is no systematic account of the locally built boats in use on the coasts of the Malay Peninsula. The greater part of the published data occurs in a paper by H. Warington Smyth, in the Journal of the Society of Arts (1902: 570-586), but this author did not attempt a comprehensive survey, even for the period at which he was writing. In addition there is no doubt that a number of changes have occurred in the intervening years, and that more still will occur in the future. On both counts a catalogue of the designs extant now would be of value. Unfortunitely such a work is not as easy to compile as it might appear to be, and it will be some time before one can produce a complete descriptive list of the native boats found in Malayan waters. In the meantime, this paper has been prepared, largely on data collected in July 1940, June 1947 and July-August 1948, to provide an introductory catalogue of the carrying boats normally used on the east coast of the Peninsula, south of the Siamese frontier. The centre of building in this area is in Trengganu, principally in the kuala of the main river, and to a much smaller extent at other points along its seaboard. In some respects this paper should have been preceded by a survey of the local fishing boats, but the problems that they present are very much more complex, and the amount of data that can be acquired very much greater. One would also like to have been able to give the basic lines of the larger vessels discussed here, but local builders do not work to set designs, and accordingly this is not possible at present.

Sea transport is an extremely important feature of communications on the east coast of Malaya. A large proportion of the population is settled on or near the river mouths, and the road system is still poorly developed. Unfortunately natural conditions complicate it to some extent. The estuaries are in all cases relatively shallow, with at least the greater part of their exits blocked by sand-bars. The larger kualas have channels which, at or near high tide, afford passage-way to boats of draughts up to 8 or 9 feet, but the great majority of the inhabited estuaries are closed at all times to anything requiring more than 4 or 5 feet of water. Even in these cases some experience is needed to enter them. The bars and sand-banks often shift annually, and no printed sailing directions are of much value if there is any appreciable sea running. On my most recent visit we travelled from Mersing to Tumpat in a motor launch with a draught of just under 3 feet. It was piloted by a Trengganu Malay, who had been up and down the

coast several times, and claimed to know it fairly well. Even then we were unable to get into several apparently patent estuaries, and we went aground at least once in over half the ones that we did enter. In consequence of this feature the coasting boats normally used are all of relatively shallow draught, and for the most part they run repeatedly over the same sections, with which their crews are thereby well acquainted. It is probable that this factor also has some influence on the sail plan adopted. All the local boats are driven by dipping lugs, which can be set and let down quickly.

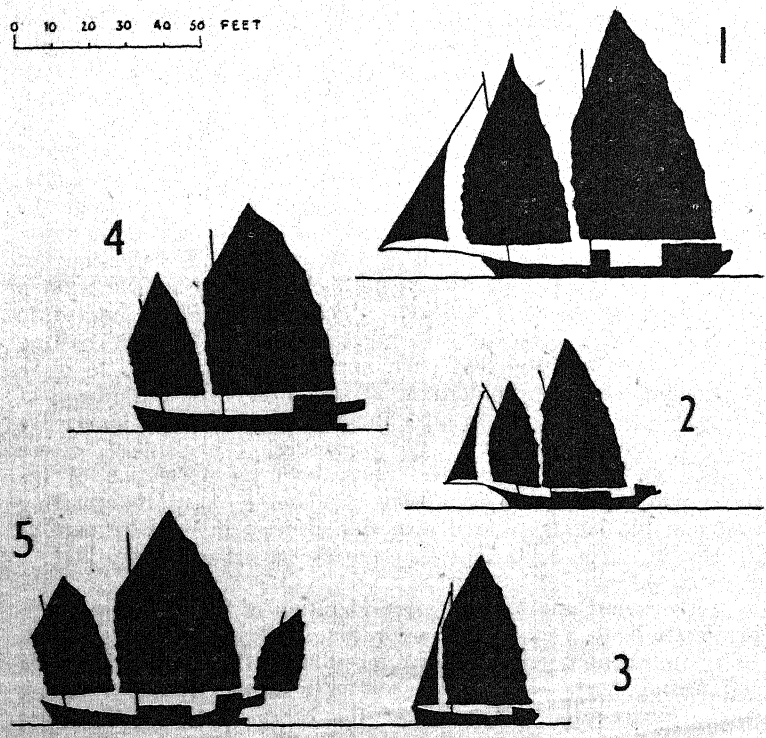
Another problem that is afforded by the east coast of Malaya is that of the weather. From about October to March it is swept by the north-east monsoon (*Musim tutup kuala,* the season that closes the estuaries), which turns the whole of it into a lee shore and makes it almost impossible to get in and out of even the larger kualas under sail with safety and certainty. Between April and the end of September the steady wind is the south-west monsoon, and conditions are a great deal better, but unfortunately they are still not ideal over much of the period. From about July to the middle of September is the season of the Tĕnggara, a wind of varying strength which comes up rapidly from the south-east about noon, and usually drops shortly before sundown. It seldom reaches the strength of a Malacca-Straits Sumatra, but in the extremely shallow waters off the east coast it brings up a short, choppy sea very quickly, which again adds a hazard to the crossing of a kuala bar. In practice it means that the coasting boats usually keep well out from noon onwards, and try to make their landfalls before midday or at sundown. The advantages of being able to do this again set a premium on a detailed knowledge of local conditions, and of the capacities of one's boat, as we realised on several occasions. Thus, both the formation of the shore and the weather conditions combine to keep the coasting traffic in the hands of local men, for at least the greater part of the season. The boats that they use are described briefly here.

The easiest approach to a consideration of the sea-going carrying boats is to group them according to their sail plans. Such an arrangement is not, of course, possible in the case of the kuala and fishing boats, as these are normally limited to masts setting single square-sails. The rigs of the cargo boats, on the other hand, fall fairly easily into four groups. These are arranged below in order of their general importance in the local trade. When this is done it is immediately apparent that the greater part of the commerce is handled by locally compounded boats, of which the hulls are largely or completely on European lines, while the sail plan is partly Chinese and partly European in origin (the Pinas-Bedar group). The next most important section in Kelantan is afforded by the use of old fishing boats which are Peninsular in

both hull and sail, while in the south the coast-wise carrying is done by Chinese-owned launches spreading up from Singapore. Finally occasional boats (the Singapore Trader or Tongkang and the Gulf of Siam Trader) which are ultimately Chinese in origin are found running between the larger rivers and ports outside our area.[1] It may be remarked in passing that this is in sharp contrast to the arrangement on the west coast of Malaya, where the designs of the carrying boats are apparently entirely extra-limital.

1. The Pinas-Bedar group

The Pinas of the east coast of Malaya is essentially a Trengganu boat, with its manufacture confined almost entirely to the kuala of the Trengganu river. It is the largest of the local craft,



Profiles of the major designs outlined in this paper, under full canvas. 1, a (Pĕrahu) Pinas Golok. 2, a medium-sized Bedar (Luang Sudu). 3, a Katar, off the delta of the Kelantan River. 4, a two-masted Singapore Trader or Tongkang. 5, a Gulf of Siam Trader or wangkang. Both nos. 4 & 5 generally step two masts in the smaller boats, and three in the larger ones.

1 No cognisance is taken of two boats which would seem to be genuine strays, not usually found north of Singapore. A Pĕrahu Lontok, from South Borneo, was seen at Dungun in 1947, and there is an old Pĕrahu Golek from Madura, beached on the tanjong at Kuala Trengganu at the present time.

and is normally used only between the deeper estuaries and distant ports. The Bedar, as defined here, occurs widely from Mersing north to the Siamese frontier at least, but it would seem that by far the greater part of the building is done along the length of the Trengganu coast. The larger Bedars run on much the same routes as the Pinas, but the majority of the boats are appreciably smaller, with a stem to stern length of 30-35 feet. These are used extensively in coastwise traffic, and at least one or two can usually be found in any kuala.

Both Pinas and Bedar are built and manned, but not always owned, by Malays. The hull shapes vary considerably, but the sail plan is constant, except in the case of the Kelantan Katar which is noted below. The remainder all carry two masts, one in the bows, and the other about amidships, the forward of which is markedly raked forwards, and the main usually slightly so. They have very long bowsprits, which are normally stayed so that the tip curves slightly downwards. The driving area is composed of two large polygonal lug sails, one to each mast, and of typical Chinese design. They are generally made of mats of tikars, and are strengthened by cross ribs of bamboo, like the sails of a junk. They are suspended from the mid-point of the yard, but as the luff of the sail, which is nearly straight, is only about half the length of the leach, which is markedly convex, the yard itself makes an angle of about 15^0 - 20^0 with the vertical when the sail is set. Normally the foresail is set on the port side of its mast, and the mainsail on the starboard side. In addition, under suitable conditions a jib, often of patched canvas, is set from the forward end of the bowsprit. In all cases they are steered with a European rudder and tiller.

These boats sail as far as possible with the wind on the quarter or forward to just aft of the beam. In the former case they carry the mainsail and jib out to leeward, and the forward sail to windward. With the wind on, or forward of, the beam they set all three sails to leeward. They cannot sail close into the wind owing to their relatively shallow draught, but in virtue of the jib they run much nearer to it than the majority of the local boats, especially when entering the estuaries. The jib, in fact, though much the smallest of the sails in area, is the most important single element in the plan, and when manoeuvering they not infrequently drop the foresail and run on the jib and mainsail only. If it is set, it is, of course, a diagnostic feature. Unfortunately if the wind is dead aft the men often reef the jib, and then when hull down their boat can be mistaken for a two-masted junk.

(Pĕrahu) Pinas

This boat (plate 9, fig. 2) and the next (plate 9, fig. 1) are in most respects very similar, and they are frequently lumped

together under the name of Trengganu Schooner.[1] Above water the hulls of both are characterised by the possession of well moulded clipper sterns. As has been said earlier they are fairly large boats, and fully laden they can enter only the deeper estuaries. At the present time they are employed mostly on runs between Kuala Trengganu and Bangkok, nominally going north in ballast and bringing back salt. They are said to make about three trips a year during the season of the south-west monsoon. They also occasionally run to Singapore and Saigon, but they seldom visit the other kualas on the east coast. They are normally worked with a complement of 5-7 men, including the master. The great majority, at least, are built at Kuala Trengganu. I have not seen them under construction anywhere else, but I have been told that a shipwright from Trengganu is now working at Kampong Balok, in northern Pahang. Building usually takes about 10 months, with a gang of 20 men.

The Pinas has a reasonable amount of sheer, and it is a good sea boat. The present pattern has also a well raked bow, terminating in an upturned wooden beak of standard form ("her slender nose Tip-tilted like the petal of a flower,"[2]), representing a stylised copy of the figure-heads of the old European sailing ships. On the other hand the hull is almost wall-sided, with a very full turn of the bilge fore and aft. The maximum beam is normally about a quarter of the length from stem to stern, and the depth at the midpoint nearly one-ninth. In general they have a good carrying capacity, but are slow in the water, with a maximum speed under normal conditions of 5-6 knots. The great majority are between 60 and 70 feet long, with a breadth of 15-17 feet, and a depth of 7-8 feet. Their draught is a little over 4½ feet when empty, and nearly 6½ feet when fully laden. Two examples registered at Kuala Trengganu have the following hull measurements.

Reg. No.	Stem to Stern	Beam	Depth	Capacity in Piculs.	Built
70	63′	16′	7′	1,230	1900
256	68′	17′	7½′	1,047	1930

As in all the larger boats in this group, the main and fore sails are of mats: they are strengthened by 6-7 bamboo ribs. The jib is usually of gunny sacks or canvas. The total area of sail set in a boat of about 65 feet from stem to stern is approximately 2,725 square feet; jib 275 square feet, foresail 1,100 square feet, and mainsail 1,350 square feet.

1 Strictly speaking, of course, if a European name is to be applied to these boats they should be called Luggers. The Bugis Palari is the only schooner-rigged boat seen regularly in Malayan waters.

2 Idylls of the King, 1859, line 577.

The Pinas has a planked deck, with two covered hatches to the hold. It is steered by a rudder, operated from a tiller swinging about 6 inches above the deck and partly damped by a system of pulleys. The steerman usually sits on the planking, and manipulates the rudder by forcing the end of the tiller, away from him with his feet, or drawing it towards him by the slack rope of the pulley system on his side. There is invariably a large coop (Malay, *kup*), made of matting strengthened on the outside by close-set, longitudinal strips of bamboo, at the after end of the deck. This affords shelter to the man at the tiller, and *inter-alia* the greater part of the rest of the crew. Behind it, hanging over the stern and detracting considerably from the general appearance of the boat, is a wooden box to serve as a lavatory. The hull is usually painted white or dull red.

The hull of the Pinas is undoubtedly based on European designs of the early nineteenth century or later, and might well be a reproduction in miniature of the East Indiamen of circa 1820-1860. According to the local tradition it is copied from boats built by a member of the crew of a French frigate which was wrecked on the Trengganu coast some 70-80 years ago. All the survivors except one eventually left the state. The one became a Mohammedan, married a Chinese girl from Kuala Marang, and settled on the Tanjong at Kuala Trengganu to earn his living as a shipwright. The names and number of his children are not given, but some at least are said to have used the patronymic *bin Franchis*. It is claimed that two of his known descendants, possibly grandsons, lived until comparatively recently, one Mat bin Franchis of Kemaman, dying only a few years ago. They were characterised by being rather taller and broader than the average Malays, with lighter hair and blue eyes.

Pinas, of which the local pronunciation approaches more nearly to *penis*, is obviously a corruption of the French *pinasse*, a small, usually two-masted sailing vessel, and the origin of the English word *pinnace*, a man-of-war's ferrying boat. Pĕrahu is, of course, optional, and is frequently omitted.[1] These boats are also sometimes called (Pĕrahu) Pinas Golok, to distinguish them from the next. *Golok*, from the Malay word for a matchet or sword with a convex cutting edge, refers to the curved, upturned prow.

(Pĕrahu) Pinas Dogar

In general this boat (Plate 9, fig. 1) differs from the preceding one only in having a vertical bow with no beak. It is

1 According to Wilkinson (1932/2: 249) *Pĕrahu* is used for any undecked native vessel in contrast to the decked *Kapal*. This does not apply in current usage, which pays no attention to the presence or absence of a deck, and applies it to any large locally built boat, though in the obviously large boats, as here and in the (*Pĕrahu*) *Payang*, it is often dropped.

sometimes more squat in its general lines (No. 282, built at Kuala Trengganu in 1946, is 69 feet from stem to stern, 7 feet deep and 18 feet beam, with a capacity of 1,343 piculs), and may carry less sheer, but this is not a standard distinction. To the Malays the only characteristic of importance is the finish of the forward end. At least one of these boats, Chinese owned but with a Malay crew, is at present running regularly from Singapore.

The origin and history of these boats is obviously much the same as that of the Pinas Golok. The hull, it may be remarked in passing, is very similar to that of the Bangkok Lorcha, but the latter has a typical junk sail-plan, with no bowsprit. The term Dogar (usually pronounced *Dogor* in Kuala Trengganu) does not appear in Warington Smyth, who lists only the Pinas in general and I cannot trace it or a word from which it might have originated, in any of the standard Malay dictionaries. So far as I know it is used only for this boat, or sometimes for a sheer-ended Bedar (Katar) to distinguish it from those with projecting prows.

Bedar (Luang Sudu)

The boats grouped under the name Bedar (usually pronounced *Bedor* in Trengganu) do not allow of an easy definition. There is a typical pattern which is highly characteristic, and is the version seen most frequently, but the name is also given to other rather different designs. Roughly one finds, therefore, that among carrying boats on the east coast the term Bedar is applied to any boat setting one or two Chinese junk sails and a European jib, and lacking the clipper stern characteristic of the (Pĕrahu) Pinas.

The typical cargo Bedar has a rig similar to that of the Trengganu Pinas. The hull, on the other hand, is equal-ended, not unlike that of a modern ship's lifeboat, but rather fuller in the turn of the bilge, and with the stem and stern raked. The bow is carried up to a flat round beak, which is reproduced again in miniature at the stern. In this respect, therefore, they closely resemble an enlarged version of the small fishing boat, or kuala ferry boat, also known as Bedar, or Anak Bedar. This latter boat is widespread and popular on the east coast from southern Trengganu to southern Kelantan. It would seem that the pattern of the projecting ends is probably derived, by elongation and refinement, from those on the dug-out or Jalur. It is possible that these in turn are a rendering in solid wood of the ends that would naturally be formed if a boat were made by tying sheaves of rushes together. In no case in the wooden boats has it any functional value, and in the small fishing boats it would seem to have certain disadvantages in a heavy sea.

The Bedar almost invariably has a square-ended lattice or decked projection over the stern, known as the *dandan*, which is

covered by a matting coop, similar to that in the Pinas. Here again it is used by the crew as their living quarters, and as a shelter for the steersman. The larger Bedars, which usually reach stem to stern lengths of 45 to 60 feet, are invariably decked. In some the *dandan* is a very stout structure, with an open balustraded gallery aft of the cabin. The smaller ones (Plate 10, fig. 2), which represent by far the greater number of these boats, have the deck restricted to the ends, and the intervening space covered by a long *kup*. In association with this the latter boats have the main mast stepped further forward, sometimes as little as one-third of the hull length from the bow, and carry relatively more sail on it, and less on the foremast.

The length of the projecting prow, and the whole cut of the bow, show considerable variation. In some of the boats the prow is long with a fine slanting bow. In others it is much shorter, and the bow is almost vertical. In all cases, however, where there is a projection the boat can be known as Bedar Luang Sudu (from *Sudu,* a spoon, and even more aptly *Sudu itek,* a duck's bill). To some extent the sheer varies with the length of the prow, small boats with relatively long forward beaks having the most sheer, and large one with short beaks the least, but the association is not rigid. Local shipwrights do not work to set lines, but build solely by eye and experience. Some of the older men, when constructing fishing boats at least, keep astonishingly close to the same measurements over a long succession of boats, but there is often a marked difference in flair or fullness between the output of two builders working in the same kampong.

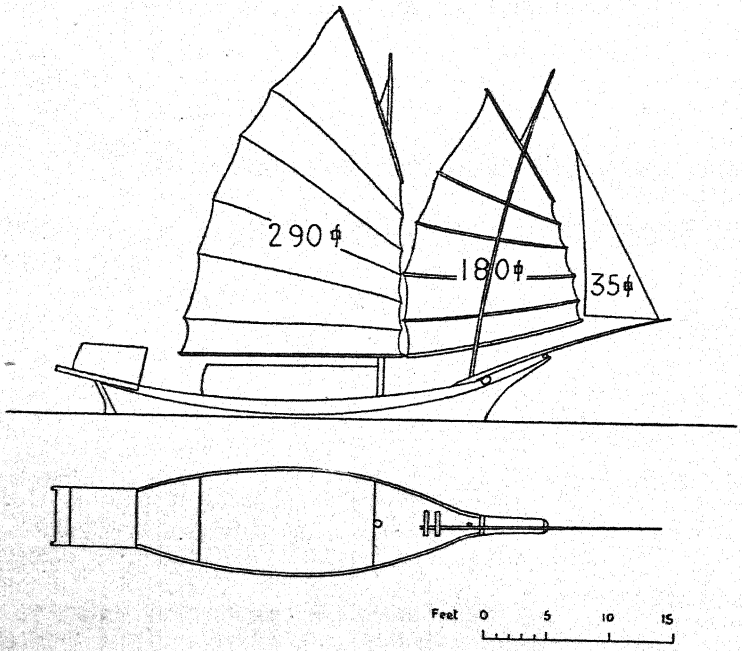
The dimensions of the larger and medium-sized Bedars are deceptive when compared with those of the Pinas. Two examples registered at Kuala Trengganu run as follows,

Reg. No.	Stem to Stern	Beam	Depth	Capacity in Piculs.	Built
259	44′	12′	5½′	418	1936
260	40′	11′	5′	318	1937

These figures suggest a slightly greater beam and depth, but the former applies only to the maximum breadth. In actual fact these boats lack the very full turn of the bilge of the Pinas, and taper more gradually at both ends. As a result, though their cargo capacity is relatively much smaller, they are appreciably faster, and under favourable conditions run at 6-7 knots. They normally carry one man for each 10 feet or so of hull length.

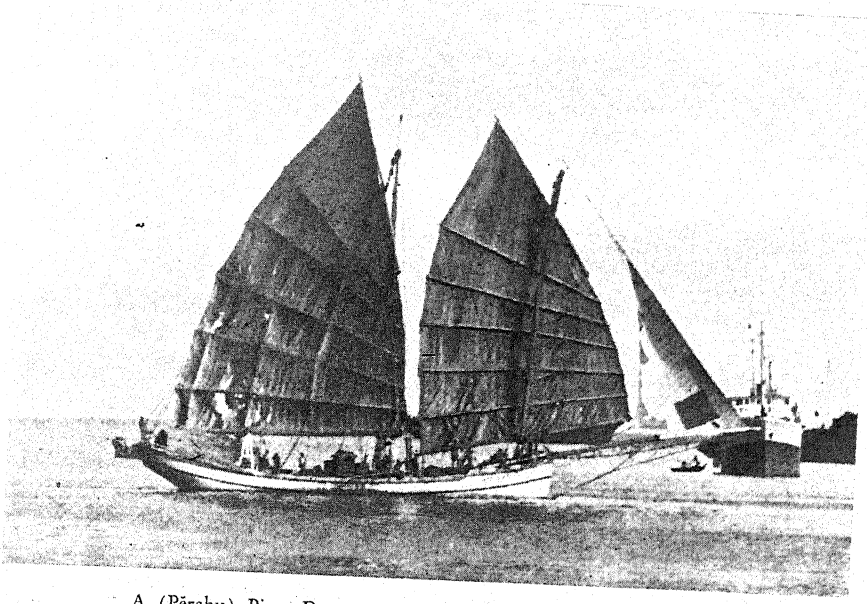
The smaller Bedars, of 30 to 35 feet from stem to stern, are less beamy, with a relatively greater draught. They also carry more sheer, and have a more marked downward curve to the bow-

sprit and forward rake to the masts. Again one or both of the driving sails may be of coarse canvas or sacking. The hull is generally painted white, green or dull red. Some of these boats, with a total sail area of about 500 square feet to a length along the water line of 30 feet, habitually make 8 knots in good sailing weather, and appear almost sprightly with a reasonable wind and a moderate sea.

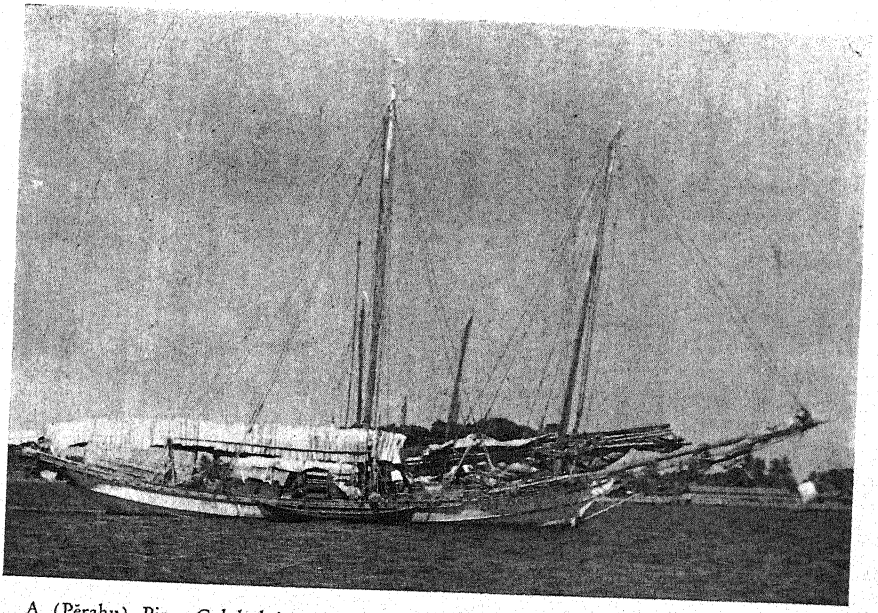


Profile and deck plan of a small Bedar (Luang Sudu). Larger boats carry less sheer, and have the foresail more nearly the same area as the mainsail. They also lack the long *kup* over the hold.

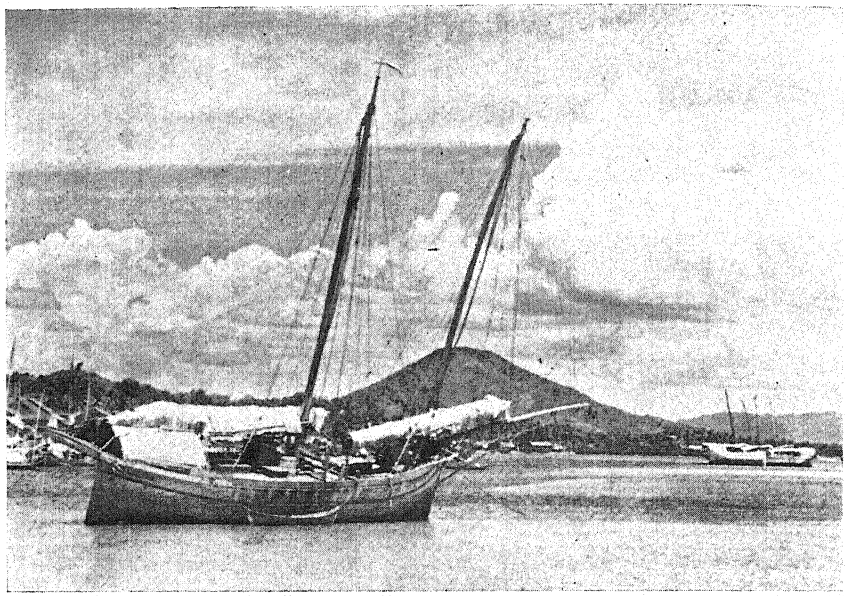
Bedar, or Bidar, was originally applied to a galley or long boat wioh sharp bows and a narrow beam. Warington Smyth (1902: 577) cites it only as a boat propelled by oars, and carrying a crew of three, though he quotes Klinkert as saying that it was also used for a small, single-masted sailing boat (presumably the present Anak Bedar). He attributes the name to an unspecified word descriptive of the stemhead or beak. Wilkinson (1932/1: 137) gives *bidok* as associated with draught in boats, and cites a connection with the Pĕrahu Bĕlongkang, a Jalur or river dug-out with extra side-planks to enable it to carry cargo. There would certainly seem to be an affinity with the Jalur in the finish of the stem and stern, and this may well be the origin of the use of the term here. In addition the Bedar has a relatively greater draught than any of the other locally built cargo boats.



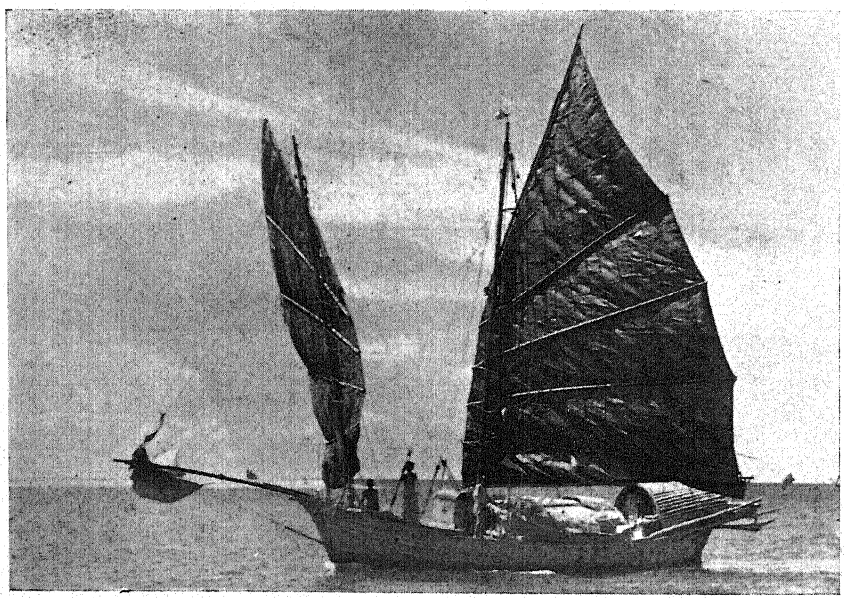
A (Pĕrahu) Pinas Dogar entering Singapore Roads under full canvas.



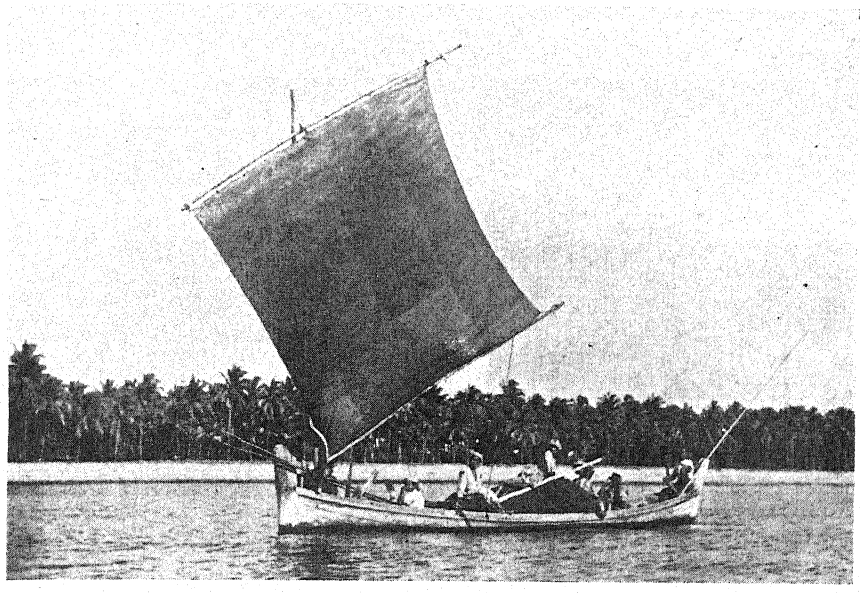
A (Pĕrahu) Pinas Golok lying at anchor, fuly laden, in the estuary at Kuala Trengganu.



A Bedar (Luang Katar) lying beached in shallow water, at low tide, in the estuary at Kuala Trengganu.

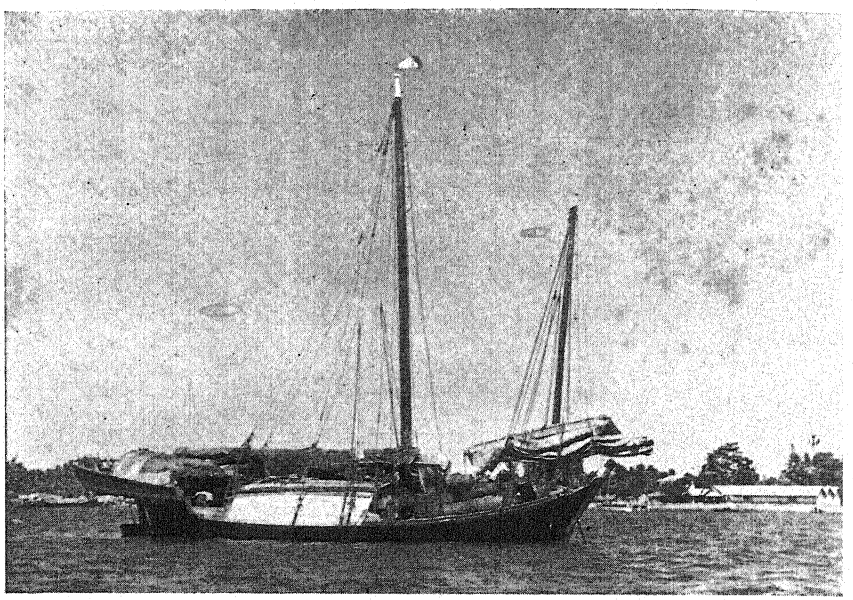


A Bedar (Luang Sudu) sailing under fore and main sails as it enters a Trengganu kuala.

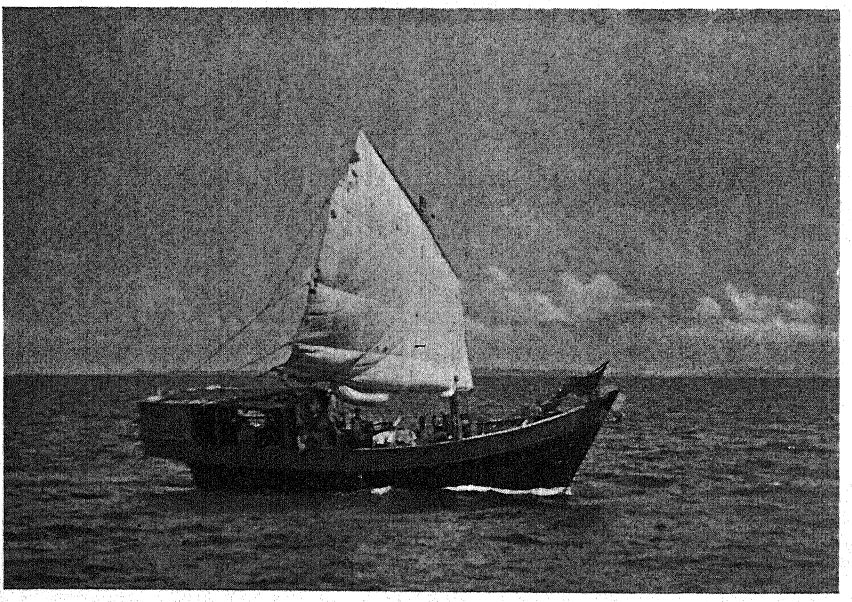


A Pērahu Buatan Barat, with the ends truncated, being used as a cargo carrying boat off the Kelantan coast.

The stern half of a small Bedar (Luang Sudu) lying in the river at Kampong Sētiu, on the Trengganu coast.



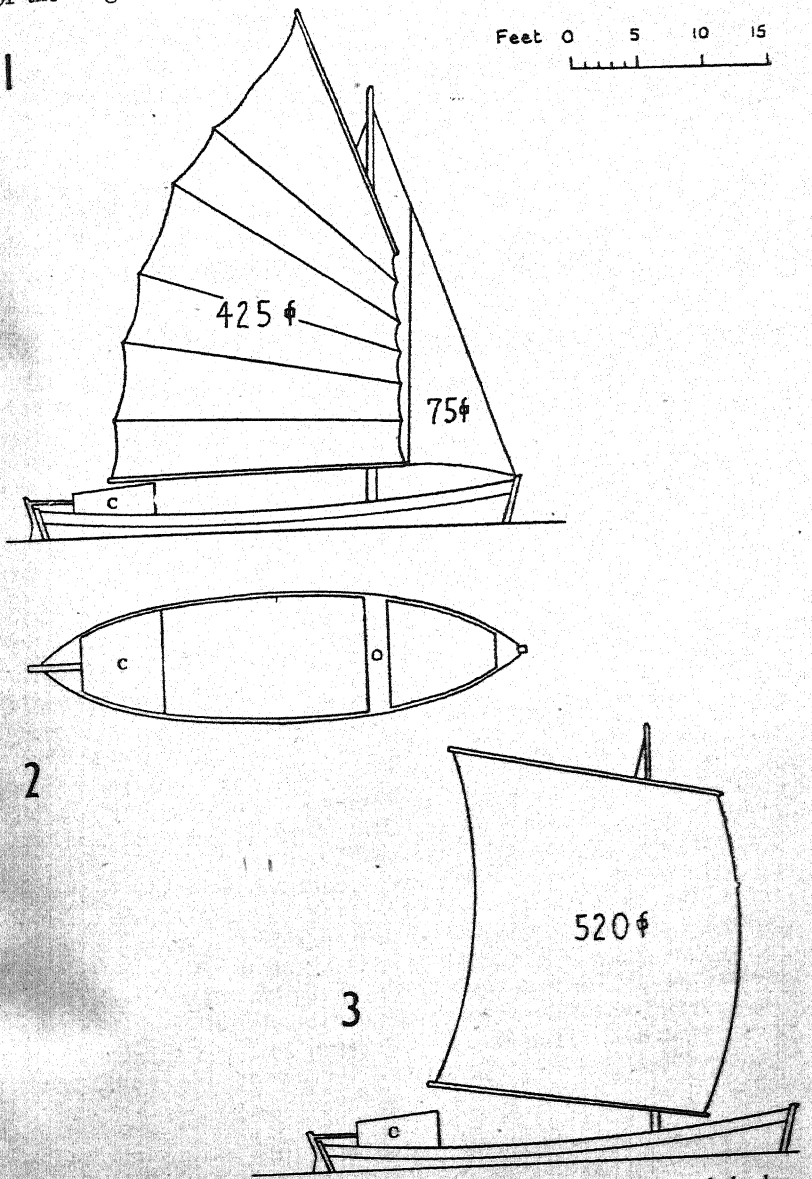
A Gulf of Siam Trader or Wangkang lying fully laden in the estuary at Kuala Trengganu.



A Chinese motor launch under auxillary sail, at the eastern end of the Singapore Strait.

Bedar (Luang Katar) or **Katar**

In Trengganu this boat (Plate 10. fig. 1) is merely a variant of the cargo Bedar, as the first name given above suggests. It is



The Kelantan coast Katar. 1, profile with the customary sail-plan. 2, deck plan. 3, profile setting a single square-sail. In all cases "c" is the cabin or *kup*.

appreciably less numerous than the more typical forms, though one invariably sees several in the estuary of the main river. It would seem to be built only in lengths of about 45-55 feet. The lines follow the ship's lifeboat pattern, but they are generally rather fuller than those of the Bedar Luang Sudu, with less sheer. The diagnostic feature is the finish of the stem and stern, both of which lack the projecting beak. The bow is straight and very nearly plumb, while the stern is kanted to an angle of 15° or less, instead of 20°-25°. The finish, including the *dandan*, follows that of the typical Bedar. It is doubtful if these can be regarded as very successful boats. They are heavier in the water, and slower, without any great increase in cargo capacity. As their size suggests they are used only between the larger kualas. At different times I have seen them in the estuaries of the Pahang, Kuantan, Kemaman, Dungun, Trengganu and Besut Rivers, but not elsewhere along the coast. They also reach Singapore.

In the extreme north of our area, in the delta of the Kelantan River and at Tumpat, one finds a slightly different boat to which the name Katar is also given. The resemblance in the hull is obvious, though here it is rather beamier, with fuller bilges, less draught, and little sheer. The distinctive feature is that the Kelantan Katar has a modified sail plan, and usually no *dandan*. These boats have no bowsprit, and only one stout mast, stepped fairly well forward. They are set with a fore and aft rig, consisting of a canvas or gunny sack jib and a large lug mainsail, of the usual Chinese pattern, or with a single, large square-sail, like the fishing boats; the latter is obviously a favoured sail-plan in these waters, as one occasionally sees a Bedar Luang Sudu with two square-sails and no jib off the Kelantan coast. Normally they have a *kup* in the manner of the typical Bedar, but it does not project beyond the stern of the boat. Their total length generally lies between 35 and 40 feet, and they are managed with a crew of 3 men. Though there is never a projecting beak, the set of the stem and stern varies rather more than it does in the Trengganu sailing Katar. Boats with well-raked ends are usually used for carrying sand, and may accordingly be known as Bedar (or Katar) Pasir. Others with almost vertical stems are used for more general cargoes; sometimes in this case they are given the special name of Haribut (from the English, *Ferry boat*). In the lagoon at Tumpat, and in the Kelantan River itself, these hulls are often employed as lighters, without sails and drawn by motor launches. Then the general cargo boat is termed a Bedar Tunda (Malay *tunda*, drawn or following in the wake, being towed).

Katar is undoubtedly derived from Cutter, though these boats have much coarser and heavier lines than the English boat. The Kelantan version even retains in some examples an approximation

to the fore and aft cutter rig, though the usual gaff-mainsail has been replaced by a Chinese lug. In Trengganu, on the other hand, the boats have only a gross version of the hull lines. It would seem likely that the northern boats represent the earlier pattern, and are the ones to which the name Katar alone was originally given. Their inclusion in the Bedar group has probably come about later from the similarity of their function, the absence of the clipper stern, and the subsequent adoption of the straight stem by some of the Trengganu builders. Warington Smyth (1902: 578) merely gives the Katar as a boat built of jati (= teak, *Tectona grandis* Linn.), "said to be one-masted", and quotes dimensions for the hull, 180 feet by 21 feet by 9 feet, with 4 feet freeboard and a 90 foot mast, which are clearly impossible. He himself expresses some doubts about the sailing qualities of such a boat if it were made with local materials: it would be surprising if it could be sailed made with any standard materials.

2. Adapted Fishing Boats

The fishing boats used on the east coast of Malaya range in length from 15 to nearly 45 feet, and exhibit a considerable variation in design and finish. In all cases, however, they have one or two masts stepped well forward, and setting single squaresails. Except for two, the Sĕkotchi and the Gĕlibat, they are steered by a paddle on the lee quarter. As far as possible they sail with a following wind, or at least with the wind aft the beam. Increasing difficulties are experienced if their course takes them further into it, and the crew usually reef the sail and propel the boat by paddles.

Any of the large fishing boats may occasionally be used for carrying cargoes along the coast, but their capacity is small and, on the whole, in the southern part of our area this is a rare occurrence. In northern Trengganu and Kelantan, especially between Sabak and Tumpat, on the other hand, it is not uncommon. For the most part one of two patterns are used, the Pĕrahu Buatan Barat or occasionally the Pĕrahu Payang, and the Kolek Ma' Siam or Jo'kong.

Pĕrahu Buatan Barat

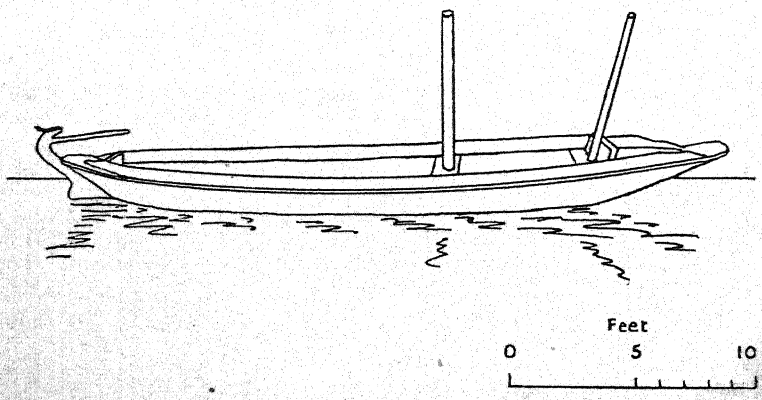
The Pĕrahu Buatan Barat is essentially a fishing boat, built principally for use in deep water with the larger nets. The bigger examples have a length of about 35 feet, with a beam of 6 feet, and a depth of about 30 inches amidships. The stem and stern are normally prolonged vertically upwards to a height of 5-6 feet. but these projections are usually cut off in old boats habitually employed for carrying purposes (Plate 11, fig. 1). They have two masts, one about 4 feet back from the bows, and one 12-13 feet back. One or two squaresails of canvas or sacking are set, according to the strength and direction of the wind. They are undecked, and have less than 10 inches freeboard when fully laden.

Accordingly they are generally used for cargo only in light winds, or in sheltered water. On these occasions they are habitually grossly under-canvased, and as a result normally drift along at a speed of 2-3 knots. The design of the Pĕrahu Buatan Barat is believed to have spread down from the coast of Patani; in actual fact this lies north-west of Kelantan, but locally it is always spoken of as west of it.

The Pĕrahu Payang has much the same lines as the Buatan Barat, but it is generally rather larger, ranging from 33-44 feet in length, with a beam of about 7 feet in the bigger boats. It is used mostly from estuaries, for work in deep water with the Pukat Payang; it is scarce on the Kelantan coast, but one occasionally sees old boats being used for cargo work between the rivers, in the manner of the Buatan Barat.

Kolek Ma' Siam

This is another fishing boat which appears to have reached Kelantan from the Siam Malay States. It has a wide range of size, and for distinction the larger examples are often referred to as Jo'kong.[1] These boats are seldom seen south of the Kelantan River. They are narrower and crankier than the Pĕrahu Buatan



Hull of a Kolek Ma' Siam or Jo'kong. The name Kolek Ma' Siam is also applied to another smaller Kelantan-Patani boat, the Dogol, which is used almost entirely for fishing. It carries more sheer, has the ends closed, and is generally steered with a paddle.

Barat with a maximum length of about 30 feet, beam 4½ feet and depth amidships 2½ feet. The larger boats have a freeboard of 8-10 inches when fully laden. Like the Buatan Barat they are undecked, and can only be used for cargo in sheltered or calm

[1] Jo'kong, from Jongkong, a dug-out canoe. The word can be used for any undecked boat without built-up ends, and is also the normal term for the small dinghy carried on the big Pĕrahu Payang or the Pĕrahu Buatan Barat.

waters. They are, however, rather faster, and are employed to bring the catch in from the fishing stakes off Tumpat, as well as for coastal communication in this area.

3. Motor Launches

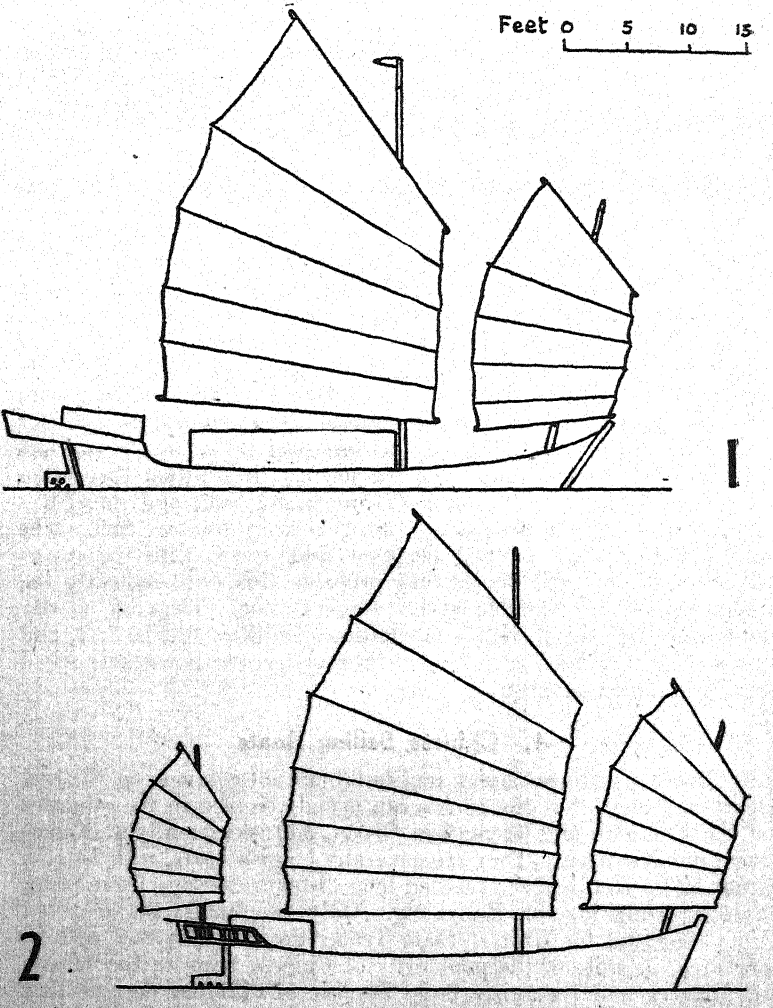
The greater part of the carrying in the waters off the east side of Johore, and on the Pahang coast as far north as Kuala Rompin, is done by Chinese owned and built motor launches. There are now a large number of fishing stakes in this area, from the islands of the Johore Archipelago north to the Duchong Islands, between Endau and the Pontian River, and in all cases the catch is brought to the mainland by these boats. For the most part it is carried on the launches themselves, but in the Pulau Tinggi group it is usually loaded on smaller boats which are towed in to Mersing. These have much the same lines as a Sampan, but they lack the backward projections of the sides, and thus bear a considerable resemblance to the Norwegian Pram.

The motor launches (Plate 12, fig. 2) represent a relatively recent development on this coast, though the design has been in Singapore for some time, and similar boats were used before the war by the Japanese for fishing from the island. They have a sharp-ended, well raked bow, and a square stern, which is nearly as broad as the midship section. They are almost wall-sided, with a hard chine and a nearly flat bottom. The forepart is used for cargo, with the engine aft of the beam, and the crew's quarters behind it, projecting back over the stern. In addition they often carry a single mast, on which a Chinese lug sail, and sometimes also a jib, may be set in an emergency, or to save fuel. The hulls are generally painted black or dull green, with the superstructure, if painted, black; but probably this only indicates the cheapest colours available at the present time. They are mostly 30-45 feet in length, with a maximum breadth of 6½-10 feet, and a draught of 2½-4 feet. Under favourable conditions their speed would seem to be about 6-7 knots.

4. Chinese Sailing Boats

Boats of Chinese design and build are not common on the east coast of Malaya, but one or two can usually be seen in the estuaries of the Kelantan and Trengganu Rivers, and occasionally at Kemaman and Kuantan. They are generally biggish boats, with lengths from 50-90 feet, and engaged on long distance carriage from Siam, Saigon, Tongking, or Hongkong. Only two kinds, the so-called Tongkang and the Gulf of Siam Trader are normally met with in our area, in spite of the popularity of Chinese boats in the Straits of Malacca and the fairly large number of different designs that can be seen in Singapore. Both have two or three dipping lugsails, of the usual Chinese pattern, and no bowsprit. The foremast, which is raked markedly forwards, is stepped well up in the

bows, the main mast, which is almost vertical, amidships and the mizzen, which is much the smallest, far back over the stern. The last is discarded in the smaller boats, and then when hull down they resemble a Pinas or Bedar with the jib reefed, except that in the Chinese boats the foremast is appreciably shorter than the main. The hulls are decked, with hatches to the hold fore and aft of the main mast. They are steered by means of a large, heavy rudder, which is usually pierced by a series of diamond-



Profiles of medium-sized examples of (1) the Gulf of Siam Trader or Wangkang and (2) the Singapore Trader or Tongkang. Both are shown fully laden. The mizzen is a variable feature, and may be seen on many of the larger boats in either group.

shaped holes. They normally set a course with the wind on the quarter or forward to the beam, and in spite of the position of foresail cannot get far up into it. They are sluggish, heavy boats, and seldom exceed 4-5 knots. A man walking briskly on the shore can almost keep pace with them.

Singapore Trader or Tongkang

The Singapore Trading Junk or Tongkang has a straight keel, with a pointed, well-raked bow. It is nearly wall-sided, with little flair, full bilges and a square-cut stern. From amidships aft to the stern the bottom is almost flat, with the chine rising slightly. The stern, and sometimes the bow, may be built up several feet, but the hull itself does not carry much sheer. Its general lines, therefore, are similar to those of the Chinese-built motor launches used on the southern part of the east coast and off Singapore. They undoubtedly have a good cargo capacity, but when driven only by sails they must be extremely slow and heavy to handle. There would, in fact, seem to be little hope for them if they ever get near to a lee shore, and they cannot be a sound design for use in this area, except in the short intervals between the north-east monsoon and the tĕnggara.

The Singapore Trader, like the motor launch, has a rectangular platform extending back over the stern, in this case nearly far enough to be square. There is generally a cabin of wood, or a matting coop, built over the forward part of it, which serves as a shelter for the steersman, and quarters for at least the greater part of the crew. Behind the cabin, and approached through it, is a clear gallery for the easy manipulation of the mizzen sail.

Although these boats are not satisfactory for work on the east coast, they are occasionally laid down at Kuala Trengganu and Chukai (Kemaman) for sale to Chinese ship-owners in Singapore. The dimensions of a fair-sized boat from the Trengganu yards are 110 feet from stem to stern, 29 feet beam, 7 feet draught, with 4 feet freeboard, and 73 tons register. During the recent war the Japanese attempted to build a large number of extremely clumsy, heavy hulls along these lines, but with almost plumb bows, wherever labour was available and timber could be floated down from the interior. The principal centres of this activity were Mersing, Pontian, Kuantan, Chukai and Kuala Trengganu, but a few keels were also laid down at about a dozen other kualas. Both wood and workmanship were of extremely poor quality, and on several occasions the builders excused themselves to me by saying that the boats would not have kept afloat for more than two or three years. Actually the great majority were destroyed by Allied bombing before they ever put to sea. A good instance of this can be seen at the mouth of the Kuantan River. The hulls were constructed near the town, on the north bank, and then

floated across to the shallow water off Tanjong Lumpur for fitting out. As soon as a sufficient number had accumulated at the tanjong incendiary bombs were dropped on them. This no doubt saved the lives of the men who might have had to sail the boats, but unfortunately the abandoned or burnt-out hulks still litter this and many of the other river mouths. The timber is said to be valueless even as firewood, and at the present times it seems as if they will remain until they disintegrate naturally, a process which is taking rather longer on the mudbanks than it would have done in the open sea.

This boat is generally known locally as the Tongkang, but the word presents several difficulties. In Singapore it is also used for the broad, beamy lighters sailed with one or two Chinese lug-sails, and for the large timber-carrying ketches with standing gaffs and three head sails. It cannot even be regarded as a generic term for Chinese-built boats, as in Penang it is applied to the Tamil sailing lighters. Further it is almost certainly not a real Chinese word. The characters used for it are generally 艚 紅 , or occasionally 東 紅 . In both cases the first portion is merely an attempt to render the sound "tong". Either the word has been adopted fairly recently from a foreign language, or it comes from the original Hokkien colloquial dialect (itself not Chinese). Its meaning, like its source, seems to be obscure, and an attempt is being made here to abandon it on general principles. For the most part the Chinese do not have distinctive names for the various patterns of sea-going boats, though the sailors can sometimes say where any particular design is current. For the rest they refer to them as *Phang Ch'un* (Cantonese *Faan Shuen*), 帆 船 = sail ship. According to Worcester (1947: 31) *Ch'un* is the origin of the Javanese *Djong,* which the first Portuguese and Dutch merchants applied to any boats trading in these seas: from it came the Dutch *Jonk,* the Portuguese and Spanish *Junco,* the old French *Joncque,* and the English *Junk*. This last is obviously not distinctive in source or application, except in so far as it infers a cargo-boat of Chinese origin. For the present I am using the English word Trader, qualified by the apparent point of origin of the boat, for all such boats with a reasonably characteristic hull design. In this case it does not seem possible to trace the hull back to any authentic pattern formerly or still in use on the shore of the South China Sea. It seems probable, in fact, that it is a crudity formulated in or around Singapore which is still the main building centre.

Gulf of Siam Trader

This is definitely a Chinese-built boat, of which a few examples visit our area, coming mostly at the end of the north-east monsoon, and remaining until the weather is due to break again. They are made along the east side of the Gulf, on the coast of

eastern Siam, Cambodia and possibly Cochin-China. Poujade (1946: 257) gives a good illustration with the caption "Jonque des Chinois du golfe de Siam". They have appreciably better lines than the Singapore Trader, but even so they are heavy, slow boats, requiring at least a moderate wind force to keep them under way. Like the Tongkang they have almost straight keels, but they are less nearly wall-sided, while fore and aft the hull is equal-ended and tapers more gradually. The stem is well raked, and the pointed stern nearly plumb. They usually have at least as much sheer as the Pinas, and may carry appreciably more, but there is some variation on this point, as on the cant of the sides amidships. An interesting small feature is the presence of a cutwater, pierced with holes, projecting about 4 inches forward from the bow below the water-line.

The poop is generally raised several feet above the level of main deck, and from it a heavy rectangular, balustraded platform extends back beyond the stern, as in the Tongkang. It usually has a broad coop on it for the steersman, with a gallery behind it to give access to the mizzen sail. The main living quarters, are generally in a stout, long, wooden coop placed amidships, just behind the main mast, and running back to within a few feet of the raised poop. A projecting cross beam is fitted above the deck in the bows, over which the anchor rope passes. Quite often the sides of the hull are built up by a two-foot gunnel planking which runs out to the ends of the projecting beam, where it finishes. From a distance it gives these boats the appearance of having square-cut bows and sterns, like the majority of the North China boats. In the larger Gulf of Siam Traders the rudder is shipped in sockets and hung by a tackle, so that it can be adjusted for depth, or raised altogether if the boat is beached.

The Traders seen on the east coast of Malaya are generally about 55-65 feet from stem to stern, 14-16 feet beam and 5½-6 feet draught, with a freeboard, without the gunnel planking, when fully laden of about 2½ feet. The cargo capacity is in the region of 800-1000 piculs. One such boat, with a length of 55 feet, reached the Kemaman coast from China late in March 1948, on the tail of the north-east monsoon, with 109 persons on board who hoped to land unnoticed in Malaya.

The Gulf of Siam Trader is usually painted black with, if in good trim, the gunnel picked out in bright red. Some of the boats follow the practice common in Chinese waters of having a painted or wooden "eye" on each side of the bow. These point forwards, to enable it to pick up its landfalls, instead of downwards, as on the Chinese fishing Sampans, where the boat has to look for shoals of fish.

The east coast Malays refer to this boat as *Pĕrahu Siam, Pĕrahu Ma' Siam* or *Wangkang Siam*. Wilkinson (1932/2: 645) gives *Wangkang* as a Malay word meaning a Chinese ocean-going junk, and *Wangkang Siam* as the term used in the Hikayat 'Abdu'llah for Siamese junks. It does not seem to be a Chinese word, and as in the case of *Tongkang* its origin is obscure. It is tempting to connect the two, but a consonant change of "T" to "W" is most unlikely. In addition the boatmen at Kuala Trengganu still know and use both terms, the one for the Singapore boats and the other for the Siamese ones. Here, as in the case of the Tongkang, it is recorded by its function and area of immediate origin.

Acknowledgements

I was considerably assisted in my search for information while in Trengganu in August 1948 by Mr. M. B. C. Frend, of the Customs' Service, Mr. Noel Rees, Director of Education, and Dr. E. H. Ross, State Medical Officer, and by my hosts, Mr. & Mrs. J. D. Hodgkinson. In Kota Bharu I received much useful information from 'Che Hussein b. Pandak Kamil, through Mr. J. A. Parker, both of the Customs' Service. Finally I am most grateful to Commander W. H. Walmsley for technical advice; and to Mr. G. W. Davies, M.C.S., for help with the Chinese names.

A Note on the Plates

Plate 9. fig. 1. A (Pĕrahu) Pinas Dogar, about 60 feet from stem to stern, entering Singapore roads under full canvas. This gives an indication of the set and spread of the sails with the wind on the beam.

Plate 9. fig. 2. A (Pĕrahu) Pinas Golok, about 65 feet from stem to stern, lying at anchor fully laden in the estuary at Kuala Trengganu. The picture shows the general lines of the hull above water, and the set of the masts.

Plate 10, fig. 1. A Bedar (Luang Katar), about 55 feet from stem to stern, lying in shallow water, at low tide, in the estuary at Kuala Trengganu. This picture shows the finish, and to some extent the general lines, of the hull. On the right, in the middle distance, are two Pĕrahu Pinas, left high and dry by the tide.

Plate 10, fig. 2. A Bedar (Luang Sudu), about 35 feet from stem to stern, sailing under fore and main sail as it enters a Trengganu kuala. The picture shows the long coop amidships which covers the hold in the smaller Bedars.

Plate 11, fig. 1. A Pĕrahu Buatan Barat, about 35 feet from stem to stern, with the high ends truncated, being used as a cargo carrying boat off the Kelantan coast. She is drifting along under her foresail, the smaller of the two sails, only.

Plate 11, fig. 2. The stern half of a small Bedar (Luang Sudu), about 28 feet from stem to stern, lying in the river at Kampong Sĕtiu, on the Trengganu coast. The picture shows the *dandan* and stern *kup* to the right, and part of the long kup over the hold to the left.

Plate 12, fig. 1. A Gulf of Siam Trader, length about 60 feet from stem to stern, lying fully laden in the estuary at Kuala Trengganu. This boat is temporarily without its mizzen mast. A comparison with the Pinas Golok,

on Plate 9, fig. 2, shows the slightly greater thickness of the spars in the Chinese boats. The forward cabin, between main and mizzen masts should be noted; so also the large heavy stern gallery, and the cable for raising the rudder.

Plate 12, fig. 2. A Chinese motor launch under auxillary sail, photographed at the eastern end of the Singapore Strait.

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Summary

This paper gives a short account of the cargo carrying boats found on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, north to the Siamese frontier. It is based on information obtained in visits to this area in July 1940, June 1947 and July-August 1948. The most important boats in the local trade are those of the Pinas-Bedar group, which have hulls of basically European design, and carry a rig of two Chinese dipping-lug sails, and a European jib. The centre of their manufacture is in Trengganu. The paper also gives a brief outline of the other carrying boats occurring in this area, including the two three-masted luggers of Chinese design most likely to be seen there.

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September 1949

Papers relating to the Sambas Finds
by
Dato Sir Roland Braddell
Prof. Nilakanta Sastri
Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales
Tom Harrisson
Tan Yeok Seong

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CONTENTS

Vol. 22, part 4, published September, 1949

Contents iii

Council for 1949 v

Editorial & Notice to Contributors vi

A Note on Sambas and Borneo, *by* Dato Sir Roland Braddell, *M.A., F.R.G.S.*, with a note *by* Tom Harrisson, *D.S.O., Curator Sarawak Museum & Government Ethnologist* 1

A Note on the Sambas Finds, *by* Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri 16

The Incense Burner from the Sambas Treasures, *by* Tan Yeok Seong, *South Seas Society*. 19

The Sambas Finds in Relation to the Problems of Indo-Malaysian Art Development, *by* Dr H. G. Quaritch Wales 23

Gold and Indian influences in West Borneo, *by* Tom Harrisson, *Curator Sarawak Museum & Government Ethnologist* 33

The photographic plates are placed together at the end of the Journal. **Plates 1-6** are illustrations of the majority of the Sambas objects prepared from photographs by M. W. F. Tweedie. The full set of Mr Tweedie's films, covering all the objects (front, lateral and posterior aspects), is at present deposited in the Raffles Museum, Singapore. Unfortunately no report has yet been issued on the iconography of the images and accordingly here each object is referred to by the number under which the films of it have been catalogued. **Plate 7** refers to the opening portion of the paper by Dr Quaritch Wales, **Plate 8** to the paper by Dato Sir Roland Braddell and **Plates 9-16** to the paper by Tom Harrisson. The bronze incense burner or casket shown on Plate 6 is discussed at some length by both Dr Quaritch Wales and Tan Yeok Seong.

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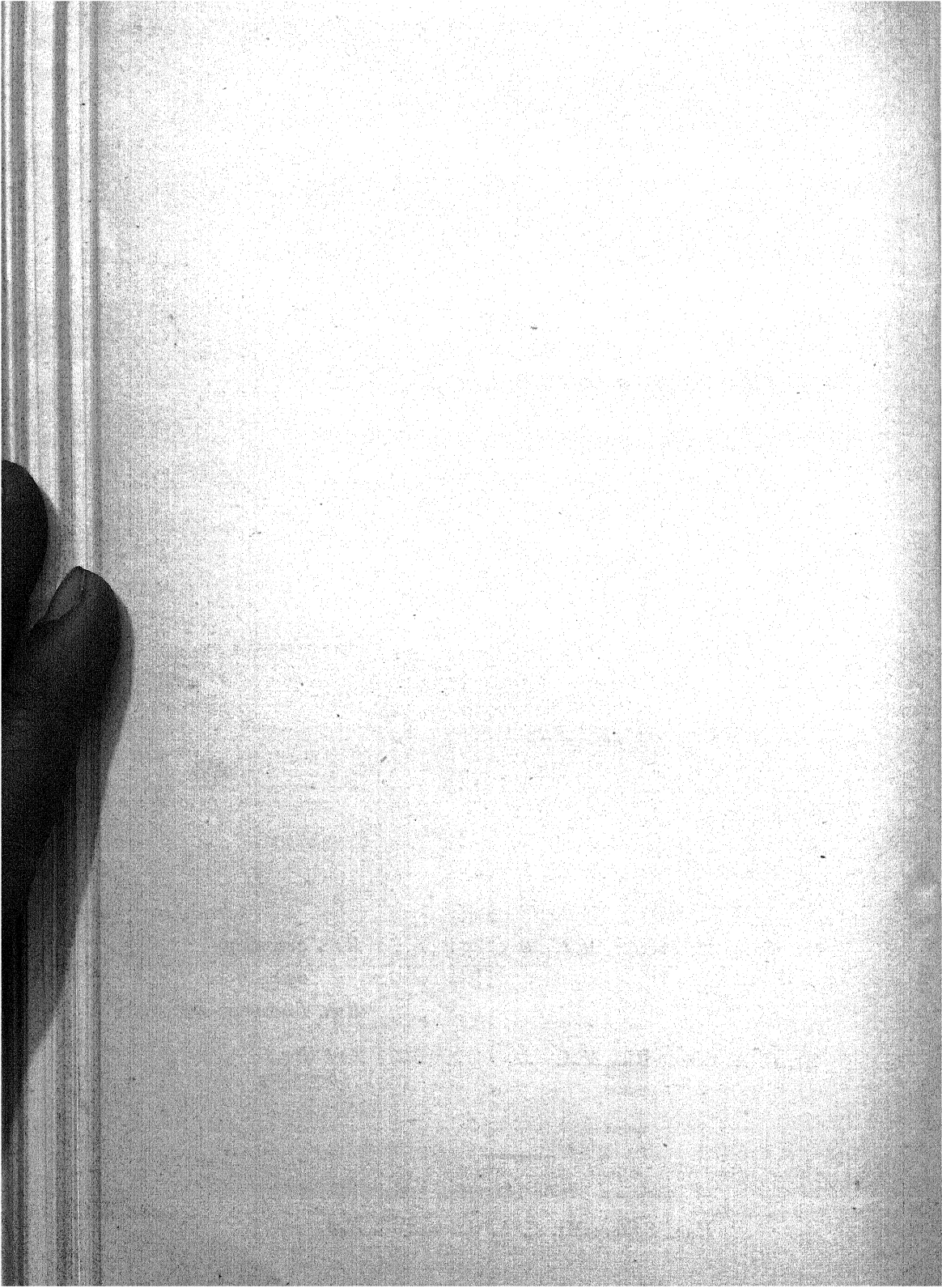

Editorial

This issue, which forms the fourth part of Volume 22 (1949), is composed of papers relating to the find of gold images at Sambas, in western Borneo. It is being distributed to members of the Society together with the third part for the year which is devoted to papers relating to Trengganu. These include accounts of the history of the state by M. C. ff Sheppard, *M.B.E.*, of the weaving industry by A. H. Hill and of the coastal trading boats by C. A. Gibson-Hill. The title page and index for Volume 22 accompany this issue. Parts 1 and 2 for the year were distributed to members in April.

The first part for next year will be a miscellaneous number. It will include further Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya and a discussion on early Singapore by Dato Sir Roland Braddell, an analysis of Munshi 'Abdullah's account of Malacca Fort by A. H. Hill, and an account of the Penang tin scheme of 1818-19 by C. D. Cowan. Other papers to be published during the year will include accounts of the Pangkor Purse Seine Fishery by K. Gopinath, the Turtle fertility rites of Sarawak by Tom Harrisson and the fishing and other coastal boats of North Borneo, Brunei and possibly Malaya by C. A. Gibson-Hill, and a paper on Malay manners and etiquette by Zainal-'Abidin bin Ahmad. One Journal will be devoted to a selection of documents from the manuscript records of the East India Company relating to early Penang and the rise of Singapore, 1805-32, chosen to illustrate the commercial progress of the two settlements; these will be provided with a brief introduction by C. D. Cowan, lecturer in history at the University of Malaya.

Members are reminded that annual subscriptions should be paid on January 1st each year and that the sum due for 1950 is $10. Subscriptions should be sent to the Honorary Treasurer of the Society, c/o of the Raffles Museum, Singapore. Any changes of address, or of decorations and degrees, to be incorporated in the next list of members must reach the Honorary Editor before December 31st this year.

Notice to Contributors

In the interests of economy contributors are asked to keep their papers as brief as possible and to correct and return their proofs with the minimum delay. Contributions should be typewritten, on one side of the paper, double spaced and with good margins. If footnotes are used they must be numbered consecutively through the paper; a page of manuscript does not necessarily make a page of the Journal.

Contributors are supplied with 25 reprints of their papers, free, shortly after the publication of the Journal (Rule 20). Additional copies can be provided on payment if these are asked for when the paper is submitted, or when the galley proofs are returned to the Honorary Editor. Contributors are reminded that the type is broken up after the Journals have been printed.

A Note on Sambas and Borneo

by

ROLAND BRADDELL, M.A. (OXON), F.R.G.S.

(*Received, August* 1948)

Mr. Tan Yeok Seong's preliminary report upon the Sambas antiquities (1) focuses attention once more upon Borneo.

Dr. Posewitz, writing in 1892, said that the richest gold districts in Borneo were between the Sambas and Landak rivers, the so-called "Chinese districts" (2, p. 321) and that Landak was famed for its diamonds, most of them occurring between Ngabong (Landak) and north of Djambu, on the Landak River (ibid: p. 383). He said that "In N. Borneo, diamonds were, till quite recently, only known in Sarawak, and there only in the western part of the basin of the R. Sarawak, towards Sambas" (ibid: p. 384).

The Sambas antiquities, described by Mr. Tan Yeok Seong, consist of nine gold and silver images and a bronze vessel. They had been placed in an earthern jar, which also contained black sand. Adopting a suggestion of Professor Dobby, Mr. Tan Yeok Sang (1, p. 34) thinks that this black sand might have been the remains of perishable substances such as *patra* leaves, which probably had contained documentary records. Without expert examination of the black sand nothing certain can be said, but it may be that a different explanation is possible. Writing of the method of obtaining diamonds by washing the river sand, Dr. Posewitz (ibid: pp: 389-390) says "A fine black sand collects in the middle of the dish during the washing; this consists of magnetic iron-ore, gold and platinum, and is called *Puja*". Why *puja?* Wilkinson says that it is a sanskrit word for ritual which has passed into the Malay language. Its use in connection with this black sand might, therefore, indicate that such sand was used at one time in connection with ritual performance; and in that case the presence of black sand in the jar, which contained the antiquities, would be intelligible. But it must be understood that this is merely a suggestion for consideration and not a theory.

In his note on the Sambas site (3, p. 41) Professor Dobby remarks that "the whole Sambas district is one which can have undergone major geographical change within the nine or ten centuries" after the antiquities were in ordinary use. Mr. Tan Seok Yeong appears to consider the antiquities to be even older but, until experts have considered the question, nothing can be said as to their exact dating. Professor Dobby writes "If we think of Sambas as sited on the southern side at the head of a gulf fully open to the sea from about Likoe to Pamankat and

assume that the whole mangrove country where Tanahslam and Sarangooeroeng now stand did not exist, we may be closer to the landscape of the time when these figures were buried". This very reasonable suggestion is borne out by local tradition. Dr. Beccari (4, p. 56) writes "The Dyaks have a legend that in olden times the sea covered these lowlands, and assert that canoes could cross from Sambas into Sarawak, which was completely detached from Borneo", and in a foot-note, quotes this passage from W. Denison in the *Sarawak Gazette,* No: 125, November, 1876, "In old days they say ships and boats came right across from what is now the Sambas coast, past the Sibuco range to Sarawak. A small columnar mountain midway between Gumbang and Gading, called "Ji-mas", was then only just above water, and praus used to touch there for ballast and big stones for anchors". It may be noted also that in Sir William Foster's edition of Alexander Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies,* there is a map facing p. 68 of the second volume, which shows a large island just below the word "Sambas", and that word comes opposite what is presumably intended to indicate Cape Datu. Hamilton's account covers his travels from 1688 to 1723 A.D.

Reference should be made also to the curious account of Sambas in 1812, written by Hunt who visited it (5, pp: 26-27). After describing the mudflat at the mouth of the river and giving directions for entering the river and sailing up it, Hunt says that twelve miles above the mudflat the river branches into two parts, the broad or northern part being the Borneo River having its source in Kiney Baulu, as he writes it, and the other leading to the town of Sambas being the "Landa River", having its source in the diamond mines. The town and palace of Sambas was about five or six leagues up the Landa branch and about thirteen from the sea. The great branch of the Borneo River, he says, divides into two, twenty miles up its course, the branch running north being called the Tampasam River, the other still retaining the name of Borneo. The Tampasam River led to "old Sambas", concerning which I have no note. Despite the confusion of the rivers, it should be noticed that in Hunt's time the name "Borneo River" must have been in use in the district. Until 1841 the whole of North Borneo from Cape Datu in the west to the Sibuco River in the east belonged to the kingdom of Brunei, from which the name of Borneo is derived. It is quite possible that at some time Sambas might have been included in Brunei and that may be the explanation why the name still lingered in Hunt's time.

That the Sambas-Sarawak area must have been the scene of a very early foreign intrusion seems probable from its having been a gold and diamond area, and also because of its handiness for sailing-craft to and from the Straits of Malacca and Indo-China. I have called attention previously (6, p. 52) to the important fact that such craft could go and return on each of the monsoons.

The great importance of Borneo in the history of the sea-route from India and Ceylon through the Straits of Malacca to China is a fact which has been neglected greatly by writers in the past. I have ventured previously (6) to call pointed attention to it and do so again in what follows.

I have submitted already the arguments for thinking that Ptolemy's Iabadiou, *ca*: 150 A.D., must have been intended to represent the western coast of Borneo from Cape Api or Cape Datu to its northern extremity (6, pp: 32-43) and I referred to the name of Sabah for North Borneo. I made further mention of Sabah recently (7, pp: 7-8) but omitted there to call attention to the Sabak in Kelantan, which appears in the map of the Malay Peninsula between Kuala Pa'amat and Kampong Senok. In addition to that, there was Pulau Saba, an island in the Kelantan River, which has since been entirely washed away but which was at one time the capital of Kelantan (8, pp: 41, 43, 44, 48). These names of Sabak and Saba are not without importance, since for many centuries the favourite sea-route between China and the Straits of Malacca ran along the coast of Indo-China across to a point on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula and then down the coast of the Peninsula.

Mr. Tan Yeok Seong (1, p. 34) refers to King Mūlavarman's *yūpa* inscriptions which date epigraphically *ca*: 400 A.D. and which were found in Koetei (Kutai), east Borneo. I have noted these inscriptions already (9, p. 172) but since then three more were discovered in 1940 (10).

In 411 A.D. we have Fa-hsien's visit to Ye-po-ti and his stay there, awaiting the change of monsoon. Mr. Grimes, the Government Meteorologist, working on the facts of the winds and the internal evidence given by Fa-hsien himself, submitted that Ye-po-ti could not have been in Java but must have been in Borneo (11) and I reached the same conclusion (6, pp: 46-58). There is, however, an unfortunate, though obvious, slip in what I wrote at p. 47, where *"Catching a fair wind, they sailed westward for two days"* should have had *"eastward"* for *"westward"*. Professor Goodrich (12, p. 86) recently has repeated the usual statement that Fa-hsien returned to China viâ Ceylon and Java. In his map of Fa-hsien's course (ibid: p. 103) Java, however, is not shown at all: he takes Fa-hsien from a point on the north-east coast of Ceylon to a point on the north-west coast of Sumatra and thence across land to the Palembang area, from which the route is given to the Shantung Peninsula, a straight line being drawn from Palembang up to the bend round the Chinese coast-line. The plain truth of the matter is that a course to Java is impossible of logical statement upon the facts given by Fa-hsien, a study of the winds, and the probabilities; but the idea seems to have become so imbedded

in minds by constant repetition that one despairs of dislodging the theory, no matter how cogent the arguments which one advances. I have endeavoured to analyze the evidence concerning Yava-dvipa, Ye-tiao, Iabadiou, Tchou-po (Chu-po), Tou-po (Tu-po), Ye-po-ti and the early Cho-po; and have offered the conclusions which I submit can be drawn from that evidence (6). Borneo seems to be indicated but Professor Coedès (13, p. 64) asks whether there is sufficient reason to apply these names, all of which answer to Java, to any other place. If the name of "Java", or "Yava", could be shown to be a continuously static one, which clearly it was not, and if we did not know, as we do, that in Malaysia the same name is so frequently applied to more than one place, Professor Coedès would be on firmer ground; but I venture most respectfully to suggest that the evidence of the actual known facts outweighs the philology of the case.

I have endeavoured to state the evidence from the ancient beads which have been found in Sarawak and in Johore (7) and Mr. Banks recently has contributed a valuable paper to this Journal, in which he summarizes knowledge of Bornean antiquities prior to the Sambas finds (14).

So far, therefore, it can be submitted with good reasoning that Borneo has a long history of foreign intrusion beginning in very early times and continuing at least to the 5th century A.D.

Mr. Tan Seok Yeong (1, p. 35) refers to the *Hsin T'ang Shu* regarding a country known as Po-lo and says "There is, of course, not the slightest internal evidence that the record relates to Borneo, but all Chinese geographers agree in assigning it to this island, which is so designated to the present day. We have no means of ascertaining which part of the island was meant and here again they say it was the northern coast, from which they have derived their name for the whole island". He gives embassies from Po-lo to China in 642, 669 and 711 A.D., and says that "thereafter a visit from Borneo never occurs in any record until the Ming period".

There is great divergence in the manner of romanizing the Chinese language but the main names to which I refer will be found in the Appendix with the characters for them.

Dr. G. H. Luce (15, pp: 176-177) translates the relevant passage from the *Hsin T'ang Shu* as follows:— "East of P'o-li is Lo-ch'a. It has the same customs as P'o-li. Yang Ti of the Sui dynasty sent Ch'ang Chün on a mission to Ch'ih-t'u; then (Lo-ch'a) opened communications with China. Southwest of Ch'ih-t'u you enter the sea and get to P'o-lo. In the 2nd year (699) of the *toung-chang* period, its King Chan-ta-po sent envoys to court together with envoys from Huan-wang (Champa)".

It is proposed now to consider this passage and the identification of Po-lo, or P'o-lo, with Borneo, which Mr. Tan proposes.

It must be observed first that the *Hsin T'ang Shu* (New T'ang History) was a re-writing of the *Chiu T'ang Shu* (Old T'ang History) and was compiled by Imperial Order in the 11th century A.D., owing to the criticisms of the latter for its literary deficiency. The name of Huan-wang for Champa is an anachronism apparently in the 7th century A.D., since Pelliot (16, p. 189, n. 2) says that there is no trace of its having been used before the 8th century A.D. Obviously for evidentiary purposes as to ancient geography the *Chiu T'ang Shu* has the better value. Next, it may be noted that the French sinologist, Charignon, who has provided many valuable translations from the Chinese dynastic histories, considered that P'o-lo was really the same place as P'o-li (17, p. 260). Dr. Luce (15, p. 176 n. 5) suggests that P'o-lo may perhaps be the same as P'o-lo-so, which is stated in the *Sui Chu* to be west of Ch'ih-t'u, P'o-lo-la being to the east of Ch'ih-t'u (ibid: p. 173). Again, the evidentiary value of the *Hsin T'ang Shu* is shaken very greatly by the confusion in its text to which Pelliot refers (16, pp: 283-284, n. 3); and, lastly, the notice of P'o-li in this book is merely an appendix to that of Huan-wang (17, p. 328). Whatever may be the truth as to P'o-lo, it is submitted for the reasons which follow that P'o-li was somewhere along the western coast of Borneo.

Mr. Tan (1, p. 35) writes "after the disappearance of the name of Po-lo, Po-ni is mentioned for the first time in Chinese literature, viz the Sung-Shih. In the Tai-ping-Huan-Yu-Chi, by Yeo Shih, we read "Po-ni-kuo is not found on record, for many foreign countries have altered their old names"." *Kuo*, of course, means "kingdom" or "country". There is not the slightest doubt that Po-ni was a Sung name, dating from the 9th century A.D., for some part of Borneo; and that proposition has been accepted by all. Charignon (17, p. 323) says that the name Poni is philologically the same as P'o-li.

The identity of P'o-li with Borneo was submitted by Bretschneider but Pelliot (16, p. 285), while admitting the possibility of Bretschneider's theory, considered Bali to be more probable. He based himself mainly upon the fact that the *Hsin T'ang Shu* says "P'o-li is also called Ma-li", which last is accepted to represent Bali. He agrees, however, that the accounts in the *Liang Shu* and *Sui Shu* favour Borneo rather than Bali (ibid: p. 285) and (p. 284) that, if we accept the statements as to the size of P'o-li, the only identification would be Borneo. Professor Coedès in his recent history (13, p. 64) cautiously says that, if P'oli does not designate Bali, it could be identified with Borneo.

There is a great deal of internal evidence, both cultural and geographical, in the accounts of P'oli from which an identification

is possible and, examining the former, Dr. Charles Hose reached the conclusion that the name designated Borneo (18, vol: 1, pp: 10-12; 19, pp: 15-17). It will be submitted now that the geographical evidence gives the same conclusion.

P'o-li appears first in the *Liang Shu,* compiled by Yao Chien, who died in 623 A.D. (20, p. 173), and it is clear that at this time it was a Hinduized kingdom with Buddhism as its religion. Two embassies are recorded in 518 and 523 A.D., the King's family name being given as Kaundinya; and, as is well known, two members of that family, a famous one in ancient India, appear in the history of Fu-nan (Southern Cambodia and Cochin-China) as civilizers of that country. But it seems that this name cannot be related with Kundunga, the name of Mūlavarnam's grandfather, and that Kundunga is either Tamil or Indonesian (13, pp: 29, 63; 21).

The *Liang Shu* says that P'o-li was situated on a *chou* in the sea to the south-east of Canton. *Chou,* though generally meaning "island", can also apply to land partly surrounded by sea (16, p. 222). P'o-li was 50 days' travel from east to west and 20 days' from north to south; it contained 136 villages.

P'o-li appears again in the *Sui Shu,* compiled by Wei Chêng, 581-643 A.D., according to Dr. Luce. This history gives an embassy in 616 A.D. and states the family name of the king in characters which clearly represent *Kshatriya,* which, however, is a caste and not a family name. It says that the breadth of P'o-li from east to west is 4 months' travel and from north to south 45 days' travel. It says also that from Kiao-chih (Tongking) one goes southward by sea and passes Ch'ih-t'u and Tan-tan, and next comes to P'o-li. The facts in this notice, doubtless, derive from the mission of Ch'ang Chūn to Ch'ih-t'u in 607 A.D. The notices of that mission in Tu Yu's *T'ung Tien* (completed in 801 A.D.) and in the *Sui Shu* have been translated by Mr. Hsü Yün-ts'iao in his valuable paper on Ch'ih-t'u (22). These show that Ch'ang Chūn embarked in the 10th moon, i.e. on the NE monsoon, from Canton, sailed down the coast of Indo-China, stood across the bottom of the Gulf of Siam until he sighted the mountains on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, turned south and down the east coast until he reached Ch'ih-t'u, which Mr. Hsü identifies with old Singora on Tantalem Island. Whether Ch'ih-t'u was there or in Patani, as it might have been, it certainly was in this general locality on the east coast of the Peninsula.

Mr. Hsü has written an equally valuable paper on Tan-tan (23), which he locates on the Kelantan River near the present Kota Bahru, deriving the name from the present village called Tendong. My own studies lead me to agree that Tan-tan must have represented some part of Kelantan.

The next notice of P'o-li appears in the *Chiu T'ang Shu*, composed shortly after the fall of the T'ang dynasty in 907 A.D. (20, p. 216). It has been translated by Charignon (17, pp: 327-328) and gives an embassy in 630 A.D., which appears to be the last. P'o-lo does not appear in the passage as translated by Charignon. It says that the kingdom of P'o-li is situated at the south-east of Lin-i (Annam) at the edge of the sea on a *chou*, and that its territory in length, as in breadth, extends over several thousands of *li*. To get there one leaves Kiao-chou (another name for Tongking) and goes by sea, towards the south, passing the different countries of Lin-i, Fu-nan, Ch'ih-t'u and Tan-tan, but, at p. 260, Charignon in translating the same passage has "passing in sight the different countries of Lin-i" etc. In other words, down the coast of Indo-China, across to the Malay Peninsula and down that coast as far as Kelantan. Marco Polo took this course in 1292 A.D. and sailed along the whole coast of the Peninsula before turning into the Straits of Singapore and thence into the Straits of Malacca (24, pp: lvi-lvii and map). But it will be observed that in both the *Sui Shu* and the *Chiu T'ang Shu* the course breaks at Tan-tan, P'o-li being the next place given. Surely that is normal for the west coast of Borneo but utterly incredible as a statement of how to reach Bali. In the latter case also, ships would have met a change of monsoon below the equator: in the former, the one wind served the whole way. Moreover, is it credible that even a Chinese annalist could stop his narrative at Tan-tan and state Bali merely as being south-east of Canton or south-east of Annam? On the other hand, if he meant the west coast of Borneo, there would be nothing inappropriate, even though the statement is not completely accurate. Kelantan would be a reasonable place from which to sail direct to the west coast of Borneo but certainly not to Bali. Chinese junks had to fuel and water at convenient places along their route and there would have been many such before reaching Bali. I think it to be not inappropriate to refer also in this connection to the names Sabak and Pulau Saba in Kelantan and to Sabah, the name of North Borneo, though there is, of course, no means of knowing how old these names may be.

If, therefore, we combine the geographical evidence with the cultural, which Dr. Hose examined, and take into account the size of the country, it is submitted that the logical conclusion must be that P'o-li represented some part of Borneo along its western side. I am well aware that, since P'o-li was east of Ho-ling, this identification will have a great effect upon the location of the latter. Pelliot (16, pp: 286-295) held that Ho-ling could only be in Java; and this must have influenced him greatly in identifying P'o-li with Bali. Following him, nearly everyone else has accepted Ho-ling as in Java, despite a gnomon reading which places it well to

the north of the equator. This subject is too large to consider here and must be left for a later note.

It should be noticed from the *Sui Shu* (17, p. 325) that in 616 A.D., when P'oli sent its embassy, "the two countries of Tan-tan and P'an-p'an, which are in the frontier zone of the South, also sent their tribute of local products; customs and products there are nearly the same (as at P'o-li)." Wherever we place P'an-p'an exactly, it was clearly on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula in the region of the isthmus of Ligor; most of the facts are collected by Dr. Luce (15, pp: 169-172). The *Chiu T'ang Shu* (17, p. 328) says "In 630 A.D. the king of P'o-li sent an embassy to accompany that of Lin-i to offer local products". The conjunction of these embassies would be very natural, if P'o-li were Borneo, but strange, if it were Bali.

We can conclude the facts about P'o-li, so far as they have been translated, with the very interesting matter of an early trade in rock crystal by a people who were wild savages. The most celebrated of the diamonds of west Borneo was long thought to be the Danau Raja, said to be as large as a pigeon's egg and to weigh 357 carats. It was in the possession of the Sultan of Matan and, when submitted to expert examination in 1868, turned out to be rock crystal (2, p. 398). Now, the Chinese name *p'o-li*, which came to mean "glass", would seem originally to have referred to rock crystal and Pelliot says that it is the transcription of a prākrit equivalent of the sanskrit *sphaṭika* "rock crystal", for which the Iranian form is *sphālye* (25, p. 443). The characters used for the substance *p'o-li* are, however, quite different from those of the toponym P'o-li, and the derivation of the latter from the former, stated by Mr. Moens, does not seem to be any more correct than his attempts to locate P'o-li, the reasoning of which is more than hard to follow (26, pp: 25 et seq:). Hirth and Rockhill (27, p. 228) give the characters for the substance *po-li*, as they write it, and *pi-po-li*, a variant, and think it to be possible that the word was coined in the fifth century after the manufacture of glass had been introduced into China. It is unnecessary, however, to pursue the matter further for our present purposes.

As translated by Groeneveldt (28, p. 206), the *Hsin T'ang Shu* says in the part relating to P'o-li "In this country they have a kind of fire-pearls, of which some are as large as a hen's egg; they are round and white, and shed a lustre to a distance of several feet; if you let the sun shine through them on tinder it takes fire immediately". Charignon begins his translation of this passage (17, pp: 328-329) with "One finds there in quantity rock crystal" etc. "Fire-pearls" is a literal translation of the Chinese *huo chu* and Laufer has considered the whole subject in a well-known paper (29). He cites (ibid: p. 211) the *Pien tzŭ lei pien*, completed

in 1726 A.D., and says that it quotes the *Sui t'ang kia hua*, of which I have no note, to the effect that, in the beginning of the period 627-650 A.D., Champa (Lin-i) offered to the Chinese Court burning lenses (*huo chu*) in appearance like rock crystal and that the people of Champa had obtained them from the Lo-ch'a country, whose inhabitants have red hair, a black skin, teeth like animals, and claws like hawks. As rendered by de Saint-Denys (30, p. 489) the *Wên hsien t'ung kao* by Ma Tuan-lin, who flourished in 1273 A.D., says "The kingdom of Lo-tsa is to the east of that of Po-li. Its inhabitants are very ugly; they have black skin, red hair, the teeth of wild beasts and nails like birds of prey. From time to time, they come to trade on the coasts of Lin-y. They arrive and show themselves only during the night; by day they keep hidden. The Chinese mission sent to Tchi-tou by the Emperor Yang-ti in the third year *ta-nie* (607), under the leadership of Tchang-tsun, visited in passing the country of Lo-tsa". Another account, however, in the *Hsin T'ang Shu*, cited above, and repeated in Ma Tuan-lin (30, p. 460), says that it was owing to Ch'ang Chün's embassy that Lo-ch'a entered into relations with China; and the account of the voyage of that embassy in the *T'ung Tien* and the *Sui Shu* makes it clear that it did not visit Lo-ch'a at all (22, pp: 1-4). Ma Tuan-lin's work brought down to 1254 A.D. the *T'ung Tien* and the *T'ung Chih*, compiled by Chêng Ch'iao, 1104-1162 A.D. (12, pp: 152, 153): but, until these last are translated, those who are not sinologists cannot check Ma Tuan-lin. Each is a huge book but the relevant passages dealing with places in south-east Asia would not be too many to translate. A good modern Chinese edition of the *T'ung Tien* has been placed in Raffles Library and awaits the attention of local sinologists. It is a most important work for the T'ang period.

Laufer (29, p. 208) says that the first historical mention of *huo chu* occurs in the T'ang histories and (p. 209) that the text in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* has the interesting addition that in appearance the *huo chu* is like crystal. He concludes that it was a crystal lens "whose optical properties were utilized in producing fire for the medical purpose of cauterization", and (p. 216) that it was a lens of rock crystal cut into convex shape, introduced into China through the medium of the Lo-ch'a and Champa, as well as from regions in India.

As Pelliot points out (16, p. 283, n. 5), it is clear that the *Hsin T'ang Shu* confuses the people of P'o-li with those of Lo-ch'a attributing to the former the description of the latter.

All the passages about the Lo-ch'a have not been translated, but it seems reasonably clear that they were a savage tribe who traded rock crystal into Champa whence it was imported into China. Their name is obviously a transcription of the sanskrit

rakshasa, who were demons hostile to man and who appear very much in Indian folk-lore from the *Rig-veda* onwards. They are always connected in that folk-lore with the night and this fact combined with their general physical traits doubtless caused the early Indian navigators and colonists to call the savages who lived to the east of P'o-li by the name of *rakshasa,* which passed to China as *lo-ch'a.* The Lo-ch'a method of trade by night reminds one at once of that of the Besatae, described in the *Periplus* thus:— "Every year on the borders of the land of This there comes together a tribe of men with short bodies and broad, flat faces, and by nature peaceable; they are called Besatae, and are almost entirely uncivilized. They come with their wives and children, carrying great packs and plaited baskets of what looks like green grape-leaves. They meet in a place between their own country and the land of This. There they hold a feast for several days, spreading out the baskets under themselves as mats, and then return to their own places in the interior. And then the natives watching them come into that place and gather up their mats; and pick out from the braids the fibers which they call *petri.* They lay the leaves together in several layers and make them into balls, which they pierce with the fibers from the mats. And there are three sorts; those made of the largest leaves are called the large-ball malabathrum; those of the smaller, the medium-ball; and those of the smallest, the small-ball. Thus there exist three sorts of malabathrum, and it is brought into India by those who prepare it" (31, pp: 48-49).

The *Periplus* dates *ca*: 60 A.D. and its land of This is, in my view, most likely to have corresponded to Ptolemy's land of the Sinai, which undoubtedly meant south China. At Ptolemy's date, *ca*: 150 A.D., the Chinese empire included much of the north of Indo-China.

If P'o-li were Borneo, the Lo-ch'a may well have lived in the east of that island and have obtained their *huo chu* there; but, of course, Borneo was not the only source of rock-crystal in Malaysia.

We can return now to Mr. Tan's identification of Po-lo with Borneo. Mr. Firmstone, who was a local sinologist of repute, transcribed the Chinese name for Borneo in 1904 as Bo-nio^{n} in Hokkien and Mu-neung in Cantonese (31, p. 197). For it he gave characters which are not the same as those given for Po-lo by Mr. Tan, who says that Borneo is still so designated. Mr. Tan refers to Groeneveldt, who, however, does not mention Po-lo: he says that Po-li is said by all Chinese geographers to be the northern coast of Sumatra, as to which Pelliot (16, p. 280) writes "But who are these geographers? Late compilers, like the authors of the *Ying houan tche lio,* who lived in the 19th century"; and, in footnote 6 to that page, he says that he had not found a single ancient text, save only in the Ming dynasty, where this identifica-

tion was proposed, and that, as to the Ming reference, it must not be forgotten that by the time of that dynasty no mention had been made of P'o-li for at least four centuries. The fact is that European sinologists do not accept the statements of the Ming geographers as good evidence and have pointed frequently to their inaccuracies and mistatements.

We have seen already that Charignon considered P'o-lo to have been the same as P'o-li and that Dr. Luce thought that it might have been the same as P'o-lo-la and P'o-lo-so. Hirth and Rockhill (27, p. 212) say that, according to the Chinese, the *po-lo-mi,* or jack-fruit, received its name on its introduction into Canton in the 6th century A.D. by a native of "the country of Po-lo", and that this country was the one referred to in the *T'ang Shu* (presumably the *Hsin T'ang Shu*). The characters which they give for this country are the same as those in *po-lo-mi;* but not the same as those which Mr. Tan gives for Po-lo.

Ma Tuan-lin has a notice of a second Po-li (30, p. 515) which he says was heard of first in the Sui Dynasty and was situated in the sea to the south of the country Kiu-li. Pelliot says (16, pp: 282-283, n. 5) that this country must not be confused with the P'o-li which we have been considering and that its name is probably faulty for Po-la, which is found in the *T'ung Tien* and is given in the *T'ai ping yü lan* as Po-ts'eu. The characters which Pelliot gives for Po-la are different from the ones in Mr. Tan's Po-lo.

It is submitted that a good deal more research will have to be made before Po-lo can be accepted as Borneo, but that P'o-li, on the other hand, can well be identified with the western part of that island upon the available facts.

I conclude by saying, as I have said before, that, until sinologists provide us with full translations of all relevant passages, their views cannot be checked; and that, if the study of the ancient geography and history of Malaysia is to progress, it is essential that those views should be checked. The facts must be ascertained and, when ascertained, must be treated logically, no matter how explosive of old ideas the results may be.

Appendix.

婆羅 Po-lo or P'o-lo, in Hsin T'ang Shu, Tan Yeok Seong p. 35.

波羅 Po-lo in Hirth and Rockhill, p. 212.

薄剌 Po-la, in Pelliot p. 283, n. 5.

波羅剌 P'o-lo-la, in Sui Shu.

婆羅娑 P'o-lo-so, in Sui Shu.

波羅蜜 po-lo-mi = jack fruit.

婆利 P'o-li, in Liang Shu, Sui Shu, Chiu T'ang Shu, Hsin T'ang Shu and Ma Tuan-lin p. 457.

薄利 Po-li, in Ma Tuan-lin p. 515.

玻璃 or 瑠 po-li = rock crystal.

Notes[1]

(*by* Tom Harrisson, d.s.o., *Curator Sarawak Museum, and Government Ethnologist.*)

P. 1. It seems to me that the loss of this pot is little short of disaster. It *might* have been an additional key to the whole situation.

The habit of putting valuable objects in pots and urns is widespread in Borneo. In the head-hunting days, large jars were often hidden in the jungle, with valuables inside, for protection against enemy raids and long-house burning. Sometimes, if the owner was killed, the jar was lost, since no one else knew its whereabouts. During 1948 I found such a jar in a jungle trip on the Kelabit Plateau, Central Borneo. There are also in that area numerous stone urns, hollowed sometimes 6 and 7 feet deep, which were used apparently for mortuary purposes by unknown peoples. These, as well as containing beads, pottery and occasionally stones, contain a fine sandy earth, which I had thought to be leaf humus, decayed bones, and perhaps decomposed earthenware pots. On my next visit to the interior I will bring back specimens of this earth.

In a paper by O. R. T. Janse *Archaeology of the Philippine Islands*, Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institute, 1946; Washington, 1947, is described, among finds of the Ming period, "a big jar" near Lamitan (Basilan Island). The jar was "of greyish ware, with a bronze gong used as a lid", and "contained numerous bits of glass, three small bronze rattles, ceramic bowls and dishes (blue and white) and Chinese coins from the 15th century". (See page 360 and plate 13). In the illustration, this jar looks remarkably like a scarce and much-valued type which I have collected both from Kuching (dug up in the town) and on the Kelabit Plateau.

P. 2. Gerhart Kramer's map, *ca*: about 1560 A.D., (copy in the Sarawak Museum, identified and dated by the Royal Geographical Society) says, translated from the Latin:—

1 See also plate 8.

"It (Borneo) abounds in everything necessary for life and food: it produce camphor, agaric, diamonds, and small horses. There are many excellent harbours in all parts of the island, and large cities, Cabura, Taiaopura, Tomoaratas, Malano, and most important of all Borneo, in which are 25,000 inhabitants. This is situated in a salt-water lagoon, like Venice".

The map is not too clear but it does not seem to support Professor Dobby's theory of direct access between Sambas and Sarawak. The map, however, is very crude. It has two references of interest here, however:—

(a) close to Sambas (not marked) it has, "Lave, donde föy Don Manuel de Lima" (where Don M. de L. lived);

(b) at approximately Sampit (east of Sambas) it has "Succadano ubi adamantes inveniuntur" (where diamonds are found);

(c) there are no gold references on the map or in the text.

Hunt has confused part of North Borneo with South? e.g. Kiney Baulu = Mt. Kinabalu. **P. 2.**

Sabah. A part of the Kelabits — who are certainly one of the earlier surviving Borneo peoples and demonstrably linked with the pre-Islamic peoples of Brunei — are called Sabans. The origin of this name is not clear, but rather traditional, and at least dating back to one of the greatest events in upland Bornean history — the slaying of a man-eating, cave-dwelling "tiger", the division of this (associated with a set of carved and incised stones), and the late arrival of the Sabans to the ceremony. By the time they did arrive, all the tiger's meat had been divided out, except the penis — which they therefore got. The other upland peoples say: "That is why Sabans wear such long loin-cloths to this day". **P. 3.**

The evidence of beads may be even more marked when fully worked out. **P. 4.**

When I returned to England in 1947 I took with me sample beads from the Kelabit Plateau, where the people live at over 3000 ft: and still have a functioning megalithic culture. Some of these beads well matched Egyptian, Damascus and Ur of the Chaldees, B.C. specimens in the Beck collection. The Curator of the Cambridge Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology kindly loaned me some Beck duplicates. These were accepted by the Kelabits as identical to their own most valued beads.

P. 6. Hose's demonstration is not very convincing, and he is clearly prejudiced in favour of Borneo, just as most Malayan students have been (unconsciously) prejudiced against it.

Of course, I fully agree with your argument as a whole. I feel sure Poli etc. = Borneo, at least partly. I think it may have also been used of elsewhere, though. The doubling of names is a very common feature of Borneo etymology, anyway, and even in the study of recent times students have got into awful confusions over the multiple uses of Daya (k), Malinau, Kayan, Ba (ha) u. It is worth noting, perhaps, that to-day the Brunei Malays and other coastal people refer to the great River flowing out into Brunei Bay as the Limbang, whereas the Kelabits living in its extreme head-waters refer to it invariably as the Brunai! The Bisayas, an Islamic tribe in the Sub-coastal belt, call it *Bawang Abai, abai* being Kelabit for "Malay."! The word *Bisaya* may well relate to the Philippine *Visaya*.

Mali is a common prefix in Sarawak. One of the commonest riverine names in the country is *Malinau*.

General. In addition to what you have written, the following is of interest:—

(a) the second King of Malacca is said to have married a daughter of "the King of China's Captain", *ca*: 1420 A.D.;

(b) the "second" (in Mohammedan legend) Sultan of Brunei, *ca*: 1435-1450 A.D.(?), is said to have married the daughter of Ong Sum Ping, the Rajah of China's envoy who came to seek the jewel of Mt. Kinabalu;

(c) The Chinese Admiral Cheng Ho (= Som-po-kong = Ong-Sam-po), *ca*: 1468 A.D.(?), stole a king in one tale and in another (Ceylon) the sacred tooth of Buddha, of which I take the Kinabalu myth to be a related form.

I have collected several Malay and Murut versions of the Chinese marrying into Brunei tales and am convinced that these represent a real event of importance. The tales go into much detail over a fleet of junks, a runaway-Chinese settlement to the north, a fight between the two Chinese leaders (brothers) and so on.

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A Note on the Sambas Finds

by PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

(*Received, December 1948*)

Sir Roland Braddell has done me the favour of inviting my attention to Mr. Tan Yeok Seong's report on the Sambas finds in the pages of the Journal of the South Seas Society for June 1948. He has also sent me an advance copy of his own note on these finds and on Borneo intended for this Journal together with very interesting comments on it by Mr. Tom Harrisson, Curator of the Sarawak Museum, and an excellent set of fresh photographs of the images and of the incense-burner furnished by Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie, and crowned these acts of kindnesses with an invitation to me that I should record my ideas on this discovery for publication in the Journal. I have the greatest pleasure in complying with his request; but I am by nature a slow worker and can as yet speak of these epoch-making finds only in tentative terms.

It has long been recognised that Borneo was well within the sphere of the Hindu colonisation movement and that it must have had direct contact with India, particularly South India, from very early times. The Yūpa inscriptions of Mūlavarman's time (c. 400 A.D.) which now number seven are clear proof of the source and strength of Indian cultural influences operating on the eastern half of the island. Though stray Hindu relics of unknown date have been reported from West Borneo as well, specially the Kapuas valley, the present finds bring that region much more definitely into the picture than anything known before. Sir Roland may be said to have definitely prospected this find in 1941[1] when he concluded a long discussion of Fahien's Ye-po-ti and allied toponyms with the remarks: "The fact, however, is certain that there were very ancient Indian or Indianized kingdoms in Borneo in the east and south-west, and, that being so, it is inconceivable that the easiest coast to reach and the district which was full of gold and diamonds as well as other minerals and which by reason of its rivers and its fertility was most suitable for settlement, was not settled prior to the establishment of colonies in the east and south-west. We suggest that among the earliest places in Malaysia settled by the ancient Indians must have been the region between Kuching and Pontianak and the regions watered by the Kapuas *and Sambas*". (Italics mine). I have taken this occasion to read once again Braddell's arguments on the course of Fahien's voyage to China and come to recognise more clearly than ever the force of the arguments. The data furnished by the first Chinese pilgrim known to us must

1 Above Vol. XIX Pt. I Feg. 1941, p. 71.

be referred, it seems to me now, to Borneo rather than to Java as has been more or less the universal practice so far. By this I do not mean to deny the place of Java in the early history of Hindu colonization; one could do that only by ignoring the manifest evidence of the Sanskrit inscriptions of Pūrnavarman of Tārumā in West Java which are only half a century or so later than the Yūpa inscriptions of east Borneo. I wish only to record my growing conviction, for which Braddell's writings are primarily responsible, that Borneo was known and colonised earlier than Java, and often formed perhaps a convenient stage in the long voyage from India to China, at any rate before the rise of Srīvijaya (Palembang) into prominence, after which, as we know from I-tsing it became a favoured halt.

I have also been greatly impressed by Prof. Dobby's observations on the ancient geography of Borneo West with special reference to the Sambas site.[2] "If we think of Sambas", he says, "as situated on the southern side at the head of a gulf fully open to the sea from about Likoe to Pamankat and assume that the whole mangrove country where now Tanahslam and Sarangooeroeng (now) stand did not exist, we may be closer to the landscape of the time when these figures were buried. Coastal changes at that rate have not been uncommon in South-east Asia and they would be hastened in the Sambas area by the long history of mining in the small inland streams". This looks to me a very probable explanation of the existence of a flourishing colony on this site, evidence of which comes before us for the first time in these finds, though its likelihood was surmised, as we have seen, even before these images were unearthed. Prof. Dobby says: "Whether the find implies that there was a local focus of Hindu culture near Sambas or that it was buried in transit from a distance, only further examination of the site will tell." This statement of his precedes his remarks on the ancient geography of the area of the site that I quoted above; I do not know if I shall be justified in inferring from this fact that on the whole he was himself inclined to the first of the two alternatives he propounds. In any event, I prefer that alternative definitely, because (1) it is natural for early colonies to grow on the sea-board rather than in the highlands of the interior, and (2) the articles deposited in this case contain great value in small bulk and are sacred images; if they had been carried any distance by their owners for whatever reason, there was no reason why they should not have taken them along wherever they went. Only the onset of a sudden danger which gave little time for the colonists to do more than hide away their valuable sacred treasures *in situ* to save them from falling into hostile hands seems the most satisfying explanation of the circumstances in which the hoard was buried underground.

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2 JSSS V, i, p. 41.

On the important and difficult question of the age of these images and of the incense-burner, Mr. Tan Yeok Seong has made very plausible suggestions by inviting attention to their general similarity with similar finds in Malaya and by speaking of the spread of Srīvijayan influence in Borneo and in the Philippines as forming the northern extension of Hindu cultural influence. Only I am not convinced of the wave-theory of the flow of cultural influences from India to the colonies and the attempts of Dr. Quaritch Wales to distinguish four such waves seem to me only to complicate a simple issue. I look upon the whole history of the colonies as a continuous unity; the colonies came up in the early centuries of the Christian era and maintained for many centuries a live contact with the countries of the mother land, and shared in all the cultural movements that developed in India from time to time. But possibly Dr. Wales and I do not differ except in the ways of expressing the same meaning, because Dr. Wales' dates for his different wave periods form a chronological continuity.

The bronze incense-burner is certainly a well preserved specimen of the class to which belonged a similar object of which only the upper part was placed in the hands of Dr. Q. Wales by the Tamil coolies working on the bed of the Sungai Bujang in Kedah.[3] When we look at the complete specimen the resemblance to the waggon-roof of the Bhīma and Gaṇēśa *rathas* at Mahābalipuram is not so striking as it seemed to Dr. Wales. I have not come across anything in South India which invites a close comparison with this object. I do not think that it affords any clue to the date of the finds.

The images are deserving of closer study from this point of view. The two standing Buddha images of silver and gold, marked (1) and (5) in the photographs sent to me are, I think, not difficult to date approximately and must count certainly as among the earliest of them all. Allowing for differences in size and the material of the sculptures, I would invite comparison with the stone Buddha of Solok, in Batang Hari in Sumatra, which is figured by Schnitger in *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*, Plate XI, and is dated by him in the sixth or seventh century A.D. There is a striking similarity in the treatment of the robes, the head and feet, though no comparison of the hand poses is possible as the Sumatran image has lost both its hands. The celebrated stone Buddha of Palembang (Bukit Seguntang) definitely preceded this group of images by some centuries. The two seated Buddhas (Nos. 8 and 9) invite comparison with the bronze Vairocana from the collection of A. van Doornick figured by Schnitger in Plate VII of his book, allowance being made again for the differences in *mudras* among the images. All these images must be products of

3 Above XVIII (i) Feb. 1940, pp. 13-14.

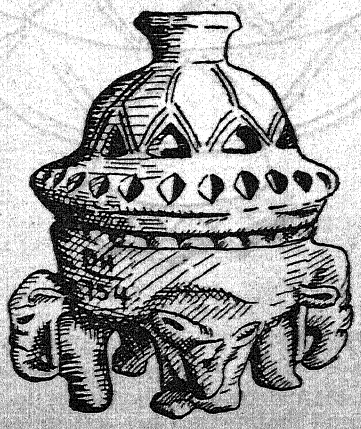
about the same age which must fall some time later than that of (1) and (5). Of the remaining images I have not much to say except to note the general resemblance between the standing Bodhisattvas 2, 3 and 4, particularly the last, and the eight-armed bronze Avalokitēśvara from Bidor (Perak) figured by Dr. Quaritch Wales in his *Archaeological Researches in Malaya* (pl. 79). I hope that in making these few observations I have not been unduly influenced by the suggestive lead given by Mr. Tan Yeok Seong and by my own preoccupation with Srī Vijaya history. I believe I am right in thinking that this hoard of images furnishes proof that West Borneo was included in the empire of Srīvijaya just like the Malay peninsula both before and after the advent of the Sailendras.

The Incense Burner from the Sambas Treasures

by Tan Yeok Seong, *South Seas Society, Singapore*

(*Received, November 1948*)

In my Preliminary Report on the Discovery of the Hoard of Hindu Religious Objects, near Sambas, West Borneo,[1] I lay stress on the high value of the Incense Burner amongst the finds. This vessel which is the most interesting object in the Sambas collection has a rectangular base and a waggon-roof cover. It is 4 inches wide, 5 inches long and 8 inches high. The roof is two-storeyed, on the centre of which is a flower pot. At each of the four corners stands a cock. There are two smaller cocks standing upon each side of roof. The roof is decorated with rows of small triangular perforations. It hinges upon one side of the walls, around which runs a row of impressed pillars with three-quarter circle arches. The base rests on four turtle feet. At the centre of one of the walls there is a circular projection meant to be used as socket for a handle.

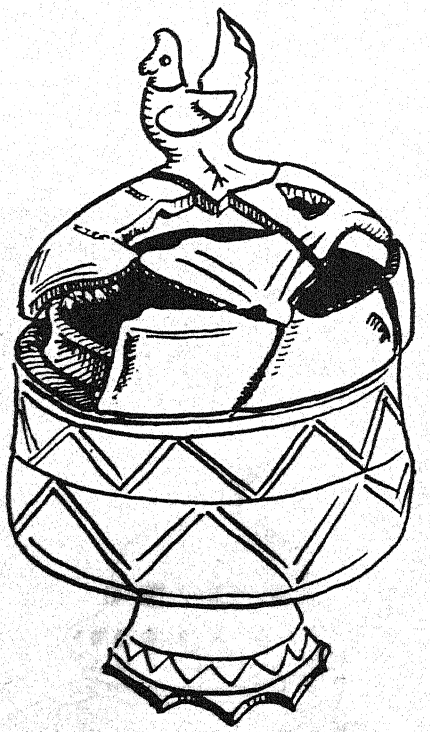


A bowl-shaped casket from Taxila, India.

Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales remarks that the roof of this vessel is very like the one found in Kedah but that the fighting cock may be a local addition.

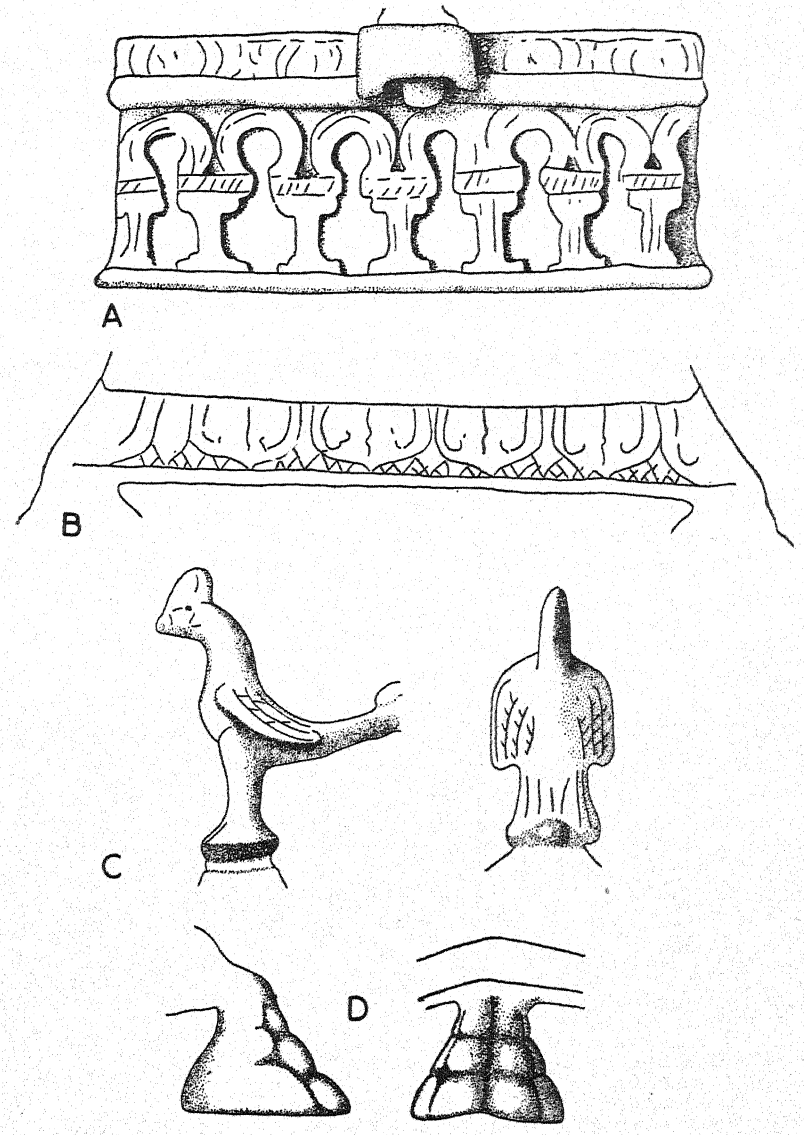
Mr. Basil Gray of the British Museum is of the opinion that all the figures from Sambas could very well belong to a single group and dates them from the 8th to 10th century A.D. He was surprised to find the bronze incense casket associated with them, and was inclined to put the date considerably later.

The decoration of a fighting cock or bird and the pattern of triangular perforations are characteristics peculiar to incense burners found in South East Asia. A glazed teracotta one discovered in a tomb at Bin-son, Indo-China has a triangular perforated lid surmounted by a figure of a bird or cock.[2] The



A glazed terracotta incense-burner from Bin-Son, Indo-China.

triangular-perforation design has Indian affinities. A bowl-shaped casket from Taxila has also a triangular perforated lid.[3] It is not uncommon to find the design of birds similar to those standing on the roof of our present finding on Chinese bronzes. A Chinese catalogue gives several specimens of "standing-bird vessels" 立鳥盡



The incense-burner from Sambas.

(A) The ornamentation, incised and in low relief, on the front; the same pattern is continued all round.
(B) The incised pattern on the base in front, this is also continued all round.
(C) One of the standing birds at the corners of the lid, from the side and from above.
(D) Side and front views of one of the feet.

from Honan.[4] Perfume-burners from the Han period are characterised by standing birds on the lids. The turtle feet supporting the base of this vessel suggest the Chinese Pi-hsai 贔屭 carved on the bottom of stone monuments.

The designs of pillars with three-quarter circle arches round the walls have rarely been used in East Asia as pointed out by Dr. E. H. G. Dobby.[5] They are comparable with the art prevailing in the distant lands to the west of India.

An analytical study of the designs on this peculiar vessel reveals multiple influences on the Indonesian culture. Because of its uniqueness this vessel has a far higher value than anything else in the Sambas collection and as I have expressed elsewhere in my previous report, it is indeed invaluable for historical research in many respects.

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3 The work of the Archaeological Survey of India during 1934-35, Plate II c. Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Vol. X.

4 Sun Hai-po, Honan Bronzes, 1939.

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The Sambas Finds in Relation to the Problems of Indo-Malaysian Art Development

by H. G. Quaritch Wales

(*Received, April 1949*)

So scanty are the archaeological data from Borneo that scholars will doubtless find the important Sambas hoard illuminating from a number of points of view. To me they are particularly welcome as affording some new material for the study of the art history not only of Borneo but of the Malaysian region more generally.

As is often the case with objects found in a hoard they do not all date from the same period. I shall therefore consider them in what appears to me to be their chronological order.

The two standing Buddhas (Nos. 1 & 5) seem to be of Gupta style but, in view of the absence of *hanchement*, not earlier than VIth century. Such images have been found not infrequently at widely scattered spots along the shores of South-east Asia. They were either brought from India or made locally in the Indian coastal footholds. Since we already know from the inscriptions on a rock at Batu Pahat, near the Sungai Tekarek, West Borneo, that there were Indian adventurers (probably settlers) in this section of the island at this period, the Sambas standing Buddhas do not tell us much that is new. But, taken in conjunction with the Mulavarman inscriptions and other early relics in East Borneo, they serve to underline the fact, sometimes lost sight of, that the first Hindu and Buddhist influence in Borneo was direct Indian.

As was at once generally recognized, the bronze incense burner is by far the most interesting object in the collection. Affording as it does some evidence as to the style of early Hindu architecture in Borneo it is indeed of unique value. Perhaps one is first struck by the general resemblance to those South Indian caskets, having the shape of a sanctuary tower, that are preserved in the Madras Museum (Plate 7) and of which I obtained the roof of a considerably earlier example in Kedah.[1] It is known that these Indian caskets were used in ritual and once contained small figures of the deities worshipped, with the vehicle of the deity, e.g. Siva's bull Nandi, seated at the four corners of the roof, just as on the roof of actual Siva temples. The cross-legged ascetic, at each corner of the Kedah miniature can also be paralleled on some South Indian temple roofs.

1 *JRASMB*, Vol. xviii pt. 1, plate 18. See also this Journal plates 6 & 7.

Very remarkable, however, are the cocks which, whether at the roof corners or in place of dormer windows, are such prominent features of the Sambas incense-burner and do much to modify our first impression of the generally Indian character of the object. For the cock is not known to have had any ritual significance in India. Nevertheless the fighting cock is depicted on the banner of the Hindu god of war Subrahmaṇya (Kārttikeya) and Dr. Sri A. Aiyappan, of the Madras Museum, to whom I am indebted for information on the Madras caskets, offers the plausible suggestion that the incense-burner may have been connected with the worship of that god.

The vehicle of Subrahmaṇya is the peacock and in India figures of this bird stand at the roof corners of Subrahmaṇya temples.[2] In the fauna of Borneo and Sumatra the peacock is entirely lacking, a surprising fact of geographical distribution since a species of peacock occurs in Java. In the Javanese images of Subrahmaṇya the god rides upon a peacock and it appears that it is actually the Java peacock that is represented on the Barabudur reliefs.[3] Although, as we also know from the Barabudur[4], not to mention other Greater Indian arts, unfamiliarity does not prevent the introduction of Indian or mythical animals mentioned in the sacred texts, a closely cognate form deep-rooted in pre-existing local culture might be substituted in Borneo for the unfamiliar Indian bird. Such a change might the more easily pass unreprimanded by the Indian gurus in view of the orthodox presence of the fighting cock on Subrahmaṇya's banner.

But, as Sir Richard Winstedt has remarked to me, might not the substitution of cocks for the Garuḍas of Viṣṇu afford a simpler explanation? The turtle feet of the object certainly would favour a Vaiṣṇavite interpretation since the tortoise was one of the avatars of Viṣṇu. The only difficulty appears to be as to whether such an overt substitution would have been countenanced. The general rule seems to be that where a people, as is normally the case in the "eastern zone" of Greater India[5], did not undergo extreme acculturation, they stressed and developed those *Indian* traits that were in some way reminiscent of their former culture. It was in this way that local genius[6] began to guide an evolution, rather than by the substitution of local forms that had no counter-

2 e.g. at Tanjore, Fergusson *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1876, fig. 192.

3 "Faune et Flore dans les Bas-reliefs Javanais" by A.S. de Prez in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, Tome IX, No. 2, p. 62.

4 ibid. p. 158.

5 For my reasons for distinguishing between an eastern zone (Java, Cambodia, Champa) and a western zone (Burma, Central Siam, Malay Peninsula, Sumatra) see my article "Culture Change in Greater India" *JRAS* pts. 1 & 2, 1948.

6 For my use of the term local genius, and the way in which it is believed to work, see the same article; especially pp. 13-14.

part somewhere in the Indian pattern. But it may be that exceptions did occur.

Whatever the exact nature of the change there is a possibility that it was actuated by the important ritual significance of the cock in the pre-Indian culture of Borneo. This was strongly Dong-So'n influenced as we know from the survival of Dong-So'n designs in modern Dayak art. On some of the early Tongking bronze drums, cocks, sometimes associated with what appear to be peacocks

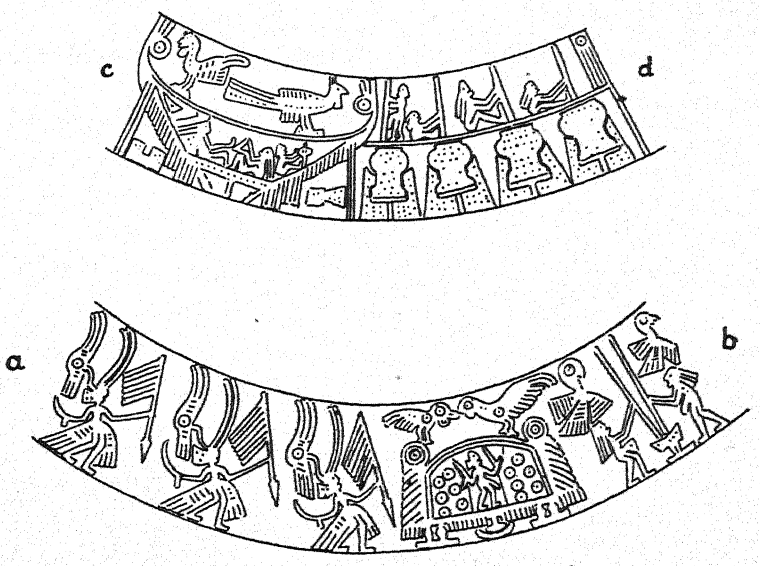

Fig. 1 (c-d) figures from the Ngoc-lu drum, and (a-b) from the Hoang-ha drum. Reproduced from Victor Goloubew, "Le Tambour Metallique de Hoang-ha.", pub. *Bull. de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*, Vol. 40, fasc. 2, 1941, p. 399, figs 6 & 7, by permission of the Director of the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient.

are depicted on house roofs (Fig. 1). However they may only have a decorative value, as appears to have been the case with the birds on Chinese roofs of Han period.

The decoration of the incense-burner seems to be quite Indian. In some details it closely resembles that of the Kedah roof. The motif of the *chaitya* arches or pilasters is Indian but the arches lack the usual points or crests. However something of the sort does sometimes occur in India[7] and so I hesitate to suggest local modification here.

One thing that is particularly satisfactory because of the unequivocal nature of the evidence is that Indo-Javanese influence

7 e.g. a Nalanda architectural fragment illustrated in Bhattacharya's *Buddhist Iconography*, plate VI d.

is definitely absent. The waggon roof and the free standing pillars supporting it are architectural features that are *never* found in Java. There also the *chaitya* arch on pillars motif does not occur and even the *kudu* niche is rare. Finally there is no sign of any characteristic Indo-Javanese decorative motif or indeed any suggestion of Indo-Javanese influence on the Sambas incense-burner.

The dating I propose for this object is VIIth or early VIIIth century A.D. The local genius responsible for its distinctive character seems to be in some degree Dongsonian and Han. Apart from the evidence of the substitution of the cocks, their standing on "flower pots" at the corners gives a strong accentuation of the angles that is characteristic of that other Dong So'n and Han guided art, the Cham. One is somewhat reminded of the attitude of the bulls of the Cham temple Po Klaung Garai, which are not couchant as on Indian Siva temples, but start upwards and outwards from the roof angles.[8]

The Buddhist figures and thrones, other than the two Gupta figures already considered, seem to belong quite clearly to the style usually known as "Indo-Javanese" and to date from the late VIIIth or IXth century. It will be understood that in speaking of the "Sambas images" in future it is to this group alone that I refer. That such images are not necessarily in any way Indo-Javanese I shall now try to show.

To postulate that images of this type from Sumatra, Malaya and Borneo, however virtually indistinguishable from Central Javanese products they may appear, are necessarily Indo-Javanese, or products of Indo-Javanese influence, seems to indicate a too Java-centric view-point considering that at this time the spread of cultural influences from India was still at its height. Such an attitude was perhaps inevitable so long as the archaeology of the Malaysian region outside Java remained practically unknown, and first impressions die hard. Only recently Dr. Heine-Geldern has called pointed attention to "that all too frequent error which consists in believing that the region where a given culture has been discovered for the first time or the peoples among whom it was first observed must have been the centres of its diffusion." And he continues: "If, by any chance, the Hindu-Buddhist monuments of Java had been known to archaeologists prior to those of India, we might be sure that the latter would be referred to as 'Javanese'".[9] And even as it was, until Bernet Kempers proved their Indian style and origin, Dr. Bosch held that the Pāla images found

8 H. Parmentier, *Inventaire descriptif des Monuments Cams de l'Annom*, Vol. II, fig. 21.

9 Far Eastern Quarterly, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1948, p. 445.

in the monastery of Bālaputra at Nālandā were almost all "purely Hindu-Javanese".[10]

Sometimes pitfalls may be avoided by broadening the basis of an enquiry. When reviewing a work on the sculpture of Siam M. Coedès once remarked[11] that a parallel study of the architecture would no doubt permit one "to elucidate various problems of origin and evolution which sculpture alone is powerless to resolve." In Cambodia, where there was certainly Indo-Javanese influence, this is equally noticeable in both architecture and sculpture. And for this Indo-Javanese influence in Cambodia there is good historical reason in the coming from Java of Jayavarman II early in the IXth century. But if one compares Sumatran Buddhist architecture, which on the whole remains so close to Indian models, with that of Java, which even during the Central Javanese period betrays the action of a strong local genius, one cannot logically argue that the similarity of many of the bronze images in both islands must necessarily be due to influence originating in Java. And here historical evidence, as seen in the conversion of the Javanese king Panangkaran to Mahayana Buddhism before 775 A.D. by a Sumatran prince who married that king's daughter[12], points to the main flow of influence being from Sumatra to Java rather than conversely.

While it is true that the Sambas incense-burner indicates the beginnings of an independent school of architecture that is not Indo-Javanese, this cannot help us with regard to the images which are later. Nevertheless, pending the discovery of architectural material influenced by Java in north-west Borneo I shall hesitate to attribute the Sambas images to Indo-Javanese art.

That these figures, like so many of the bronzes from Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, are so similar to those from Central Java may perhaps be explainable on other grounds. Images of deities tend at first to cling so closely to the *śāstras* that there is much less opportunity than in architecture for local genius to express itself. Up to the eighth century this applies largely to Khmer and Cham art, but on Javanese images of the gods the iron grip of the *śāstras* remained much longer, and was more intense.

Despite what has been said above I do not wish to deny the existence of a Javanese sub-pattern which was diffused outward, as is evident in the architectural remains of Lematang Hilir in

10 A. J. Bernet Kempers "The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese Art" 1933, p. 10.

11 *JSS* Vol. xxi, pt. 3, p. 193.

12 F. D. Bosch "De Inscriptie van Ligor" *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal—, Land —en Volkenkunde* LXXI. i. 1941.

South Sumatra, and also in the feeling of some Sumatran sculpture. I only propose that this should be seen as quite subordinate to the diffusion of the main Indian cultural pattern. Some areas near Java, but remote from the main streams of direct Indian influence, were no doubt strongly affected by diffusion from Java. I have in mind the images hidden in the Mt. Kombeng cave, on the upper Mahakam, East Borneo. From also consisting of a hoard they naturally invite comparison with the Sambas finds.

Dr. Bosch is probably right in concluding that these Mt. Kombeng images are either the products of Indo-Javanese colonists long separated from the motherland or else of Indo-Javanized Dayaks[13] (which of the two is more likely it would be difficult to decide without architectural evidence). A few of these images do approach Central Javanese standards and feeling. Others, not only by reason of the mistakes in their iconography but also in the maladroitness of their modelling, are inferior and suggest that the makers had a somewhat remote or second-hand knowledge of Indian canons. Comparison with the Mt. Kombeng images tends rather to strengthen the possibility that the Sambas images were made under direct Indian influence.

The class of late VIIIth-early Xth century* statuary, which includes the Central Javanese, Indo-Balinese, Sumatran, Malayan and Sambas images cuts across the distinction between western and eastern zones of Greater India which I have made on absence or presence of local genius manifestation. It may conveniently be referred to as Indo-Malaysian. Although local genius is little in evidence the Indo-Malaysian style corresponds to nothing actually produced in India. It would appear that it gets its homogeneity from its having resulted, wherever found, from approximately the same complex of Indian influences. Can we analyse more closely the nature of the Indian influences concerned?

In his well-known paper "The Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu-Javanese Art" (1933) Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers tried to ascertain the extent of Pāla influence in Indo-Javanese and related arts. However I have long felt that some aspects of his work need reconsideration. The present article affords an opportunity to take up the question since it is one which is as important for the Sambas images as for any others of the Indo-Malaysian class.

With regard to the Central Javanese seated Buddhas (and the same applies to the two seated Buddhas from Sambas) I am in full agreement with Kempers, since in their being seated in *vajrāsana* attitude (cross-legged, not folded-legged) he recognized

13 *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1925, p. 141 and plates 30-34.

* This date is not the final limit everywhere. In parts of the area this style of sculpture continued much longer.

that they show Pāla influence. But I must differ from him in his conclusions with regard to the Central Javanese Bodhisattvas. He states that, apart from a few images "which with more or less probability can be connected with Pāla art, there exist very many Hindu-Javanese bronzes which exhibit no stylistic relation whatever to the North Indian school of art..... Pāla influence appears to have had no share in the evolution of Central Javanese art..... the Pāla and Pāla type bronzes in Hindu-Javanese art have had a somewhat exceptional position."[14] He further maintains that the bronze Bodhisattvas of C'āiya (Malay Peninsula) and of Palembang (Sumatra) show no Pāla features.[15]

This conclusion seems to have been at least tacitly disregarded by many subsequent authors who evidently did not readily accept Kempers' view; but so far as I know it is only Devaprasad Ghosh who has given adequate reasons for holding a different opinion. In referring to the Palembang Bodhisattvas he says that "their design and conception along with certain details e.g. the *jaṭamukuṭa*, the full squarish face, the necklace and *uttarīya* (shawl), and lastly the flowing curves of the swelling sensuous body fashioned with delicate touches are reminiscent of the Pāla art of Bengal."[16] And again, with regard to the Palembang Maitreya in particular, he refers to the "peculiar *jaṭāmukuṭa*, a marked advance in the ornamental aspect, the undulating lines of the *uttarīya* (Brahmanic cord) dangling loosely along the left side of the torso, the nature of the jewellery and particularly the bowlike double curves of waistline [cp. Sambas figure No. 3]".[17]

It will be noted that some of the characteristics mentioned by Ghosh are of a general nature, such as the full squarish face and the flowing curves of the swelling sensuous body. These are probably the features that have struck more superficial observers, and I think that they point in the right direction. I also think that they indicate the flaw in Kempers' method, a method so obviously painstaking that one would naturally hesitate before disagreeing on general grounds.

As Kempers correctly observes, the normal Indo-Malaysian images lack such specialized features of Pāla art as loops or ribbons behind the ears (apparently present in Sambas figure No. 2), shawls or boddice of goodesses, frequent presence of attendants, Pāla form of nimbus (disc or ornamented band), Pāla arrangement of throne parts, images modelled on backing and pedestal with feet. But lack of such peculiar features is not in itself sufficient

14 loc. cit. p. 27.
15 loc. cit. pp. 73, 74.
16 *JGIS*, Vol. I p. 35.
17 *JGIS*, Vol. III. p. 53.

to deny the existence of a generalized Pāla influence in the typical Indo-Malaysian sacred images.

The reason for this is that while we know that a people under strong foreign influence are wont to accept the new cultural pattern as a whole, we also know that individual traits incompatible with former usages are liable to be rejected. Now many of these specialized Pāla features might well have been rejected as incompatible with former Indo-Malaysian usages. That these usages were largely governed by Pallava (in part also by Gupta) preferences is indicated by such positive traits in the Indo-Malaysian images as pedestals without feet, a plain nimbus, early features in the throne parts[18] and the tendency, not noticed by Kempers, for South Indian type upper waist belt (crossed belts in female deities), as well as multiple hip girdles or semi-circular folds of cloth, all of which are generally absent even in late Pāla art, to invade the attire of at least a proportion of Indo-Malaysian Bodhisattvas.

Local genius is liable to undergo a certain amount of change even while retaining its primary character. For the time being, owing to the strength of recent Pallava influences, which were also ideologically more easily assimilable to the Indonesians than was the Mahāyāna mysticism of the Pālas, it was the dominant Pallava element in the genius that counts more than the earlier strata (which were destroyed in the western zone but will reappear strongly in later eastern zone developments). Nevertheless the rejection of such a feature as the *lalitāsana* pose for seated goddesses (one leg hanging down), which pose also occurs in South India, was evidently because it offended against deep-rooted Indonesian ideas as to a proper female pose. Not only the genius but also cultural elements from the earlier Indian wave tended to persist and reinforce the conserving tendency which in all cultures acts as a brake on the too ready acceptance of a new pattern. But neither the rejection of specialized Pāla traits not in accordance with Pallava interpretation of the *śāstras*, nor the activity of a certain degree of South Indian feeling, should, in my opinion, blind us to the presence of a strongly evinced if generalized Pāla influence in Indo-Malaysian images.[19]

18 See interesting throne analysis by Bernest Kempers in *Indian Art and Letters* 1935, p. 99.

19 Kempers was no doubt right in recognizing Pala influence in its most intense and complete form in the sculptures in the round of Chandi Jago and Singasari, and he attributes this 13th century East Javanese phenomenon to the influx of monks dispersed from Nalanda (loc. cit. pp. 75-77). By this time South Indian selectivity and interpretation of the *sastras* was a thing of the past, while late tantric Mahayanism had become more readily assimilable to Javanese thought. Consequently no barrier was opposed to the acceptance of the Pala image form *in toto*.

To test this conclusion we should naturally turn to the evidence afforded by contemporary architecture. It is indeed a pity that Kempers denied himself this source of information and made an isolated study of the Indo-Javanese images, although he was alive to the probability that the architecture would have provided more data.[20] In the temples of Central Java, especially Kalasan and Chandi Sewu, we can see undoubted Pāla influence in plan and other main structural features. This indeed was recognized in the report on the excavation of the early Pāla temple of Paharpur, Bengal.[21] Pāla influence is also clear in the temples of Sumatra.[22] It is no doubt more marked in the architecture than in the sculpture simply because there is, as compared with deity sculpture, greater freedom to innovate by borrowing, just as there is also greater freedom to innovate through the expression of local genius.

I have elsewhere sometimes spoken of Indo-Malaysian images (mainly where they occur in the western zone) as products of the Pāla wave, but it should be understood that I have done so as a matter of convenience not because they are exclusively Pāla. Only among those few that are regarded by Kempers as showing Pāla characteristics are there some that rather closely reflect Pāla models, in the same sense that many Burmese figures do. The Pāla influence is superimposed on a complex of Pallava and Gupta elements difficult to disentangle. As compared with the early sculpture of Champa and Cambodia (i.e. VIIth-VIIIth century, before local developments were much in evidence) it would seem to be the preponderance of South Indian spirit and Pāla influence that gives the Indo-Malaysian style its distinctive character.

To return to the bearing of the Sambas finds on the history of art in Borneo: Though I may have shown that there is a considerable degree of probability that the images were made in Borneo, under direct Indian influence, this could not be *proved* on the evidence at present available. The incense-burner, on the other hand, provides almost certain evidence that there existed at least the beginnings of a distinctive Indo-Bornean architecture which showed signs of developing parallel to other eastern zone architectures. But what of such further development, if any? There is reason to believe that there was no rich state in Borneo comparable to the famous neighbouring kingdoms that made a much greater mark in history. Consequently Indo-Bornean architecture may never have got beyond wood or, more hopefully, semi-perishable construction. Stone or brick temples would probably have been discovered by now. Temples of a semi-perishable nature leave relatively inconspicuous remains which are only likely to be found by people who have some idea what to look for: low moulds from

20 loc. cit. p. 75.

21 *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. 55, p. 7.

22 "Culture Change in Greater India" *JRAS* pts. 1 & 2, 1948, p. 10.

which fragments of worked laterite or bricks may be seen to extrude. The scientific excavation of such sites would almost certainly yield valuable data.

It seems possible that after a modest evolution Indo-Bornean art declined about the XIth century. Chau Ju-kua, referring to conditions in the XIIth-XIIIth century state of Po-ni, the name by which the kingdom in north-west Borneo was known to the Sung period Chinese, gives no impression of great wealth or prosperity. And he says "Their god (lit. Buddha) has no image in human shape; his dwelling consists of a reed-covered building of several storeys, shaped like a pagoda; below there is a small shrine protecting two pearls; this is called the 'Sacred Buddha'"[23]

The survival of Dong-So'n designs in the art of many Borneo tribes, together with a rich sculpture mainly in wood and using little stone, which Dr. Heine-Geldern has aptly referred to as a "late megalithic art" (*RAA* XI. 4. p. 182), points to the decline having been followed by a considerable revival of modified pre-Indian cultures, of the original basis of which we are likely soon to know more as a result of Mr. Tom Harrisson's recent important discoveries of extensive megalithic remains in Central Borneo.

Most of my conclusions must be regarded as only tentative and I fear that, if wider implications were not to be shunned, it has been necessary for me to touch on some difficult and delicate topics. Much must remain uncertain while data are still so relatively scarce. The great hope is that the Sambas finds, so happily rescued from oblivion, may provide a stimulus to more systematic local investigation.

23 Translation of Hirth and Rockhill, 1911, p. 157.

Gold & Indian Influences in West Borneo

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Contents.

I. Scope of Survey. p. 33.
II. The Complicated Data. p. 34.
III. Early Gold & Montrado—Sambas. p. 35.
IV. Gold in British Borneo. p. 46.
V. Distribution & kinds of Golden Objects. p. 55.
VI. Origins of Golden Objects. p. 70.
VII. Other Indian Objects & Sites. p. 79.
VIII. Gold Legends. p. 94.
IX. Other Megaliths. p. 98.
X. Indian and..... p. 99.
XI. The Geography & Sequence of Indian Influences. p. 102.

I. Scope of Survey

This paper attempts to summarise existing evidence, the greater part of which is either unpublished or in local publications now unavailable. An attempt is also made to relate gold and golden objects to wider western influences—Indian, Buddhist or Hindu. The term "Indian" is used broadly to cover influences, often of uncertain quality and quantity, which are believed to have come either directly or indirectly from or *via* India.

Interest in the subject has lately been awakened by the find of objects, now in the possession of Mr Y. S. Tan in Singapore, which are believed to be from near Sambas. As he points out (1948), "One cannot escape the conclusion that Borneo played a much more important role in cultural history than was at one time thought to be the case". From his Sambas stimulus I have stumbled (in one case literally) upon a quantity of related data which indicates that the Sambas find is no isolated nine-day wonder.

Gold provides one of the brighter clues to the so-called "higher" cultures in this part of the world. We have to thank Dato Sir Roland Braddell (1947, p. 174) for bringing out its full significance in South-East Asia. In the present case, I may be able

to show that its importance is even greater in regard to Borneo than to other countries to which more attention has been given. Borneo is still the neglected island of Asian intelligence, and those who seek to study it owe a debt to Mr Tan and the good fortune that brought him the objects that have focussed attention on a neglected problem.

My own first-hand knowledge, and most of the secondary data available to me, is of or from West Borneo, including (for this purpose) all Sarawak, Brunei, and the south-west part of Dutch Borneo. I have not attempted to deal, except in passing, with the rest of the island; only in the south-east is there, at present, data comparable in detail or interest to that from the west. Where gold and gold-seeking are concerned, the west coast has certainly long been paramount. But it must be emphasised that the data from every part of Borneo is poor. As Mr Basil Gray, Keeper of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, put it in a letter (1949), "Our archaeological material from Borneo is practically non-existent. We have a little pre-historic material and some pottery but nothing of interest in connection with Hindu influence". His comment can be extended to speak for all museums, and all students.

II. The Complicated Data

It is as if a curse were upon the study of Borneo gold. Even the value of the Sambas find itself is appreciably weakened because the exact locality is unknown, and the jar containing the objects was broken and lost. Thus we have no indication of the period or purpose of the cache. Indeed, it could be argued that there is no evidence that the hoard was found at Sambas at all. There are many incentives which might cause the anonymous and vanished finders to distort their story.

But the Sambas hoard is quite well documented by comparison with other Borneo finds, many of which have been lost, stolen, strayed, or muddled up. A few instances will illustrate the problem that faces us.

(i) The first Rajah of Sarawak (Sir James Brooke) made a collection of gold objects at Santubong, at the mouth of the Kuching River. These were all lost when the Chinese from the Bau goldfield rose and burned his Astana in 1857. The *nandi*, stone bull, from Bukit Berhala in the Samarahan River (IV) lost its head on the same occasion as did the *yoni*

(ii) In the Sarawak Museum is an empty envelope, originally sealed, saying: "Gold ornament picked up by men working diamonds up-river and brought in as Treasure Trove. Presented to Museum this 2nd day of Oct. 1897. C. Brooke". This is in the second Rajah's writing.

(iii) A notable series of gold and other objects have been found at Limbang from time to time. The largest group were taken over by the second Rajah, and, eventually, according to general belief (Banks, 1948 etc.), given to the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. But despite the assis-

tance of the Director (Sir Leigh Ashton), no trace of these can be found—either there or at any other Museum. Fortunately casts of at least some Limbang objects, including the only inscribed item from West Borneo, were recovered in 1945 from a Japanese soldier at Bau, and deposited in the Treasury at Kuching—where they lay forgotten again for some years, until found while seeking clues for the present paper. One Limbang ring was given by the Rajah to the late Mr. F. O. Ricketts, (then Resident at Limbang) and safely kept until the Japanese occupation, when it was melted down and used partly to mend one of his daughter's teeth.

Other curious examples will crop up in what follows. The effect has been to add considerably to the labour of piecing together the story, and to weaken the soundness and completeness of any arguments and conclusions that might be offered. In consequence, the negative side of the material must be treated with special caution.

As well as those specifically referred to in the text, the following have offered more general assistance, information, criticism or advice. In Kuching:—Mr E. Banks, Mrs E. M. Field, Mr T. Cromwell, O.B.E., Dr J. K. Tien; in Singapore:—Dato Sir Roland Braddell, Mr M. W. F. Tweedie and Mr H. D. Collings; in England:—Mr Soame Jenyns, Mr D. Barrett, and Prof. V. Gordon-Childe; in Paris:—Prof. C. Coedès; in New York:—Prof. R. Heine-Geldern. I owe a special debt to Mr D. L. Leach and the Department of Lands and Surveys, and to Mr F. W. Roe and the Geological Survey Dept. in Sarawak, for much helpful comment, and to Mr N. A. Lucas for assistance with Dutch translations. I have been unable to read the proofs owing to a long journey inside Borneo, and must thank Dato Sir Roland Braddell, Mrs Field and Dr C. A. Gibson-Hill for doing so.

III. Early Gold and Montrado-Sambas.

Before we can comprehend the part gold may have played in Borneo's cultural history—and, particularly in attracting people from other lands for centuries back—the known distribution and history of the gold sources themselves must be surveyed. As we shall see (VI, VII), the distribution of gold and of Indian objects is closely similar in many points. We shall have also to consider the problem of the source of Indian gold objects found in Borneo—local or imported. And (apart from this direct link) to trace out the main changes which have arisen from the presence of gold in the Bornean ground.* Although today Borneo is a very minor

* The geological and technical aspects lie outside this study. Posewitz (1889) still provides the best general account of them. The Geological Survey Dept. British Borneo, is shortly producing up-to-date statistics for Sarawak. See also Lucas 1949). To avoid complicating the text with many references, only those are given where the authority of the author and (sometimes) date and page reference are immediately relevant. Notation numbers hereafter refer to additional notes in the appendix, to avoid tiresome footnotes to the text.

gold producer (far under 0.1% of the world total) it must once have been a major source, before the days of Klondyke, California, Rand, Gippsland and Morobe.

(i) *Poli and Beginnings.*

One obstacle to the correct reconstruction of Borneo history is our heavy dependence on Chinese records with their difficult phonetics and character uncertainties. Here they centre around the terms Po-li, Po-ni and variants. Although Sir Roland Braddell (1948, p. 49) has done much to clarify this subject lately, and to confirm the significance of Brunei in Borneo as a contact centre, there are still many difficulties.

Mr Tan suggests (1948) that Po-lo may represent Sambas (rather than Brunei). This would require more evidence than the casual find, without precise provenance, of a jar containing Indian (and possibly other) objects. The Limbang hoard (V, iii) found close to Brunei might equally be taken to indicate the opposite. The term "Brunei", of course, came to be very widely and loosely applied like so many Borneo names. It is hereafter used to describe only the present township and district, unless otherwise stated.

Posewitz, in a similar mood, identifies Brunei and an A.D. 977 embassy to China with a prince of the Sambas-Landak area in West Borneo. In this period Pu-ni was said to make "bridal gifts of gold". He accepts the view that gold was known "to the earliest Hindoo population" and cites the tradition that it was "first found by Dayaks, in the clayey floor of a cave, at the north-east foot of the Snaman Mountains" near Mandhor (Mandor) which lies south of Montrado (see iii, below). Denison, a rather reliable recorder of early native lore, indicates the growth of of an important township in this area at Matan (since decayed) during the reign of Di Barut, shortly after "the arrival of the first Mohammedan missionaries". This would be about the 15th century here.

Traditions of this sort are rather likely, in West Borneo, to indicate a basis of fact (*cf.* VIII, below) and should not be dismissed without analysis. But the most we can say—pending the discovery of new documentation or fresh archaeological evidence—is that there is fair reason to think gold was *known* from Borneo a thousand or more years ago, but no proof at all that it was *mined* in any particular place. It has been shown that the "Indian quicklime" method of mining was used in the Philippines before the arrival of the Spaniards, although when they came the Chinese were working the mines. The Javanese are known to have used this method quite widely. Steiger (1929, p. 195) considers that such mining may have been initiated in Borneo and the Philip-

pines, as in Malaya and Sumatra, by "Sumatran or Javanese Hindo-Malayan people". (There are uncertain indications of "early iron age" gold workings in Malaya; see Linehan, 1936, p. 4).

(ii) *"The Golden Chersonese".*

Wider by far than the Po-li terminology, is that phrase which long held a half-magic place in the hopes and stories of many lands, *Aurea Chersonesus*, the Eastern Eldorado. Here again, the picture is confused by difficult texts.

Although in 1876 McMahon wrote a book on the Burma hill peoples entitled simply "The Karens of the Golden Chersonese", Malaya is usually considered to have been the *Aurea Chersonesus* of the ancients. Many modern writers take this for granted as proved and localised. Dr le May, (1938, p. 35) accepts the peninsula without question. Dr Quaritch Wales (1937, p. 23) considers that "the earliest Indian adventurers.....made their way to the Malay Peninsula in search of gold and tin"; he says "It is in the Buddhist Birth stories, many of which do not date from later than the third century before Christ, that we first read of voyages to the Land of Gold, "Chryse the Golden" of the Greeks, which we too prosaically call the Malay Peninsula".

Actually the direct evidence for Malaya seems rather weak, while the indirect evidence is sometimes contradictory. In 1839 Newbold estimated that 19,800 ounces a year were produced from the Peninsula, while mid-century St John gave 19,000. At the same period Low calculated—somewhat generously—70,000 ounces for the annual Sarawak section of Borneo gold production, *i.e.* only a part of the the island's yield.

Latterly Burkhill, like the geologist J. B. Scrivenor, accepts Malaya as the *Aurea Chersonesa,* but says:—"It is doubtful, however, if the production was very large". During the present century Malaya has seldom reached over 30,000 ounces in a year, and the greater part of this output has been due to one large company. Double this figure has not been unusual on the Bau section (Sarawak) since 1900. The Montrado-Sambas section, (iii and iv below) was far the highest Borneo producer in the last century. In 1812 Raffles put its annual yield at 250,000 ounces, a hardly credible figure even from such an unusually accurate observer, but his estimate, like that of Low, does indicate the *scale* of Borneo gold activity at that time. Raffles affirms that "Borneo is not only one of the most fertile countries in the world, but one of the most productive in gold and diamonds". And Crawfurd in 1820 writes of gold sources, "..... of particular islands, Borneo affords far the largest supply".

Sumatra, too, is said to have yielded 38,000 ounces a year early in the last century. It is now seldom equated with the Golden Chersonese, although in 1935 Professor Heine-Geldern wrote:—"Suvarnadvîpa, the 'island of gold', *i.e.* Sumatra, became known to the Hindus at the very latest about the first century A.D." Here again, one wonders if it is safe to be so specific? Earlier Horace St. John favoured it; he also records (p. 23) a story of an early Portuguese adventurer, Diego Pacheco, who proceeded down the coast of Sumatra enquiring for the "islands of gold", about which the natives were reluctant to speak: "When at length they gave any account, it was of a group lying a hundred leagues off, and separated from Sumatra by a maze of rocks and shaols." Raffles reproduces a map of different countries referred to in the Brata Yud'ha "according to the notion of the Javans". This shows, due north of and distant from Java, "Nusa Kanchano or the Golden Island", with a south-coast similar to Borneo's and one place name Mertapura (which could be Matapura in south-west Borneo). But it is striking that the maps of the Magellan period do *not,* in descriptive titles for west and south Borneo, refer to gold, although they note the residence of a nobleman and the presence of *diamonds.*

In 1941, Sir Roland Braddell re-examined Ptolemy's data, which provides the main "historical" basis for the Golden Chersonese. He points out that the three rivers, Khrysoanas, Attabas and Palandas, spring from a dominating mountain crest, flow together in a *common* stream, then divide to form the three. This certainly is a strange river system, and Sir Roland treats it with proper caution. But, from this and other data, he deduces that Ptolemy "realised he was dealing with a peninsula which widened out and narrowed again"; that he appreciated that this peninsula slanted north-west and south-east; but that he was mistaken in thinking the equator ran through it. The position of Sabana, which Ptolemy made the southermost point of the peninsula, is also examined. Eight years later Braddell again discusses Ptolemy and Sabana, stating: "There is no evidence upon which Sabana can be located". In Sir Roland's paper in the present symposium (which he has been good enough to let me see in manuscript), he considers, as a result of further studies, that Sabana may link with Borneo.

Crawfurd (1820, p. 190) doubts Malaya for various reasons, and points out that Linschoten, a pilot, writing in 1583 on Java, was still not sure if it was an island or a continent, after 70 years of Portugese navigation.

Ptolemy's localities cannot be placed precisely. He mapped second-hand information obtained from the masters of gold-selling vessels and other similar people. Legend and fact are intermixed.

The result is invaluable as a general pointer, but extremely unreliable on any particular point. The greater part of his description could, with corresponding allowances for mistakes, be transferred to Borneo or elsewhere almost as well as to Malaya. It may well be that the term Golden Chersonese was broadly used to cover not only the whole area, but the whole *aura* of gold. The emotions stirred by that one word, gold, in those days when its sources were few and remote, coloured and romanticised bare reality.[1]

We can only say confidently that the presence of gold in this part of Asia has probably been **known** from at least the beginning of the Christian era. We may also follow Professor Coedès (p. 43) in thinking that the Indians may have been driven to search eastward for gold when their Siberian source of supply was cut by events in Asia about the beginning of the era. It seems probable, too, that West Borneo was one of the earliest portions of Asia to be so known. And it is likely that the south-west portion, loosely known as Montrado and Sambas, was the earliest gold section discovered in Borneo.

It is also quite likely that the additional presence of diamonds in Borneo increased its early importance. Posewitz has shown how closely diamonds and gold are associated topographically in the islands. But once more actual *records* are very thin. According to Sir Richard Winstedt there are Borneo diamonds on the gold rings found at Fort Canning and believed to be about 11th century work (see VI, below). Posewitz (p. 380) supports the general view of Veth (p. 70) that Landak diamonds were well known at least in the 14th to 15th centuries. Laufer, in his exhaustive study of diamond history (1914), can find no clear sign of Borneo diamonds being known very early in the *West*. He cites as earliest an anonymous author in 1671 who says, "None has yet been able in all the world to discover more than five places from whence the diamond is brought, viz; two rivers and three mines. The first of the rivers is in the Isle of Borneo, under the equator, and east of the Chersonesus of Gold, and is called Succadan.

Laufer has, however, overlooked the information on maps of the Magellanic period, the best known of which gives Succadana as situated on the coast to the east of Sambas (and therefore of Montrado).[2]

(iii) *Montrado and the Chinese.*

Although nearly all authorities link Borneo gold (and gold in S.E. Asia generally) to India or other lands lying to the west, rather than to the mainland of Asia to the north, there is no actual record of any Indian or other western person working (or even

obtaining) gold here. The Borneo references are all general, not particular.

It is also somewhat surprising, in view of the frequency of early and late references to gold in this part of the world, that references in intermediate Chinese and Portugese-Spanish literature are so scarce. It is not until comparatively recent times that we have any sure evidence of the Chinese working Borneo gold. But they are the first persons for whom there is any historical information in this respect. The strength and scale of their activity in recent centuries make it so much the harder to believe that they were not at work much earlier.

In the specimens of T'ang and other Chinese pottery (Harrisson, 1949, 1950) collected in West Borneo, we have an on-the-spot documentation of some sort of contact for may be a thousand years or more, and reaching (indirectly) far inland. Ethnologically, there are indications of a much older contact—far back in the pre-Christian era; these are discussed noteably by Prof. Heine-Geldern (1945) and Prof. Otley Beyer (1948). Among recent Chinese scholars, Mr Han and Mr Hsü disagree (1948) on later attributions, including Tuyuan (= West Borneo?) in Han Dynasty records. Braddell (1949) considers there is documentary evidence of direct and close Chinese contact to West Borneo in the 6th century A.D. Dr Purcell (1948), however. raises some doubt about the *settled* nature of early Chinese contact, both in his published study of Malaya (1948) and in a wider study, including Borneo, which he has been good enough to show me in manuscript (1949). On the other hand, Posewitz (p. 313) states a later date view too boldly (*cf.* also VI v, below).

It is not, however, until the establishment of a measure of European control that we can say anything more definite. The notable absence of any reference to gold on a 16th century map has already been remarked although the name Montrado, presently to symbolise Borneo gold, has a strongly Iberian flavour. Thereafter Dutch influence grew and overcame the Portugese. In 1608, after the voyage of Oliver van Oort, an ordnance was issued decreeing a factory on the west coast of Borneo. Despite the non-cooperation of the then female ruler of Succadana, during the year they established a post there and (in 1609) one at Sambas. Initial settlement was weak and intermittent, until about 1788. Even then, the hold was tenuous until a considerable armed force was established in 1818. With the arrival of the Dutch it becomes gradually easier to disentangle the story of gold-seeking, though seldom, alas, as easy as the student would wish.

In West Borneo variants on the term "Montrado" emerge increasingly, and (often linked to "Sambas") become roughly

equivalent to the goldfield of the south-west. Another, less extensive, field also developed further east, in the south-east corner of the island about Banjermassin. This was probably later than the westerly field (Posewitz, p. 313), and lies outside the scope of this study. More slowly, we hear of gold further north in Sarawak, especially around Bau in the headwaters of the Kuching river and later again still further north. It is highly improbable that the gold areas known to Posewitz and mapped by him as "certain" in 1892, are less in any respect than those that may have been known to earlier persons. The Indians, for instance, could hardly have had any greater knowledge and no site used in Indian times (if they ever worked gold) is likely to have been subsequently forgotten and unidentified. Thus Posewitz's map, with proved gold sites concentrated in the south-west and to a lesser extent in the south-east, may well indicate also the pattern of much earlier times. At least it gives us a clue to the earlier story.

By about 1760, the "Prince of Mampawah" in the south-west had granted gold concessions to Chinese workers, and "soon after they obtained working rights in Sambas" (Posewitz p. 313). A French map of 1750 (in the Sarawak Museum) also shows a large lake upriver from Banjermassin with the title "Lac d'Or". The first larger settlements recorded were at Montrado and Larah, and by about 1780 gold-workers were established at Mandor, (*cf.* i above) and "drove out the race then living there". Crawfurd, (1856) puts the general picture thus:—

> "The miners of Borneo are the Dyaks or wild natives, the Malays, and the Chinese, and it is by these last that the mining is conducted with the greatest effect".

Elsewhere (1820) he says that only the Chinese mine effectively, and that "The seat of them is Borneo, and of that island principally the territory on its west coast".

An 1834 writer refers to the Chinese "capital" at Montrado, and states that the inhabitants:

> "Come with the idea of settling for life, and not, as in other places, with the intention of returning to their native country. They consequently pursue a better course of conduct, and become much better members of society".

The long-time centre of Montrado occurs in many disguises; Raffles has "Mentrada"; Earl, one of the first to visit and describe the area at first hand, calls it "Montradok"; Crawfurd prefers "Montradak"; Veth, Doty, Pohtman, and an anonymous author in the *Chinese Repository* (1834), all have "Montrado", as does Posewitz later, as well as the modern Malay Peninsula Map Sheet

46 (I/M North AE 46-50; Ordnance Survey, 1926). But a recent Sarawak map (Hind 500, N.A. 49, 3rd ed. Survey of India Office, U.S. Army Reprint 1945) has "Monterado".[3]

By the start of the 10th century a highly effective Chinese organisation radiated out from Montrado. Crawfurd (1820) reports 32,000 men and 4,000 women working 13 large and 57 small mines through all the hours of daylight. He estimates the whole Chinese population of this part of Borneo as 200,000, and gives a picture of a really flourishing goldfield, exporting mainly to Bengal and to China.

Earl describes his 1833 visit. As well as already "exhausted" mines there was an artificial lake about two miles in circumference for gold-working use, and a street three-quarters of a mile long, leading to the house of the Chinese "governor", who gave him a salute of three guns. Earl stresses the Chinese-Dutch antagonism, which was present from the start and reached grave proportions as the fields prospered, Chinese organisation consolidated and Dutch ambitions were thwarted or appetites whetted. In his view it was only through the Chinese governor, "a man of good natural abilities", that "the people were able to resist the encroachments of the Dutch". Such resistance had already become burdensome. In 1819 several attempts had been made to force them to pay heavily for their mining rights and the right (which they did not seek) to fly the Dutch flag, and to be guarded by Ambonese soldiers, (Veth). The lesser settlement at Mandor paid up 50 bongkuls of gold, but Montrado refused. In the previous year they had refused to pay a head-tax levied on an estimate of 25,000 adult Chinese workers. The Dutch had then altered their demands from a large sum (50,000 rupees) to 500 ozs. of gold, and on this being refused had eventually accepted 5 ozs.! A little later the Mandor Chinese also refused to pay further. The Dutch position was complicated by disputes between the parties concerned in tapping this potential source of rich revenue. The Malay rulers were incited to increase their demands by the example of the Dutch. The Sultan of Sambas already had a working arrangement with the Chinese in his area (*cf.* below), but the local Dutch official sought to intervene. The Dutch official further south, however, claimed that most of the Chinese came in "his" territory of Mampawah, not Sambas.

From the 1820s onward, when other methods had failed, the Dutch sent up a number of punitive expeditions. These were mainly successful in upsetting smaller settlements, discouraging the miners, causing increasing westerly migrations into Sarawak (IV i, below), and on occasions even making the determined Chinese adopt a scorched earth policy. Nevertheless, when Doty and Pohtman visited the area in 1838, they still found some 20,000 Chinese there and were able to refer to "the happy condition of

Montrado", though on the subfield at Mandor—established "about 60 years before"—"most of the mines are exhausted".

But the intermittent struggle for control continued, and in 1854 the Chinese were finally subjugated. As Posewitz puts it (p. 315):

> "These long wars were the ruin of the once flourishing gold-mining industry. Thousands of industrious workers were killed or scattered; while fresh workers did not arrive to take their place."

Today Montrado is not known, even by name, to most people interested in Borneo gold. It is a "ghost town", as surely as any in Gippsland or the Far West. In March 1949 we spent a long time looking for it in a USAAF plane, and only eventually located it by the scars of gold working on such a scale that not even the equatorial jungle had been able to obliterate and overgrow them in ninety years. Of the street Earl mentions walking along for three-quarters of a mile there remains only a handful of atap huts—less than a Dayak long-house. The principal memorial to the days of mass Chinese occupation are other names on the map, dotted all about: Hang-San, Siak-Tshe, Phi-Tshe-Ho, Ha-Ka-Wang, and many more.

(iv). *Sambas.*

The term "Sambas" was also widely extended to cover the gold areas of south-west Borneo, including sometimes Montrado. But usually it has been applied to the principal port and trading depot of this gold area, and to the gold mines on the Sambas river, north of the Montrado district.[4] It has been suggested that the name derives from a Dayak chief called Sambar of the Majapahit period.

Sambas has long been the gateway to this section of the west, and also thus served the Bau field in Sarawak up to the 1850s, before the Brooke regime became fully established.

It shared its role with Mampawah, but its importance continued longer. (Mampawah is said to have suffered from silting up of the port at one time also). In the thirties Veth wrote of 15-20 large sailing prahus from Sambas and 20-30 from Mampawah travelling to Singapore twice a year, largely carrying gold-dust (secondarily diamonds). All observers of the period stress the extent to which individual Chinese also returned to China with gold on their own persons.

Mis Ida Pfeiffer visited Sambas in 1852 and has left an interesting account—the general quality of *descriptive* writing

over the whole period and area is very poor. The town then contained "some thousands of inhabitants", many of the Chinese living on rafts in the rivers. She was impressed by a lavish supply of tinned foods and wine—"both hock and claret"—although shocked to find "that the Dutch here live on the same free terms with the native girls as the French do in Otaheite.....neither at Singapore, Sarawak, nor any of the English colonies have I ever seen anything of the kind".

Today, Sambas is still quite a large town by Borneo standards. The Dutch census of 1930 gave the population for the whole district as:—275 Europeans, 48,411 Chinese, 135,125 natives (Malays, Dayaks, etc.) and 596 other Asiatic.

Of these, 68,404 lived in the immediate vicinity. Many families still live afloat. But the trade is only trivially in gold now. And through the complex twist of recent events in Indonesia, it has once more become closely linked across the border with Sarawak, where certain prices are higher and certain commodities more available for purchase than in Dutch Borneo. At many points, in 1949, there is daily contact, movement of commerce and political influence overland from Sambas westward through its old goldfield area, which is now virtually deserted. In this, history is only repeating one of the oldest and easiest of Borneo's culture contact routes, with or without gold—but playing a big part in either case. Before we consider this aspect, however, it will be useful to summarise the position so far.

(v). *Summary So Far*.

1. There is considerable evidence that gold was known in S.E. Asia at least from near the beginning of the Christian era.

2. This evidence tends to be very inconclusive as to who worked gold and when and where.

3. The position of Borneo as an important early gold focus may well have been large—if not the largest in S.E. Asia. But this is very uncertain.

4. There are a good many indications that gold was worked in south-west Borneo at an early date, and the presence of gold objects, especially in gold areas of West Borneo, will confirm this later in this study.

5. But exactly where or by whom is not at all clear. There may have been early organised working on "Indian quickline" methods.

6. Though it is clear that Dayaks and Malays have worked gold on a small scale, the Chinese have developed this industry into significant proportions in the West Borneo within known history.

7. This Chinese dominance collapsed in Dutch Borneo in the middle of the nineteenth century, though the Chinese have continued the work until this day.

8. This collapse was due to:—

(a) The powerful Chinese socio-economic organisations developed practically into autonomous republics controlling a main source of wealth.

(b) This inevitably excited the greed of others.

(c) It also provided an "impossible" position for the power ostensibly governing the country, and angered it.

(d) As well as European or Malay rulers and leaders the Chinese sometimes alienated the pagan Dayaks who did not cooperate with them or assist them.

(e) In some places, payable gold was exhausted by the Chinese methods.

(f) The arrival of Sir James Brooke in Sarawak, 1839, and the consequent promise of a more secure political order further west, where gold was also to be found, (IV below).

9. The main field at Montrado, and west to Sambas (generally a considerable distance inland), gradually deteriorated therefore, so that by 1860 gold working on the Dutch side was at a low ebb.

There are two factors which may help to explain the apparently slow developing of gold-**mining** in Borneo:—

(i) Mr. Roe, (of the British Borneo Geological Survey) has drawn my attention to the fact that parts of Borneo, mainly Sarawak, have gold present mostly in a finely divided state invisible to the naked eye. In this condition it is difficult for the inexpert to locate and work it. This is particularly so at Bau (see IV, i, below).

(ii) The native pagan (Dayak) inhabitants of the interior areas have enjoyed a formidable and usually much exaggerated reputation for ferocity—"the wild men of Borneo", "head-hunters", "cannibals", "tailed men" etc. This might well deter inland penetration, especially for groups who could only visit the island with difficulty in relatively small numbers. Powerful migrations also occurred across Borneo, especially of the warlike Sea Dayaks (Ibans), and the interior was probably often unstable and dangerous to the outsider until recent times. Certainly much of

it was never brought under control by either Indian or Islamic cultures.

It may well be that the alluvial gold found in the south-western rivers—more easily detected and more accessible—was the first to be used from Borneo; and that it was obtained by individuals in quantities which would now be considered minute, but were not so to an early trader in a gold-hungry world centuries ago. Bock's (p. 136) record of gold dust shown to him by Dayaks far up the Kutei River in 1880 should be noted here. The chief there was Raden Mas, so named after his reputed gold hoard. In appearance (in Bock's plate) he was of Kenyah type. He was a nominal Mohammedan—Bock stresses the nominalism—and with power almost equal to that of the Sultan of Banjermassin. He had elongated ear-lobes, and a silk jacket with gold buttons.

It is probable that the earliest gold was obtained, by the simplest methods, by native peoples who exchanged it coastwards in small quantities. This fractional activity could long predate organised mining (*cf.* IV, iii, below).[5]

IV. Gold in British Borneo.

(i) *North and West, and the Question of Submergence.*

The pressure of gold hunger and political trouble pushed the Chinese northward and westward into what is now Sarawak in search of new and quieter places. Attempts by the Dutch to prohibit, with gun boats and border patrols, any person from leaving their territory without paying a lump sum, further encouraged clandestine emigration by jungle ways across the hills. The movement of miners began early in the last century and reached a peak in the middle of it. The main lines of movement were from Sambas direct to Bau, and from Montrado broadly north towards Marup and elsewhere. Parties would come and go prospecting too. Four men who had come over to Siniawan, near Bau, at about this time, returning with 40 Thaels (Veth; 60 ozs., St. John), were murdered en route by the Malay Patinggi Dapur. The Chinese retaliated by arriving in force, (700, St. John), but they were beaten off, losing one hundred men. The famed Muda Hassim became involved in settling the affairs, which, for a time, slowed down the westward trek.

On the other hand, trouble between the Chinese themselves sent a batch of a 1,000 to Bau in 1850. They had lived at the mouth of the Sambas river. The up-river Sambas Chinese had got into a major operation with the Dutch, as a result of capturing their forts and temporarily driving out those whom they considered oppressors. A Dutch force from Java returned and fought them down. The down-river Chinese did not help their country men.

The defeated turned on their unhelpful cousins and scattered them westward!

By 1848, Brooke had established some sort of order in the Bau district, which lay in the first part of Sarawak he occupied. St John, in that year, found an excellent path and "continual streams of small parties of Chinese" crossing the border into Sarawak from Sambas, "to whom all their collections are remitted four times a year". St John seems to have been the first to visit the actual "border"—on the Sarawak side of which, hitherto, there had been no definitely administered territory. Few Europeans have visited it since. Things have indeed gone to the other extreme and the border has become a defined thing in its own right, which has effectively obscured important points affecting the history and culture of West Borneo. For we are so used to thinking of it—as of any boundary—as confirming to some meaningful feature, and it has so separated the **official** portions of Sarawak and Dutch Borneo for the past century, that we have lost sight of the essential homogeneity, topographical and cultural, of the whole area. The easy to and fro movements of goldworkers is one illustration of this. In fact, seen as a whole, Bau, Sambas and Montrado are parts of one goldfield. It would—despite the often fanciful maps—be possible to go from one to the other, overland, without ever climbing a noticeable hillock. The head streams of the Bau and Sambas river system overlap and rise in parallel, on the "wrong" sides of the border. And so on. Had there been adequate maps of Borneo as a whole, this would have been recognised long since. It became abundantly clear, however, once one flew around and about in an aeroplane, through the cooperation of Lts A. Nelson and C. Cotton of the 13th U.S. Army Air Corps, who patiently (and sometimes not comfortably) flew me hundreds of miles during the monsoon season in pursuit of this paper's problems.

This is important to the present thesis for two reasons. Firstly it frees us from the need to think in terms of a sea passage from Sambas on the south-west coast round Tanjong Datu to the coast of Sarawak. A Hindu near Bau and one near Sambas might have met after a day's determined flat-walking. During much of the year it would be quicker to go from the mouth of the Sambas river to Santubong at the mouth of the Kuching river by foot and small prahu than sail there by sea, unless the loads were great. This corner of Borneo, although studded with mountains, is basically a plain, a unit, and one which long ago, as in 1949, may easily have had its to and fro land trade routes and contact groups. There is no natural obstacle to knowing about Bau gold, if you know about Sambas gold, except the obstacles of timidity, opposition and ignorance already indicated (see III. v.)

Secondly, it raises the question of possible sea or other direct water routes **across** what is now dry land. Professor Dobby has

already drawn attention to the mangrove plain around Sambas and its implications with reference to possibly recent emergence. Air reconnaisance shows that quite a small sinking of the land would put a much larger area than even he suggests under water continuously between the China and Java seas. Physically, and assuming for the moment such geological movement, it is **possible** that at some past period there were such water links or—looking at it another way—that this part of Borneo was a group of smallish islands (Mts Matang, Santubong, Poi, Penrissen, Tanjong Datu etc. as they are termed now). The two lowest "cuts" would seem to be the one near the top of Tanjong Datu, noted by Prof. Dobby, and a much larger one from the main Koemba headwaters branch of the Sambas river over the Sarawak river and on past Gunong Jagoi (110° 1′ E, 1° 21′ N on F.M.S. Survey, "Sarawak 1935"; General Staff Reprint 4545, 1945), to the edge of the Bau goldfield and beyond it. Between these two lies the largest massif of S.W. Borneo, Mt. Poi, rising to 5150 ft. Even here, tracks over the border range (as it here is) can be traversed in three days (Lundu to Sambas). Of course to get continuous water channels would require considerable level changes. Minor changes would produce many islets, but probably no continuous water line. Moreover directions of river-flow and silting up could have operated widely.

Professor Dobby, like all of us in this field, is so far working on supposition, not exact evidence. The **broad** geological evidence is, at present, to some extent in the other direction. The terrain in this area is mainly of crystalline schists and older eruptive Devonian rocks, the oldest land in Borneo. But this does not exclude local level changes or changes in river lines. In Malaya this subject has been discussed recently, and by no means dismissed, by J. B. Scrivenor (1949); and what looks like a possible case in point has been described from the east coast, by F. H. Fitch. In south-west Borneo preliminary observations in the Bau area by F. W. Roe suggest the distinct possibility of fairly recent local emergence. From archaeological data, I am strongly of the opinion that at Santubong at least the river mouth has altered drastically in the last thousand years or so (*cf.* VII below). Observation from aircraft suggests the possibility of similar changes elsewhere in this district.

As is so often the case in Borneo, native legend is relevant (VIII). The Land Dyaks of the area have translations not only of the general flood type found in most lands, but with specific local references; to quote Denison:—

> "Ships came right across from what is now the Sambas coast past the Sibungo range, to Sarawak. A small columnar mountain mid-way between Gumbang and Gading, called Jimas,

was then only just above water, and prahus used to touch there for ballast and big stones for anchor."

The basic fact is that access is easy to and fro, south and east to north and west, across this part of Borneo, in which the main goldfields are centred, and in which many Indian and gold objects have been found (VI & VII below). It is **one** area, and must be so considered if we are to understand Indian influences here. But as well as that, if there have been level changes within the past one or two thousand years, they might help to solve certain outstanding problems. For instance, to take the least example, the presence of stone objects of considerable size on hillocks like Bukit Berhala in the Upper Samarahan (VII). Or, to take something towards the other extreme: if part of the present gold area, (much of which is in present-day tidal waters, or barely above sea-level), was submerged 1,500 years ago, it might explain a good deal on the negative side of why, say, some Borneo gold seems to have been left so long untouched. Here again, archaeology may show us the answer?

Whatever the position one or two thousand years ago, there is a natural line of penetration from the south and east on the Sambas-Pontianak coast and then overland into the Bay of Santubong, via the Lundu and Kuching watersheds, or further north. It is along this front that many of the present Dayak and other inhabitants of the southern part of Sarawak have entered. The Land Dayaks trace their descent in legends, 20 to 40 generations back, along such routes to Java. The leading Kuching Malays trace to Java too, but more directly (*cf.* VIII).

This broad front across the south-west of Borneo is paralleled again further north. From their genealogies and legends it is certain that the main stream of the Sea Dayaks (Ibans), who form the major pagan element in West Borneo, (north of the Land Dayaks) came westward over from the Kapuas basin on the borders of East/West Borneo as here defined. Further north again, the Kayans and Kenyahs, who mostly inhabit the upper reaches of the great Rajang and Baram rivers, came within the last few centuries across from the Batang Kayan in Dutch Borneo. Beccari (p. 366) suggests there was an important line from the east coast up the Kutei to this sector; if so, it would link Indian influences in that area with the far interior (*cf.* IX, X). Certainly these later peoples spread over much of the west, absorbing or driving back earlier populations. And the line of movement was from south and east, generally towards the north-west. (It is not, of course, suggested that there were not also movements of other kinds by sea).

(ii) *Bau & Brooke Times.*

The Bau part of the south-west goldfield probably has the most recent history of the significant gold areas in Borneo. It was certainly in use early in the nineteenth century. Sir James Brooke (1843) mentions 3,000 Chinese coming over at one time from the Dutch side as early as 1828. There are no old records or traditions for Bau, as at present known. On the other hand, the area has provided a significant number of gold and Indian objects (V—VII below) to indicate its long-time usage by outsiders, even if there is no direct proof that they knew of its gold. The position in this respect is, as with Montrado or Sambas, at present one of conjectural probability. Unfortunately I cannot trace the evidence on which a writer in the *Sarawak Gazette* (1929) affirms that;

> "traces of work have been disclosed which must have been carried out at least 100 years before the Sambas Chinese reopened the mines in the beginning of the nineteenth century."

There are certainly numerous indications of Chinese material objects of much earlier date in this area, but these were not necessarily brought into the district by Chinese in the first place (*cf.* Harrisson, 1949).

Marryat (1848) describes the sites as "worth to Mr Brooke about £1000 per annum after all the expenses were paid." St John found "about 600 (miners) mostly engaged in gold working" during the same year. By that time the first white Rajah was already uneasy at the immigration, and he wrote of thirty new arrivals from Sambas led by one Captain Sing Song, who:—

> "reports that he has a secret for turning antimony ore into silver. I think I see through the cunning of this celestial. Does he aim at manufacturing bad money? Forwarned, however, is to be forearmed. Two years ago I should have been glad of this small influx of Chinese, but with extended experience I by no means desire an increase of Chinese population, without the means of ruling them with a rod of iron, for they are a people devoid of every feeling either of principle or of gratitude." (Mundy, p. 75).

In the same period Low says that "thefts and robberies are always traced to the natives of Sambas", while earlier Earl describes the Borneo Chinese in general as "the lowest class at Canton, being, I believe, of Tartar origin", as well as "generally unamiable in their dispositions, and their conduct towards strangers is characterised by rudeness and extortion". But Helms, one of the first Brooke mining employees, considers that, "through intercourse with the aborigines a race sprang up, which combined many of the good

qualities of the two races, and strengthened the influence of the Chinese". The hostile judgements largely arose from the not unnaturally antagonistic attitude of the Chinese towards Europeans and "outsiders" generally at this period. Subsequently the first Rajah himself was to record a number of very favourable opinions about them as colonists, and today they form, under previous Brooke regime encouragement, a third of Sarawak's population (in 1850 they cannot have been more than a few thousand in west Borneo, north of the Sambas river). But before this, and following rapidly upon these sharp remarks came the Chinese insurrection of 1857.

In this insurrection, several of the small British community at Kuching, the growing capital, were killed, and the Rajah barely escaped with his head. He lost, as we have seen (II above), the heads of West Borneo's only *nandi* and *yoni*, as well as the first collection of gold ornaments. The rebels were a strong force of Chinese who descended on Kuching from the Bau goldfields up river. The affair was largely a reflection of the general unrest of that time, and its roots lie deep in the experiences of these same Chinese while at Sambas and Montrado. It was stimulated by Brooke's own attitude and anxiety, which led him to try and enforce a rigorous discipline around Bau, including some severe sentences upon Chinese malefactors and the levy of taxes—when the immigrants were seeking to escape westward from the controls and severities they had come to hate. The "Secret Society" structure of the Chinese was, as usual, relevant. The whole restless setup was exploited by leaders, on the Dutch side of the border, angry at losing their revenue and manpower to Sarawak. Moreover the paramount Malay house of Brunei had interests in upsetting Brooke, though these interests were divided. St John even suggests a physiological connection, in that the ruling Malays were:

> "greatly involved with Chinese ideas.....(for) the young nobles are always nursed by girls chosen from among the healthiest of the daughters of gold workers".

Gould & Bampfylde, writing much later (1909), put much of the blame directly on to the Sultan of Sambas, and this is probably fair. He was not only concerned at the movement of Chinese but at the contrast between his rule and that of Brooke, and at the migration of Land Dayaks, his hereditary vassals, over into Sarawak.

But once more the Chinese were defeated and routed; once more the equation, Chinese x Gold = Dominance did not balance out. The remnants of the rebel force were hunted back eastward across the border. Within a few years they were back, though at first slowly—even in the 1871 Census there were still only 5,000 in Sarawak (as then defined; a much smaller territory than now).

In that year, the export of gold was about 165 bungkals, valued at £4,952[6].

The Borneo Co. Ltd was early associated with the Brooke family in developing the Bau field. But at first their main interest was in antimony, (see note 1 in appendix) and gold did not seem so obvious a proposition. Many of the workers on the field won *both* gold and antimony (see especially Helms, 1882, Chapter IV). In 1900, the second Rajah Brooke opened a new and highly mechanised Borneo Co. goldworks at Bidi, near Bau, to extract the finely divided gold which occurs in a series of marls and shales pierced by numerous dykes. Special methods had to be evolved to work it, and in 1905 the experienced geologist Scrivenor described the method as "unique in the East". These difficulties may well have put Montrado and Sambas ahead of Bau gold historically? But there is also extensive alluvial and diluvial gold about Bau, and the Chinese had developed an elaborate dam and flume system before the Borneo Company erected its big plant.

Big yields were obtained by B.C.L. employing mainly Chinese, for some years (the highest, 68,108 fine ozs. in 1907). By 1906, sliming was replacing leaching. By 1922 the company felt that economically workable gold was, from their point of view, running out. Operations then reverted back to Chinese private companies. An anonymous writer in the *Sarawak Gazette* declared that the Borneo Company's departure from this field "marked the finish of the industry". But only a few months' later another in the same journal describes how:—

> "Since the Borneo Company's cessation of mining operations in Upper Sarawak, there has been amazing activity in the quest for gold.....innumerable Chinese and Malays have been scrambling to obtain rights to stream for free gold".

The sharp rise in gold prices during the thirties resulted in an annual average of over $1,000,000 (Straits) export annually, and in several years the Borneo Company's own top cash earnings were exceeded. The Japanese occupation brought operations to a standstill, but there is now a slow return to business. Lucas has estimated that over $5,000,000 worth of extractable gold remains in the old B.C.L. tailings alone, irrespective of other sources. By now, over a million ounces of gold, valued at over thirty-five million dollars, has been exported from Bau.

(iii) *Smaller Sites in West Borneo.*

Outside the south-west corner, Montrado-Sambas-Bau, no appreciably large gold area has been found. But a number of smaller sites have yielded results to Chinese and other local workers during the past century or so. All of these lie east, and to the

south-west, of Kuching. They are really outliers of the main south-west gold area. Further north in Sarawak no gold is known.

Mr J. W. Evans, for many years manager of the Government-owned coal-mine in the Sadong River, which lies north of the Kuching river, informs me that he knew, as old men, a number of Chinese who had come over into that area, prospected and settled there 70 or more years ago. They formed a considerable settlement of Chinese, at Tebedu, in the Tebekang tributary of the Sadong. Melikin is another small site here.

A branch of the Montrado miners also went to Marup, above Engkilili on the Batang Lupar river, which lies immediately north of the Sadong. The first Rajah visited some thereabouts in 1852, on a prospecting trip—they were finding "small quantities". An 1870 writer found 450 Khah Chinese, living in "great comfort" with a model settlement, school, gardens and a five mile road. Things were going well here in 1874, but later the settlement petered out, stimulated by a 1900 report of a rich deposit just over the Dutch side of the border. There was a minor revival in 1931, and some gold is still won by Chinese fossicking on the Lobok Antu section of this area.

During the last century, small amounts of gold were washed out of the seashore areas at Buntal, Tambah and Santubong, all on the Santubong "island" in the delta of the Kuching river (*cf.* V). This is, of course, down river on the same water system as the Bau field. In 1874 the people near Buntal were said "to procure a living by collecting the sand from the crevices of this reef, which sand is said to be rich in gold".

In the total story of Borneo gold to date, these sites have been of very minor importance, but locally they have played quite a part. From Sarawak north of the Batang Lupar, and Brunei, no significant amount of gold is yet known *in situ*. But there are scattered records of gold being found in other places, without being mined. For example, in 1941, a party of Kenyahs from Dutch Borneo came down the Rajang with a small amount of gold dust to buy cloth and other things. They said they had obtained this on their way down the Rajang though this may have been untrue (Museum files, 28.8.41). Such casual working is nevertheless probably characteristic of the primary gold production unit, and on that scale there may be gold worth a pagan's time almost anywhere, (*cf.* III. v. above).

In 1911, Geikie mentions "low grade alluvials of no extent" from near Sarikei on the lower Rajang. In the same year Parnell lists, among tributes paid to the Sultans of Brunei, according to a manuscript of about 1730 A.D., gold payment by the people of Oya and Rajang (central west coast). He comments:—

> "Presumably the gold used for taxes was native gold from these two districts. This is of interest because only bare traces can be found up the Rajang River now, though a place called Makam up that river is still well-known for its former gold, which is said to have been of very fine quality".

Parnell's document contains other and vaguer references to gold, which add up to definite evidence that gold (dust?) was in regular current circulation between natives at least as early as 1730 well outside the known mining areas and up to Brunei. This may have been locally panned dust or traded up from further south—or both.

(iv). *Other Parts of Borneo.*

Reference has already been made to the quite important S.E. Goldfield in the Banjermassin area. Gold is also known from a few points further north on the Dutch side, trivially, and all lying outside our main study area.

In north Borneo the indications of gold are extremely limited. According to the *Handbook of British North Borneo,* 1890 edition, Capt. R. D. Beeston was the first European to find gold, in 1883, in the Segama River. But Hatton (1885, p. 266) gives the name as Walker. Mr H. G. Keith has kindly written me the following additional information:—

> "In 1888 the British Borneo Gold Mining Company was formed to exploit gold in the Segama river area. About that time there was quite a gold rush but nothing much came of it all as they could never find the actual source or in paying quantities. Pre-war there was another attempt, but again nothing much came of it".

(v). *Borneo Gold: The General Picture.*

Since Posewitz's map, very little indeed has been added to our knowledge of gold distribution in Borneo. The broad picture is of an approximately 99% concentration south of 1° 30′ N., which divides the island roughly at Kuching. This gold is concentrated in a small area at the south-east corner, and a larger area at the south-west corner of the island. At present, Bau is the only active producing unit in West Borneo. This south-west field comprises three very rough sections, under the terms Montrado, Sambas and Bau, with outliers up to the Batang Lupar. There is very little known gold outside this corner. The development of the gold area has in historic times been by penetration from the south-coast line, generally north and westward, with subsidiary sea movement. It is possible that this has always been so (see i. above) and certain that the large and thriving pagan population in

Sarawak came principally along this line, which is a basic culture route for Borneo.

Borneo gold is rooted in cultural strata to which we can no longer trace back with certainty. The gold addiction of the earliest Indo-Aryans (as represented in the Rig-Veda); or the insistence of the Emperor Wang of the Ch'in (221—207, B.C.) on the turning in of all gold, with such success that "even far away Rome felt the drain"—Tiberius prohibiting the wearing of silk because it was bought with Roman gold—these are random indications of early hungers which continue to dominate the economy of the newly affianced Cockney docker, the enterprising Malay girl of taste, and the hard or soft currencies which determine the shape of the next world crisis. Except that in the early days S.E. Asia, whether we include Borneo or not, must have been a major source of supply, whereas today it is at a low ebb—the inferences are the same; only the emphases differ[7].

It is not difficult to imagine at some not far distant date a a revival of interest in the gold area of West Borneo, associated perhaps with the discovery of new sites, now that, at long last, Sarawak and North Borneo have a joint Geological Survey (initiated 1949). Changes in the balance of world politics, the growth of one or more autonomous Asiatic blocs, the temporary or lasting dislocation of Western gold economy—these are some of the possible influences which might occur and once more throw the sharp focus of Chersonesus interest back to Borneo gold. For in the tormented changes of over a thousand years, one thing does seem reasonably sure: that gold will remain a symbol of value, stability, enterprise and power, the yardstick of most so-called civilizations—unless and until one economy dominates all and rejects (if it can) one of man's oldest and most tyrannical obsessions.

That the story of West Borneo gold is by no means ended is implied in an event of August 15th 1949, when, at a public auction, a Chinese-owned Bau mine sold at $155,000. This covers about one-tenth of the mining land taken up on lease at present, which in turn constitutes about one-tenth of the Bau goldfield as at present known.

V. Distribution and Kinds of Golden Objects.

(i) *Number of Gold Objects.*

Having considered the available evidence on gold-working, and the development of gold-seeking, mining and exporting, the known gold objects of West Borneo can be examined far more effectively against their natural background.

I have been able to trace records of about 115 gold objects in the area, excluding the Sambas hoard which is being dealt with

by other and abler hands in this symposium, though I should add that through the courtesy of Mr Tan I have also been able to examine some of his treasure myself. In totalling these gold objects I have been liberal in definition. I have, however, excluded gold objects of *definitely* modern origin. Thus, in Kuching and Brunei, gold-thread cloth has been made in this century; Kuching has a number of goldsmiths making trinkets and minor objects today. The filigree goldwork on *kris* handles is also excluded as extending over a long period and extremely difficult to localise. I also have misgivings about three gold rings from Montrado, and a find of thinly beaten gold badges from the Sadong River (below); they may well be of recent origin though the former was recorded in 1839. Clearly no hard and fast rule can or should be drawn and *all* gold objects are finally relevant. But we have to keep the material within practicable bounds.

The total of 115 is, of course, only approximate, because a number of acceptable records merely state, for example, "manufactured gold" found at Bau (Everett, 1880): "Gold ornaments of the face" near Kuching (Low, p. 271): or "fragments of gold ornaments" from Santubong (*Sarawak Gazette* 1888, p. 872: 1889, p. 23). It is also extremely difficult to know, in several cases, if two apparently separate references do not really refer to the same item. For, strange as it may seem, not one piece of gold from West Borneo (until this Sambas find) has been properly published. There have been passing references, nearly always of the most cursory, and sometimes confusing kind. Even the important Limbang find of rings, including one with the only known Indian inscription from West Borneo, have only been referred to *passim*; some of these Limbang items also form the subject of the only illustration of gold objects from West Borneo—a poor black and white sketch, without comment, reproduced in one of Hose's popular books (1926). The rest has been a blank—and to a large extent must now remain so.

Of the above gold objects:—

About 60 have been seen in the original form while preparing this paper, but all except two of these are minor beads & small items.

About 16 have been seen in what are believed to be accurate replicas.

About 40 cannot be traced in any form, and are only known by a reference in writing (never with details or description). Every effort has been made to trace these.

In addition there are traditional or mythical items of more or less doubtful actuality, to be dealt with in section VIII below.

The word "about" is used above because we do not know the exact number of items in many cases. It is also rather misleading to give ten tiny gold beads, found together, ten times the value of a massive gold ring.

So blank has been the West Borneo record, hitherto, that Dr Coomaraswamy, in a recent authoritative survey (1947) of Hindu and Indonesian relationships, confines himself exclusively to East Borneo, and has no word to say on the west.

Many of the West Borneo items supposed to be in the Sarawak Museum are no longer to be found. Presumably most were removed by the Japanese—one of the few deliberate injuries, they did to this Museum. After the war, the Hon'ble Mr W. L. P. D. Ditmas tells me that he found one Museum gold object in Lingga Fort, on the Batang Lupar, where it had been taken by an Australian officer! Others were recovered from other Japanese, or not at all, (*cf.* II above).

Much more has certainly been found but never reported. As Dr Linehan points out (1940, p. 18), there are many incentives towards native or local suppression of gold finds. But perhaps we have been more fortunate than East Africa, which was so systematically looted of gold in archaeological sites under the impetus of Cecil Rhodes, Schofield (1948, p. 84) refers to 700 ozs. of gold ornaments and 11 items "of the greatest importance, *all* of which have completely disappeared without any record having been made of their existence". It is, indeed, the greatest good fortune that the Sambas figures came to the attention of one of the few men in S.E. Asia who was able to appreciate and to secure them—or they too might by now be in human teeth or on a mistress's fingers.

Nevertheless, the somewhat painful combing of the records involved in preparing these notes does alter the picture. From an area ignored in this respect by students, West Borneo emerges afresh as possessing quite a number of gold objects—and by inference many more unrecorded or undiscovered. The Sambas hoard is the most striking so far, but the Limbang hoard is perhaps as informative. On a larger scale, the traditions of Brunei, (of which Limbang is in effect a suburb) indicate with some plausibility a throne of gold in the Sultan's palace, gold ornaments and fine gold cloth (which survives to this day in certain forms), and on the more frankly mythical level, Brunei's culture hero pursuing a golden-horned ox, and tipping his children out of a golden box. A later Sultan, (the Nakhoda Ragam found in various forms in South-East Asia) kills his wife accidentally with a golden pin,

(ii) *Geographical Distribution.*

Despite the poverty of data, the few that we have show a distinct and interesting geographical distribution. For purposes of comparison, we can divide Borneo into seven districts, selected simply in relation to the present problem. The fifth could suitably be subdivided into many, but without clarifying anything here. These divisions, which will be found to apply equally well when detailing "Indian Objects", (VII) or analysing golden legends (VIII) are:—

A. — **Montrado—Sambas.** Apart from Mr Tan's hoard, data from this district available to me are of the thinnest. There may be Dutch information which has been overlooked. I therefore include in it Montrado and all the Dutch west.

B. — **Bau—Kuching.** This includes all the inland area drained by the Sarawak River, at many points of which gold has been mined.

C. — **Samarahan—Batang Lupar.** These lesser river basins to the north and east of (B) are part of one general area with (B) but can conveniently be subdivided to avoid confusion. As with (B), gold mines and gold objects have been found on both river systems.

D. — **Deltas of (B)—(C).** The coastal belt of Santubong Bay and and up the coast to the mouth of the Batang Lupar, can conveniently be distinguished from (B) & (C). No appreciable gold has been mined in this area, but sea access to inland areas is easy; and gold objects are known.

E.— **North of Batang Lupar to Baram:** This great stretch of country, over half of West Borneo, is so far barren of a single gold mine or gold object (*of* V. iii).

F.— **Brunei Bay & Hinterland:** No gold, but gold objects. The entrepot for West Borneo, especially Majapahit, (X, XI).

G.— **North of Brunei Bay:** Vague gold objects reported. Very little gold.

Using these necessarily arbitrary divisions, and a necessarily arbitrary numerical method,[8] we get this sort of picture.

Distribution of recorded Gold Objects in West Borneo.

District	*Number of Records of:* *1 or 2 objects at one spot.*	*More than 2 objects at one spot.*
A.— SAMBAS.	1	2
B.— BAU—KUCHING	10	2
C.— SAMARAHAN—SADONG	1	1
D.— Deltas of (B)—(C)	2†	2
E.— BATANG LUPAR—BARAM (inland & coast).	—	—
F.— BRUNEI BAY & HINTERLAND	2	1
G.— NORTH OF BRUNEI BAY	1	1

Some other items have no known provenance. Of course these figures cover a very wide range of reliability and also depend largely on chance.

It is at once apparent that the occurrence of known gold objects corresponds to an appreciable extent with the occurrence of gold in the ground, except in the case of Brunei Bay. But Brunei (and Limbang is on the same delta system) was for centuries the principal centre of power in West Borneo, and the centre of trade to the north, to the markets of China—and probably many other lands. The striking fact is the great blank area (E) in the middle. In other ways this is just as well known as any part of Borneo. Excluding Kuching and Brunei, it includes all the existing main centres of population and trade. In recent years it has been subject to intensive mining for oil, with associated examinations on a large scale, which appear to have revealed nothing. The majority of the gold objects in the other districts have been found casually, in river banks, when clearing land, by landslides, upon the sea-shore, or in the possession of natives.

Again, north of Brunei Bay, there are only a few general records of gold objects, reminiscent of the thinness of gold in the ground.[9] As Mr H. G. Keith has said (*in litt.*), "So far as I know, nothing of antiquity has been found here" (i.e. North Borneo as a whole).

If A, B, C, and D, all distinctly in the "south-west corner", and in one broad area (comprising about a fifth of West Borneo) are taken together, the great preponderance of gold objects come from here. The other four-fifths, the part which has no known gold in the ground, contributes only a minority of gold objects. There are sometimes several sites within the one locality. Further researeh may alter this picture, and it would be most rash to generalise broadly at this stage. Nevertheless, the parallels are noteworthy. They are not "surprising", in so far as gold fields and gold objedts may reasonably be expected to go together, especially if persons were working the gold to make fine objects. But the *"reason"* would in such a case be that gold was mined by the same people as those who made the objects, or at least by craftsmen living near to them. Therefore, the apparent parallel throws important light in this case; for, as we shall see, many of the gold objects are of dates long before definite records of gold **working,** and thus pre-dating the evidence of earlier sections (III and IV).

The distribution confirms the validity of the overland lines of movement from the south coast already suggested (IV i). This distribution will have to be further considered in connection with the workmanship and origins of the objects themselves.

(iii)—*Particular Sites.*

Careful pursuit of clues has failed to reveal any single definite and exact site of any gold object known from West Borneo (including the Sambas hoard). There is no point at which anyone now can resume from a previous find and pursue it scientifically in its wider context. Most of the objects have been found quite by chance and put on record only in vague terms.

One of the more specific is Low's account, (1848, p. 271):—

> "Some jars and other earthenware, similar to that used in India in the present day, have been dug up close to the town of Sarawak, in the garden of Mr. Hentig, a European gentlemen residing there. In one of the earthen jars, which resembled the chatty, used for cooking by the Hindus, were discovered the golden ornaments of the face which are common amongst the people of Hindustan".

But attempts to locate where Mr Hentig lived 101 years ago proved hopeless; and no trace of the ornaments in question remain. Some of the references are so tantalising, like one in the Brooke Diaries (1866, I. p. 48), too vague even to be counted as a gold "find"; he is writing of Bau district (Upper B):—

> "The remains of former villages possessing inhabitants of a far higher state of civilisation are frequently being found.... Other remains, far distant, have been brought to light, with some of the gold ornaments, seven feet under ground as well as many articles of crockery and other utensils. These articles being found much further in the interior, gives the subject additional interest".

The site of which we have the clearest picture is that of the Limbang hoard, (8 rings, 2 chains, 4 ear or nose ornaments, 2 or 3 coat fasteners, a bar or buckle, gold beads, probably a Persian coin, etc.). These, and other objects from there at other times, appear to have been in the ground on the slope behind the present Government Offices and Residency, about the hillock Bukit Mas. There are several general references in the *Sarawak Gazette,* but the best account is that kindly given to me by Miss Dora Ricketts:—

> "My father was Resident, Limbang, when we were very small. We had some Sarawak Rangers stationed there at that time, and their wives would often go on to the hillside to look for fruit and bamboo shoots and fern tops. One day, one of them found a gold object and told her friends and several of them searched and found more. These they kept as they did not know they belonged to anyone. Until one day my father noticed there were more people than usual digging about the

hill side, as if in search of something. On making enquiries, he was told the whole story, and collected the gold objects from the people, explaining that they belonged to the Rajah; and he sent them all to the Rajah".

These constitute the most important find, apart from the Sambas hoard, because of the identifications made possible thereby (iv below). Apparently it was first revealed by a landslide (Gould & Bampfylde, 1909, p. 39), about 1904. Through the courtesy of Mr I. Harper (District Officer, Limbang) an attempt to locate the exact spot was made by putting the matter before the local Advisory Council, including the senior natives of the district. No further clues could be obtained, and the site is only certain to within, say, 500 yards.

Several items have been found at Santubong (D) but these appear to have been along the flat land around the base of the peak over a distance of 1-2 miles. From Pengkalan Ampat (B) some beads were found at "Lobang Kleh", and from the Sadong (C) badges at "Tana Susor", not pinpointed.

Only the lion is for anything else but direct *use*, and nearly all the objects are for personal adornment. No gold religious figures have so far been reported, except the Sambas hoard; but there are examples in brass, stone and terra-cotta (VII).

(iv) *Kinds of Objects.*

The kinds of objects found should be examined. For this table, individual items of a hoard or find are enumerated separately:—

Kind of Object:	*Approx. no. recorded.*	*Approx. no. examined for this paper*
1. Figure.	1	1
2. "Manufactured gold".	(1)	0
3. "Gold Objects".	(1)	0
4. Ornaments (unspecified).	15+	? (see 4c).
5. Ear Ornaments.	4+	3
6. Nose ornaments.	2	1
7. Coat fasteners.	3	3 (see 7b).
8. Cap badges.	16	16
9. Rings.	14	8
10. "Bead rings".	24	24
11. Beads.	30	18
12. Necklaces & chains	3	2
13. Coins.	1	0
14. Bar (currency?).	1	1

(v) *Details of Objects.*

1. **The Lion:** (Plate 9A). Found Limbang (district E) in 1929. Exact locality unknown, but it came into the hands of Mr J. R. Combe, the District Officer, who took the original but had a cast in brass made for Sarawak Museum. No published data; the above information on the label is attached to the cast recovered from the Custodian of Enemy Property, Kuching, in 1947.

This unusually proportioned beast hardly seems Indian in character. Mr Basil Gray suggests that it may be a good deal later than Indian influence in this area. But, though I am inclined to agree, it hardly fits the local Mohammedan pattern. Photographs of the figure sent to various persons (including Prof. N. Sastri, Prof. G. Coedes, Prof. C. K. Codrington) have produced further suggestions. Assuming the cast is correct, the figure is 42 mm. long, 13 high at the rear and 18 wide across the top of the head. The "mane" is represented by 12 incised lines. Front feet have five toës; back feet less clear. The feet splay out forward—quite unlike, say, a *nandi* pose. The tail is unclear, but runs on the left side folded along the body. Bushy eyebrows. Rough rib marks. The back is flattened. The atmosphere is almost that of a "toy".

2. **"Manufactured Gold":** Said to have been found in Ahup Cave, near Bau (B), by Everett (1880 p. 280). No other details, merely these two words, included in a list of items noted "in the cave".

3. **"Gold Objects":** Mr H. G. Keith (North Borneo), writes (17/2/49):-

"A German named Breilag (? spelling) is supposed to have excavated a number of gold objects (? jewellery) from caves in the early 1900's." No further details are available, but Mr Keith adds:- "I don't imagine it was of any archaeological interest".

4. **"Ornaments—unspecified":**

(a) *"An ornament of twisted gold"*, from North Borneo, is mentioned by Mr I. H. N. Evans, (1922, p. 270). A Bajau told him he found this in a field, cut it in two, then sold it to a smith who melted it down. This apparently occurred near Tempasak in the north-west (G), though the text is not clear.

(b) *"Gold ornaments of the face"* were found in a Kuching garden prior to 1848, as already cited, (Low, 1848, p. 271, *cf* iii above). No other details are available.

(c) *Two "gold ornaments"* were found at Lobang Kleh, near Pengkalan Ampat on the left branch of the Sarawak River, in 1899, purchased by the Government and placed in the Sarawak Museum (Ethnological Catalogue 1053 and 1056). One, (1056) is, however, a bead (see 11 b below). There is also in the Museum, a round bead-like object which appears to have been part of an ear-drop or some other ornament, though the piece is without sufficient character to identify its function. It has no label, but it is in an envelope with no. 1056, so it may be the otherwise missing 1053, (*cf* 11b). These two, and other items to be discussed below, (totalling 6 in all) are presumably referred to by Everett and Hewitt, who write, (1909, p. 6):-

"Fairly large quantities of gold treasure of this type have been found on the left hand branch of the Sarawak River below Pengkalan Ampat".

While Mr. Banks (1947, p. 32) points out that "this branch of the Sarawak

River has yielded a number of gold ornaments to diamond washers and others". Clearly other items have been found and not reported or detailed in this area.

(d) *A "gold ornament"* was found at Pengkalan Ampat and presented to the Sarawak Museum (number 1166) by H. H. the Rajah on August 9th, 1902. The catalogue describes it as "? a pendant"; there is no other data on it, and it cannot be traced now—unless it is number 5d below.

(e) *A "gold ornament"* picked up by diamond washers on the Sarawak River in 1897 was presented to the Museum (number 2260); the information on the envelope which contained it at that time has been quoted (11, ii, above). No locality is given, but the object was evidently found upriver from Kuching, probably on the left branch. No description exists and the item cannot now be located—unless it is No. 5d below.

(f) *"Fragments of worked gold and other ornaments"*, are listed as added to the Sarawak Museum in 1888 (*Sarawak Gazette*, 1888, p. 87), without locality. This was in the Museum's early days, and the extant catalogue does not start until 1892. No further data are available; nor are the specimens.

(g) *"Fragments of gold ornaments"*, are again listed as additions made to the Museum in January 1889, (*Sarawak Gazette*, 1889, p. 23); as with (f), no description or specimen remains. In this case, however, we have a locality, as the objects were "washed from the soil at Santubong, under the direction of the Hon'ble the Resident, on behalf of the Sarawak Government".

(h) *"Fragmentary remains* of what appear to have been ear and nose ornaments" are referred to by Everett and Hewitt (1909, p. 6) as found at Santubong. These may or may not include (f) and (g) above, and probably represent further finds. According to local tradition at Santubong, Everett, who lived there for many years, acquired a considerable number of gold objects. We know nothing further about them, and no piece of gold is now known to survive from that locality. Everett considered gold objects seen there by him to be of Indian workmanship (*cf* VI below).

5. Ear Ornaments:

(a) Hose (1926, p. 17) illustrates part of the Limbang objects, in an indifferent page of line drawings. The plate includes a *long pendant or drop*, roughly pear-shaped, and with transverse bars near the bottom, larger end. The upper end has a ring for suspension. Unfortunately, despite this plate, Hose gives no description of the objects. We know no more of this, and unlike most of the other objects in this plate there is no replica of it in the Sarawak Museum.

(b) *Ear pendant* from the Limbang hoard (cast in the Sarawak Museum). A rather roughly made pendant, the clasp of which has no gap or slit, but is continuous all the way round. It tapers into a flattened, thin, rough triangle, 34 mm. overall length; 10 mm. across at widest point (bulge below clasp). The "drop", triangular section, is 15 mm. long. At one side a boss apparently once contained a small jewel. Round the rim of this boss and again below the clasp the metal is milled or grooved with faint lines. Hose gives a wretched drawing of this object (1926, p. 17).

(c) *Ear-clip*, of unknown provenance, but perhaps Limbang, as the cast in the Sarawak Museum is of the same type as the known Limbang replicas (*e.g.* 5b above). On the other hand, it does not seem to be illustrated by Hose (*op. cit.*), unless it is supposed to be the object indicated by three balls arranged about a base. This Hose item is otherwise a puzzle which

cannot be identified. From one angle, the present item could equal the Hose figure, allowing for bad draughtsmanship. It is a small ring, about 10 mm. in diameter (but not quite symmetrical), with a 7 mm. projecting part evidently shaped to hold a small jewel (missing). The front part of the "ring" is also set with a small jewel. It is split and can be opened a little e.g. to take an ear lobe. The workmanship is rough, but the object has a certain delicacy.

(d) *Ear-clip*, (Plate 9C). Perhaps from Pengkalan Ampat and possibly equivalent to 4d above; or, alternately, it might be 4c above. It has no label or number, but unlike the similar Limbang items it is preserved in the Sarawak Museum in its original (gold) form. It is, in any case, almost certainly from the Upper Sarawak River (district B). It is also the item Banks refers to (1947, p. 32) as "a very fine ear-drop more than an inch long".

The style is much the same as in 5d with a split ring and jewel bezil, but the protruding section is more highly developed and is worked into a shapely and striking dome, with five "pearls" (of gold) on top. Between the ring and the dome the thin "neck" is broken. The back of the ring's bezil is quite flat, the ring itself not quite symmetrical. The clasp slit is wider than in 5d, but in the same position. Total height, 26 mm., diameter of ring (max.) 10 mm; diameter of thin neck, 3 mm. Before the war Mr Banks sent this and the Limbang objects to Singapore for testing.

6. "Nose Ornaments": Apart from the vague references to nose ornaments (cf 4h above) there are two comparatively clear records for West Borneo. (a) "*A solitary stud* rescued intact much resembles the nose studs worn by natives of India", was reported from Santubong by Everett and Hewitt (1909, p. 6.). There is no further information about this item, or its whereabouts.

(b) *A stud from the Limbang board* (Plate 9B; *cf* Hose *op.cit.*) Cast is in the Sarawak Museum. I am not at all sure if this really is a nose stud, but it has been identified as such by Indian friends in Kuching. Height 20 mm. diameter (at centre) 21 mm., width of split, 2½ mm. The knobbly outer surface and milled rim edges show well in the Plate. The whole thing is neatly made, perhaps more sophisticated than most of the Limbang objects. Nevertheless, it is not perfectly symmetrical, bulging out more to one side.

7. "Coat Fasteners": These objects are classified as coat fasteners here, following a suggestion by Mr Banks. It may be that 6b above should also be classified with them.

(a) *Fluted object* from the Limbang hoard (Plate 9D). Cast in Sarawak Museum; figured by Hose. Plain and without additional ornament. 21 mm. high; 19 mm. diameter at centre; 6-7 diameter in internal hollow. The ends are almost flattened.

(b) *As above*, and practically identical with it (Plate 9D). Hose only shows one smaller one from Limbang in his plate, and it seems possible that two casts may have been made of the same object?

(c) *Larger* (*29 mm. long*) object of the same sort (Plate 9D), also from the Limbang hoard, and included in the Hose plate, where it can be positively identified by the battered base. The execution is as (a), but the tapered shape and the variation between the three sectors of the object are emphasised.

8. Cap Badges: 16 pieces of finely beaten gold were found in the bank of the river at Tana Susor, just above Sadong on the Sadong River (district C). Five of these pieces, which are of very unequal size, have serrated edges, and one at least—the largest—is clearly intended to be worn on clothing. Another, slightly smaller but complete, shows the method. Another piece may be part of a thin finger ornament, for occasional wear, but it is not possible to be sure. All are clearly of one origin.

This group of objects is different in character from the rest considered here. It may well have been the buried or lost property of a Malay in fairly recent times. The workmanship is crude and poor. They are only included because of the circumstances of their discovery.

9. Rings: The data on West Borneo rings published here for the first time (after the casts have lain forty-five years in Kuching, while the originals have disappeared) throws some useful light on Indian influences and Borneo gold. But, as usual, other rings. including one of the most tantalising (b below), have vanished without record, description, or trace.

(a) Three gold rings were given by the Chinese headmen to Doty and Pohtman (1839, p. 283) when they visited Montrado, (district A) in 1838. They imply that they were locally made but this is not certian. They also refer to "a small gold seal".

(b) *Chinese inscription ring*: This was in the Sarawak Museum until the Japanese occupation. When tested in Singapore it showed a specific gravity of 19.2, and was, to quote the Chief Chemist, Straits Settlements (1941) "evidently nearly pure gold". Mr Banks informs me that the ring was simple in style, with a Chinese good-luck inscription on the inner side, and it had twin clasps about the bezil. It was archaic and not of recent manufacture. The locality is uncertain. It definitely did not come from Limbang. There is no published reference to it and no copy of it; the original is no longer known.

(c) *Two gold rings* were found with a bead just below Pengkalan Ampat (B) in 1900, taken as Treasure Trove, and presented to the Sarawak Museum by H. H. the Rajah. The catalogue entry (No. 1083) simply states "two rings one being ornamented". Alas, that is all we shall ever know of either of them.

(d) *Inscribed Ring* (Plate 10A) from the Limbang hoard, a massive, plain finger ring which must have been worn on the end of the finger? The ring itself is about 18 mm. internal diameter, 2 mm. thick at the back and thickening to two big rounded shoulder bosses which come up to 9½ mm. across to support the bezil. The bezil seems to overload the ring itself by its size, 32 mm. lengthwise, and 21 mm. across at the middle, and 9 mm. thick. The central part elevated 2 mm. above the rest, is inscribed.

This inscription is the *only* piece of writing so far known on *any* ancient object from West Borneo. I sent a plaster cast of it to Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri at Mylapore, and he kindly gave me his view (I would stress that the plaster cast was not so clear as the original brass one); to quote his letter (6/1/49):

> "The inscription on the seal comprises four letters with ornamental flourishes on either side: I read them thus:-
>
> **A — Ra — Kta — Ra.**
>
> The characters are Nagari of the 12th Century A.D. or 13th. They are similar to Kalinga (Orissa) inscriptions of equal date. The letters

may represent the name of a merchant or prince—unless you can discover some other significance such as the designation of an office in the local languages, Malay, etc., known to you. In the absence of such an explanation, it is best to treat it as a personal name, though I am not able to think of any parallels to it at the moment. The third letter, a conjunct consonant with the sign of length, a vertical stroke after it, is rather peculiar in shape as the engraver seems to have aimed at an ornate appearance."

Later, Professor Sastri was kind enough to pursue this inscription further, and also to show it to Dr Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India; he wrote (8/3/49):

"I would like now to add that "A—ra—kta—ra" may be split into Sanskrit, "Arkta" meaning a little red, or red all over, and a suffix—ra or ara, which I am not able to explain satisfactorily in Sanskrit or any other Indian language. I am strongly pursuaded that the ring was used as a seal, and that the word must be a proper name of the owner of the ring or the designation of the office he held. The analysis I am now suggesting is more likely to make it a proper name".

Further, Professor Sastri adds that the inscription could be as late as the 14th century.

I took the brass cast to London, and Dr Barnett of the British Museum was good enough to give his opinion on it. He read "ARAKSARA", and dated it 14th or 15th century. Like Professor Sastri, he was puzzled by the peculiar RA ending, and could not suggest any exact parallel. It did not seem to Dr Barnett to be an Indian name. He thought it might be a charm.

Professor G. Coedes, to whom I showed the ring in Paris, gave the same date and interpretation as Dr Barnett, and was similarly puzzled by the name.

My suggestion would be that the atypicality of the inscription indicates some local change, error or modification.

(e) *Dolmen Ring* (Plate 10B). This is the most florid and rich-looking of the Limbang rings. It is 30 mm. across, maximum; 19 mm. internal diameter, and 19 mm. along the top of the bezil. There are two elevated flanges each side below the bezil, and there is a shallow groove running central down each side of the bezil. The metal has been worked into a quite elaborate design of speckling and scrolls. Three lines run round the inner edge of the ring surface from behind the flanges.

The bezil, which is not quite flat, has a distinctive incised design which has puzzled all who have seen it. Professor Sastri has sent me what I feel is the correct "solution". He writes:-

"The ring bears on it some floral work on the sides and the figure of a dolmen on the flat top. It shows the three vertical slabs and roof slab, and is open on the side of the observer. The joints of the side slabs with the rear vertical are indicated by double lines, and the dent like an arch below the verticals on the sides is an ornamental feature giving the appearance of legs to the lower end of the slabs. I have shown the ring to Dr Chhabra, and he agrees with me that the figure is that of a dolmen and no inscription".

The significance of a dolmen in this context is not clear. It is tempting to relate it to other signs of Indian and megalithic links (VIII and IX below).

(f) *The Clam Ring*, (Plate 10C). This is an elegant, balanced Limbang ring; 25 mm. at maximum width; 4 to 6 mm. thick across the ring; and 20 mm. at the widest point on the bezil, which is slightly convex on top (and concave behind). The incised design, bordered by arc-shaped notches, is in a slightly elevated section. The sides of the bezil are scroll ornamented. There is no very pronounced bossing, the shape being symmetrical and smooth. This is one of three rings that can be got only up to the second joint of a man's finger (internal diameter 17 mm.).

The flame-like design was not interpreted convincingly until I showed it to Professor Coedes in Paris. He identified it as a form of the symbol for a clam shell, fairly frequent in Javanese, Hindu and other symbolisms. In his house on the Avenue Foch he showed me a number of closely similar designs from Java.

(g) *The Fish Ring*, (Plate 10D). This is a lighter, slighter ring than the others from Limbang, 18 mm. from bezil face to back edge of ring, 14 mm. maximum bezil length. At the rear side the ring thins down to less than 1 mm. thickness. The fish is quite deeply impressed. Its "whiskers" do not connect directly to the head, and there are four separate inset spots. The general style of bezil and shoulder is much as the Limbang rings already described, but on a lesser scale.

The fish symbol was in common use particularly among the Sailendras, and in the Majapahit Empire (cf VI, iii, below for further discussion of this ring).

(h) *Massive Gem Ring*, (Plate 11B). This Limbang ring has a big cut stone heavily set; we do not, of course, know what the stone in the original was, since this is only a copy. 38 mm. across at the widest, and 33 mm. across the bezil and "jewel"; the internal diameter is 18 mm., and the ring part itself 9 mm. thick across at the back part, and 11 mm. at the shoulder bosses. The gold original must have been almost painfully heavy. There are closely similar rings in the British Museum (VI below).

(i) *Collared Gem Ring*, (Plate 11D). This florid ring is a little smaller than (h), 31 mm. maximum length. It is lighter, more delicate, only 2 mm. thick at the back part of the ring. The gem setting is nearly square, 18 mm. each side. The effect is of a flower, and this ring has a harmony lacking in most of the others. It is almost identical with one in the British Museum from Java (see VI below and plate 11A).

(j) *Plain Gem Ring*, (Plate 11C). This Limbang ring has heavily bossed shoulders but the whole thing is plain, heavy and emphatic. 30 mm. maximum length, 5-6 mm. thick on the ring part, and 16 mm. maximum bezil (gem setting) width.

(k) *Two smaller gem rings*. These are two quite pleasant, symmetrical Limbang rings, with no ornament, frills, bosses etc. An agate type of gem (?) is plainly set in a flat bezil running across the top side of the ring and not elevated or reinforced in any way. Maximum length 23 & 25 mm. respectively; bezil (setting) 16 & 17 mm. inner diameter of ring, 17 & 17, mm.; thickness of ring almost uniformly 2½ mm. all the way round on both rings. They are evidently of the same general origin as the others found with them, but simpler and "cheaper".

10. "Bead Rings": These are little rings of gold, usually worked on one side to give a "floral" or ornate effect. They were evidently intended for sewing onto clothing, but perhaps for necklet wear. They are classed separately here because their occurrence in two distinct localities suggests that they may be more illuminating, as a type, in further studies.

(a) 22 from Tanjong Api, the headland south of Tanjong Datu on the way round to Sambas (district A). They are recorded in the Museum catalogue, but are not elsewhere mentioned, as "said to have been found.... in the sand", presumably on the sea-shore. They were purchased for the Museum (no. 1951) in 1913, and recovered by the Custodian of Enemy Property in 1947. They are flat rounds, with 2 mm. internal diameter and 4 mm. overall diameter, their thickness ½ to 2 mm.

(b) 2 more of these bead rings, of the same size and style as (a), but one more distinctly cut out into the shape of a ship's windlass or a cogwheel. From Lobong Kleh, near Pengkalan Ampat (district B), found along with a gold bead (11 a) in 1899, and now in the Sarawak Museum (No. 1056).

(c) There are also two more solid objects of this type, plain, and up to 6 mm. long, transitional to beads. They may be Santubong specimens (*cf* 11e. below).

11. Gold Beads:

(a) *A plain tubular gold bead* from Lobang Kleh, near Pengkalan Ampat (district B) in 1899, in the Sarawak Museum (no. 1056; *cf*. 10b. above). Length 11 mm.; total diameter 3½ mm.; diameter of hole 1¼ mm. No beads of this sort are known to be in circulation today, although in general old beads are highly valued by the Land Dayak peoples of this district. As far afield as the northern interior some of the most interesting of these beads are shaped like the present specimen—but made of porcelainous matarial.

(b) *A hexagonal gold bead* (fig. 1A.), found in the left-hand branch of the Sarawak River (district B) and purchased by the Sarawak Government in 1900. In the Sarawak Museum (no. 1078). This bead is rather crudely

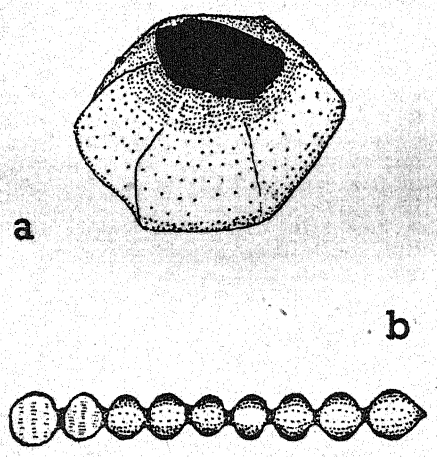


Fig. 1. Gold Beads. (a) Item No. 11b. from the Sarawak River. (b) Item No. 11c, from Bidi, near Bau. Both four times natural size (x4).

made and is hollow inside. Length, 6 mm.; external diameter at widest 9 mm.; internal diameter of hole at ends about 4 mm. (uneven). It is not unlike the even cruder "ornament" described at 4c. above.

(c) *Nine small gold beads*, (or one long bead with nine globules fig. 1B), found by gold seekers in river gravel about Bidi, near Bau (B) and presented in 1902 by Mr R. Pawle to the Sarawak Museum (no. 1176). On closer examination these are seen to be unfinished or spoiled. They are minute globules of gold joined together as a delicate bar, as if ready to be cut up into nine separate beadlets. At one end there is a tiny and uneven hole, only evident with a magnifying lens. The other end shows no hole and has been flattened. Conceivably this indicates an unsuccessful piece of bead-making.

Attached to this bar of "beads" (which is 14 mm. long), on the same string, are two small octahedronal type beads (3 mm. long) whose provenance is unknown. They may be two of those referred to as found at Santubong (11e. below).

(d) *Four gold beads* and a "fillet", from the Limbang hoard, represented by casts in the Museum (see also Hose *op.cit.*) The beads are simple and very rough; 7½ mm. in external (total) diameter, 4 mm. diameter at the hole. These may have been joined up with the small thin "fillet" after being found. The latter, which has a central tube and appears to have been used as a bead, is 27 mm. long and 13 mm. wide at the centre, the hole each end 3 mm. in diameter. Apart from the tube portion, the metal is beaten flat; it was apparently made in two halves and then joined together, being held thus by the stamped depressions along the margins. It is of crude workmanship.

(e) "*Beads of very fine workmanship*" are listed among the gold objects from Santubong (D) by Everett & Hewitt (1909 p. 6.). They also say "several large beads found here have the characteristic shape of an octahedron pulled out into a spindle". They go on to suggest that the beads "may perhaps have formed part of the tassel hanging from the ear ornament of an Indian woman" —or fringe of a Chinese lady's handkerchief.

There must have been a number of such beads found at Santubong and Mr I. H. N. Evans has seen several (1932 p. 115; cf VI. iv. below). which sound something like 11c. above.

12. Necklaces & Chains:

(a) *A "fine gold chain"* (? necklace) weighing 145 grams "was found in the left branch of the Sarawak River and presented by H. H. the Rajah to the Museum in 1912," according to the Museum Catalogue (no. 1908). It cannot be traced, and has not been described.

(b) *Chain with buckle* (Plate 12A), apparently part of the Limbang hoard. This is figured by Hose (*op.cit*) as having thirty links. The specimen now in the Sarawak Museum has only fifteen. When the Chief Chemist Straits Settlements, examined this chain in 1941, he reported (*in litt.* 3.3.41) that it showed a strong gold reaction, and suggested it was of "low carat gold". Closer examination in Kuching recently indicated that eight of the links are high grade gold, the balance are gilded brass casts, as is the buckle (figured separately from the chain by Hose). This is the more odd, because all the other Limbang objects are represented by casts only. It is conceivable that this item is really 12a above, though the Hose plate makes this especially unlikely. (None of the Limbang items have labels).

Mr Banks (1947 p. 30) refers to only one "large linked gold chain" from Limbang; but a previous Curator of the Sarawak Museum, R. W. Shelford (1901, p. 7.), refers to "remarkable gold ornaments, (chiefly signet rings and **chains**) recently found buried at Limbang", (*cf.* 11e. below).

The buckle is a thin shield crudely stamped out into designs. It may have been joined to the chain later, and could be a girl's pubic cover-guard.

(c) *A flexible chain* apparently from the Limbang hoard, of which there is a cast in the Sarawak Museum. This, like (b) above, is incomplete by comparison with the Hose plate, which shows a chain more than two-feet long and with clasps or rings at each end. The now remaining portion of of the cast, with 35 links, is 12.5 mm. long, with a clasp (split ring) at one end, (this part totalling 20 mm. of the whole length). The foot of the split ring is decorated with light scroll-work. This chain is well made and integrated.

13. Coins: Shelford (1901, p. 7.) refers to an object not noticed by Banks or Hose in connection with the Limbang hoard.

> "In this (Limbang) cache was also found a good sized fragment of a gold coin which Mr C. H. Read of the British Museum informs me was struck in Persia in 960 A.D. and has been found in many parts of the world, even in Sweden along with Anglo-Saxon coins".

The Sarawak Museum catalogue lists (no. 105.):

> "Fragment of a coin (gold) found at Limbang together with gold jewellery. Now deposited in the Treasury".

It appears that Beccari (1904, p. 365) is in error in saying that "at Pengkalan Ampat some antiques have been discovered, amongst other a large gold Persian coin of the year 960 of our era". This coin cannot now be traced or further detailed. Enquiries kindly answered by Mr J. Allan of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, have also yielded negative results (*in litt.* 18.2.49).

14. Gold Bar: (Plate 12B). This is a flattened block of gold with a convoluted design on one side from Limbang; there is also a cast in the Sarawak Museum. Maximum length 52 mm.; base width 37 mm.; maximum thickness 12 mm., tapering down to curved edges. Two sides have clearly been cut with a sharp blade. It seems to me that this is a portion of an ingot. Mr Basil Gray, of the British Museum, also tends to share this view. But Mr Banks (1947, p. 30) considers it part of a belt buckle and refers to a similar object figured in *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1935, pl. 35, which unfortunately I have not been able to see. Mrs Quiggin (1949 p. 210) cites records of gold ingots of crescent shape known to Chinese travellers in the 7th and 9th Centuries from Pegu (cf. VII C); and of course similar usage was common in China itself much earlier, as well as in India.

VI—Origin of the Gold Objects

Having detailed what we know of **recorded** gold objects in West Borneo, and recognising that these no doubt only constitute a fraction of all that have been found—let alone those undiscovered—we have at least a crude sample for study. Some of this, moreover, makes possible a fair positive identification. The majority of

of these objects appear to belong to an Indo-Javanese style, but there are other elements too.

Before dealing with these possible "origins", however, it is necessary to deal with a difficulty which has clouded a great deal of Asian research in recent years. It is generally assumed that the finding of a certain object at a certain point provides a system of dating the presence there of whatever "culture" is thereby indicated **at that point,** and at or not very long after **that time.** Much of the current theory of Asian culture has been built up around this assumption, not infrequently on a single set of criteria. An example is provided by Dr Wu's scholarly study (1938) of prehistoric pottery in China, or the association of different shaped neolithic implements in various parts of Borneo with distinct movements of culture, "round-axe people", and so on, by so great an authority as Prof. Heine-Geldern. Very valuable as such studies are—special mention must be made of Prof. Otley Beyer's recent and masterly reconstruction (1947) of adze successions—they tend to over-simplify human processes and to associate persons with things too intimately and fixedly. Culturally, things are often much more mobile than people, though for various reasons we are apt to forget this truth. An archaeologist of 1950 who found ancient Arab beads while excavating slab graves in the Kelabit country of interior Borneo, would hardly be so crude as to postulate the past presence of Arabs there. But if the find should be made in 2950, and by then the Kelabits and their bead culture had vanished, he might well do so.

Thus, the literature of the subject is full of cases where from the finding of an object with some known origin the author goes on to postulate the presence of such groups and crafts on the spot of discovery. There is, of course, no reason why this should not be a correct diagnosis. There is also no reason why it should be correct. Without other supporting evidence, we cannot know.

In my experience, some objects are quite impressively mobile in Borneo; and mobile not only over space—over time as well.[10] At the present time a T'ang jar from China may be travelling from village to village through the far interior, it may have been travelling so for centuries; or it may have lain static, as some certainly have, buried since it first came up some great river from the coast, later to be accidentally found and mobilised again.

These observations apply with particular force to small precious objects, like beads, coins, rings or statuettes. Students may be able to agree to the dates of the Sambas figures, and their source; but that by no means proves they were *made* at any special place; that they were brought to Sambas at any particular time; or that they were brought there by any particular group of people. We are entitled to theorise about the subject, but *never* to take

the "reasonable guess" as proved or even positive. Indeed, the already confused Sambas hoard itself came very near to providing a fine potential further confusion for some far future archaeologist. The goldsmith who purchased the objects late in 1941 left them hidden in his house in Tanjong Pagar Road. His house presently received a direct hit from Japanese bombs. The other occupants were all killed. He himself "miraculously" escaped, his good fortune being attributed to the power of the gold figures. Had the bomb deviated fractionally, the objects would have been buried under the rubble, with no-one to know it. Long after, they might have been rediscovered as "the Singapore hoard".

This crude example might equally apply to the Fort Canning (Singapore) find, of which much has been made (*cf.* ii and iii below), to the Limbang hoard, or to any single item. In what follows, this point is continuously relevant. For simplicity, it is sometimes necessary to make direct man-object linkages, but this is only done with a recognition of this object mobility qualification.

(i) *Malay*[11] *or recent?*

The cap badges (item 8 in previous section) from the Sadong seem decidedly to be of Malay or recent origin and have only been included doubtfully to complete the record. It has also been suggested that the Limbang lion (item 1) though clearly not "modern", may be of later date. This object is puzzling, and so far does not fit any clear category. The little beast has a certain atmosphere of the near east (*cf.* the Persian coin from Limbang, no. 13).

This paper has not listed the undoubtedly modern gold work of West Borneo, which, though trivial in quality is extensive in quantity. It must be mentioned here, nevertheless, as some indication of a possible past state of affairs. Nowadays goldsmiths are very few in West Borneo. I believe there are some in the Sambas district. In Sarawak they are centred in Kuching, and fall into two groups—Chinese making trinkets for local use; and Malay women weaving gold-thread sarongs. In Brunei traditional sarong making is now at a low ebb, and there is no *native* goldsmith craft, despite active silversmith work of quite a high order—this is also practised by the Malohs, a small group near Kapit, well up the Rajang River.

Some of the gold-thread sarongs still made in Kuching are of fine quality; there is a considerable nomenclature & ritual connected with them. But the thread has, in historic times, always been imported *via* Malaya, and it may be that the craft developed after the introduction of Mohammedanism, through Brunei and Kuching Malay links with Johore, Malacca and elsewhere. We have a somewhat uncertain early record for cloth "woven of gold

wire" (Posewitz, p. 312). This craft is, of course, widespread and ancient in India.

There is also a keen contemporary demand for gold to cover or gild teeth, found throughout the island, particularly in the far interior. Dentists at smaller northern trading stations, like Marudi on the lower Baram, do much of their business sheathing pagan teeth—generally at about $8.00 a tooth.

The pagan peoples themselves do not do any gold-craft work in West Borneo today. It seems that in the past they were, in places, skilled in such work. Important is the passing reference by the first Rajah Brooke (Mundy, 1848, p. 232) to inspecting a sebayam house (Batang Lupar area):—

> "I inspected some gold and silver ornaments of their own manufacture, which were neatly worked flowery patterns, consisting chiefly of bracelets and ear-rings".

It does not seem that these resembled the more "sophisticated" items dealt with above, but it is unfortunately that we know *nothing* definite about them. Posewitz (p. 374) writing apparently chiefly of the Malays in North Borneo, refers to the "quantity and variety of (gold) ornaments worn", and states "these are skilfully made by the native gold-smiths, who are to be found in every district". Crawfurd earlier concludes (1820 p. 183) that gold "must have been the first of the metals of which the use was acquired", and he adds that:—

> "Its *sole* application has been to trinkets and ornaments. In the art of manufacturing these, like other rude people, they far surpass their other efforts in the mechanic arts".

Elsewhere, he refers especially to the filigree work of the Sumatra Malays (1856, p. 145). Similarly, Raffles (1880, p. 194) gives special credit to Sumatran filigree which is not infrequently found on the handles of *kĕris* in the possession of the leading Malay families in West Borneo.

Clearly there is a considerable tradition of local gold craftsmanship in this part of Asia, present also in Borneo. But we do not know how old this is locally. It seems to be weak here by comparison with Java and Sumatra, and to have been centred among the "Malays". The Land Dayaks of the Sarawak River basin (district B), who also inhabited the Sambas-Montrado area over the Dutch border (A) in strength (*cf.* IV. i. above), were particularly under the influence of the Malays for some centuries, but also probably earlier under that of "Hindu" culture (*cf.* X. below). Although these now have no gold craft, the loss might be only

part of the general deculturisation of these people, which still continues.

(ii) *Pre-Malay but local?*

Despite local traditions of gold in early circulation (IV. iii), and of early gold objects in Brunei (VIII), we have no direct evidence or tradition of gold objects being made by local people *before* Mohammedan times. Indeed, the stories of the land Dayak, Manging (VIII), tends to indicate the early *importation* of gold objects despite the presence of local gold. There must indeed have been a general tendency towards the exportation of crude gold in early times, due to its high value in India, China and elsewhere.

(iii) *"Javanese"?*

The large amount of well-tested data on Javanese history and material culture enable surer statements once we step beyond the boundaries of Borneo and seek outside links.

Apart from important legendary links with Java (VIII), seven of the Limbang rings show markedly "Javanese" affinities. The most noticeable is 9 i, the collared gem ring. This is very nearly identical to one of a group of similar rings in the Franks Collections (now in the British Museum, numbers 2441—4). The two differ in minor respects which would only be detected in careful inspection. They look as if they had been made by the same hand (see Plate 11). Mr Douglas Barrett informs me (*in litt.* 4.5.49) that these rings came to the British Museum with the Franks bequest in 1897, and are listed "Java" with no date. Several other rings in this collection (especially nos. 2446, 8 and 9) also relate to Limbang ones. 2446 in particular, has, in its bosses and general style an affinity with the dolmen ring from Limbang (9 e).

The Limbang clam ring (9 f.) has a design which, in the opinion of Prof. Coedès, is equivalent to the clam-shell symbol important in Java. The Limbang fish ring (9 g) has evoked the following comment from Prof. Sastri (*in litt.* 19.4.49):

> "The fish made me at first think of the Sailendras, who had the fish symbol, and to whose time I think the Sambas Buddhas & Bodhisattvas belong. But I find that in the Majapahit period also the fish symbol and some titles are common to Jayanagara and the contemporary rulers of South India.
>
> The fish may connect the ring with the Majapahit empire". The Limbang inscription (9d) seems, on the whole, to be 14th century Nagari (see V iv, above), and by inference suggests that the fish ring is also later Majapahit rather than *directly* Sailendra.

At the same time, the inscription (as already shown) has peculiarities. These peculiarities may well be of the same class as Prof. Sastri has noted for the Sambas figures; in an Indian newspaper article (forwarded to me by Sir Roland Braddell; I have not the exact reference), he writes that the Sambas "images, particularly the Buddhist ones of female deities, do not conform to the canon and seem to be the work of artists who had lost touch with the authentic tradition of their co-religionists elsewhere". The same may be said of much Javanese work in relation to Indian prototypes, and presumably of Bornean work in relation to Javanese—if such did exist.

The presence of these more or less Javanese objects in West Borneo does not necessitate the past presence of Javanese craftsmen there, though traditions of such are strong (VIII). They may have been local copies or they may very easily have been brought from Java or elsewhere. All these rings could well have been the property of one person, who perhaps hid them (*e.g.* in fear of the Mohammedans, *cf.* X); or they could have been acquired later (*e.g.* by loot). But it is safe to say that the Limbang hoard shows, through its rings especially, a distinct parallelism to Java gold craft, particularly in the late Hindu (Majapahit) period.

Further light is thrown here if we consider the so-called Fort Canning hoard from Singapore, which has been described by Sir Richard Winstedt (1928, p. 3 and plates XXVI, XXVII). This find included a ring with the design of a flying goose upon the bezil. In size, shoulders, thin back end, flat bevil, and method of impressing the design upon the bezil, this Singapore goose ring closely resembles the Limbang fish-ring (9 e). Unfortunately, the original was removed from the Raffles Museum during the Japanese occupation; there is no cast of it, and Winstedt does not give measurement or scale. But comparing photographs of fish ring and goose ring, in company with Mr H. D. Collings of the Raffles Museum, we both felt that as far as we could judge, the two, found by chance 700 miles apart, were extremely close in execution and conception. (Mr M. W. F. Tweedie, Director of the Raffles Museum, tells me that he remembers the handsome and clear-cut design on this ring, which is not apparent in Winstedt's plate).

The Fort Canning ring is considered to be Hindu, "of old Javanese type". Also in the hoard were two armlets of a flexible kind, which von Stein Callenfels (quoted by Winstedt) considered to be of a rare pattern. These bear some slight resemblance in manner to the flexible Limbang chain (12 c). The Fort Canning bracelets are attributed to the "Majapahit period at its best, *i.e.* the middle of the 14th Century." These bracelets have clasps in a lion-head form like a buckle from Kedah which Dr Quaritch-Wales considers may be 13th Century (*cf.* Winstedt, 1947, p. 149).

Another Fort Canning item is the "jewelled joint or clasp" which a Sinhalese jeweller in Singapore classed as an Indian style nose-stud, though Winstedt rejects this opinion. It is not far off the Sarawak River clip (5 d). The other Fort Canning objects are some small rings, each set with "diamonds of the Pontianak type" (Winstedt) and "of Javanese shape". Pontianak diamonds come, of course, from Borneo.

Finally, the eviction of Javanese influences and the end of the Singapore Sultanate under Sultan Askandar Shah in about 1391 add a rough date parallelism with the probable Limbang changeover to Islamic leadership (VIII).

(iv) *"Indian"?*

All the "Javanese" influences and parallels are in a broad sense "basically Indian", so far as the gold objects discussed are concerned. The Indonesian elements vary in intensity, sometimes stamping out a craft or belief with major emphasis, even obscuring the original; sometimes only etching the faint outline of another impact. Had we much more Borneo data, and had Java been neglected as Borneo has so far been, we might today use a reversed terminology, and speak of "Javanese" work as "Bornean influenced" etc.

Low (1848, p. 271) describes the Hentig pot-find from Kuching, (V iii, above) as Hindu (4 b) or as used by "the people of Hindustan". Everett and Hewitt (1909, p. 6.) stress the Indian affinities of gold objects from Santubong (D) and the Sarawak River (B) of which they probably saw more than anyone else. Evans (1932) examined some Santubong specimens, and in writing of his excavations at Kuala Selinsing in Perak (Malaya) he reports "a faceted spindle-shaped bead, reminiscent of gold spindle beads from Santubong", with a length of 10 mms. The Kuala Selinsing finds equate at other points with Santubong (VII). A fine gold ear-ring from Kuala Selinsing (Evans, plate XXXV) has been attributed to the "later Majapahit Period", and Evans appropriately points out (p. 104) that "in these times the Javanese lost their understanding of Hindu iconography a good deal and mistakes of all kinds in their representations of deities are quite common". But earlier associations are also possible in this case.

Most other Borneo writers take the Indian attribution for granted. Shelford (1901, p. 7.) considers the Limbang hoard as probably "of Hindoo workmanship". Ling Roth (1896, II, p. 285) writes: "at the mouth of the Sarawak River many articles of gold and pottery of unmistakeably Hindu workmanship". Gould and Bampfylde (1909 p. 39) accept "Hindu origin" for Limbang, Santubong and Sarawak River objects in general. And so on....

Most of the items not already discussed above can broadly be classed as of possible "Indian" workmanship, except for those with Chinese affinites (below). The ear and nose ornaments—5a and 5b from Limbang, 5c and 5d of unknown provenance, and 6b from Limbang—could be accepted as directly Indian, and are so accepted by Indian friends of mine in Sarawak. The two or three "coat-fasteners" from Limbang (7a—c) are probably in the same category. The dolmen ring (9d) is particularly uncertain; in style it is clearly related to the other Limbang rings, but is least in the common pattern with the already indicated "Javanese" parallels. The beads, "bead-rings", and chains (10, 11 & 12) could all be accepted as Indian, I think, and so could the bar (or buckle, 14).

It should be added that the few Indians living in West Borneo today possess no objects of this sort.

(v) *"Chinese" and "Indo-Chinese"?*

There are only two items which can be given Chinese parallels, both rings. But the rings reported at Montrado (9a) may have been modern, nor does it necessarily follow they were of Chinese workmanship because presented by Chinese. This leaves only the Chinese inscribed ring (9b) which has unfortunately disappeared without a trace, so that we cannot know its possible dating or significance.

In view of the latter day Chinese dominance in West Borneo gold mining (III i), and today in the goldsmith's craft, this situation is somewhat surprising. It confirms, however, the other, if vague, indications that Borneo gold or, anyway, Indonesian gold—was in early times the particular secret of the persons from the west rather than from the north (III & IV). Even Everett and Hewitt (1909, p. 6.) who insist that "it is quite certain that gold has been worked in Sarawak by Chinese for many centuries", rather reluctantly conclude that gold objects from the area "certainly do not possess a typical Chinese facies". In particular the impacts of Chinese Buddhism seem to have been weak (*cf.* VII). To China, perhaps, Borneo was primarily an export market of barter with "primitive" people, their trading centring on Brunei and the northern stretch of the west coast? Yet, Chinese influence is manifest in Brunei brassware—and it appears to me to be often an early Chinese influence. Ling Roth (1910) has shown the effect of Chinese modifications in Malay flower and other patterns in silverware. And these influences extend in many other directions (*cf.* III iii, above).

Siamese and Indo-Chinese ceramic objects also abound in West Borneo. The puzzling Limbang dolmen ring (9c) shows some affinity with rings from Cambodia illustrated by Silice (19p4—6,

II, fig. 63) who points out that old Khmer gold is still highly valued in the area, and that modern gold work copies 9th and 13th century designs. He says:—

> "Les Cambodgiens de toutes les classes ont une veritable passion pour l'objet de metal precieux, d'or ou d'argent pur".

Another ring of the same general sort, from the Saigon Museum, (No. 3478) found at D'oc-Eo and dated c. 200 A.D., was on show at the Musée Guimet, Paris, in June 1949. But this pattern is peculiarly widespread (*cf.* vi below).

(vi). *Remote Parallels?*

The most ephemeral, the most tantalising of our no-longer-extant gold objects from West Borneo, is the reasonably well attested 960 A.D. coin (no. 13 above) from Persia, found (on the testimoney of Shelford, 1901) with the Limbang hoard. Here we are transported far west of India, and reminded maybe of the early Roman gold coin lately found at D'Oc-Eo in Indo-China. This Persian coin raises again the question mark of who—when—what? For the mobility of objects far exceeds that of normal man. As far as I know, no-one has yet suggested that Persians settled in West Borneo. And what a man can do with a coin is no more than he can do with a ring, a chain, a votive figure.

It should also be noted that the Limbang dolmen ring, which has already been a worry, shows decided superficial affinities with a Merchant's Ring in the British Museum (no. 355, Mediaeval Jewellery); and with a Byzantine bronze ring (B.M. 139 attributed to the 11the century. The same "mood"—if one may deliberately be so vague—is shown in several Phoenician and Parthian pieces (Rawlinson 1889, 1893).

Again, the fish ring with its Sailendra—Majapahit—Fort Canning associations (iii, above) is not wholly unlike a mediaeval gold ring figured in the British Museum Guide (1921, fig. 28). This ring perhaps reflects a period about the tenth century onwards(?), when eastern ideas were also penetrating western Christianity, are and ideology—largely throggh Byzantine influence.

Other such parallels could be drawn—or overdrawn. They are not irrelevant, because the heritage of Sambas, Majapahit or Kedah is part of a much larger, higher, longer, wider one, and we endanger full understanding if we are too local or too hurried.

After all, the royal regalia of Perak is supposed to include the golden sword of Alexander the Great?

(vii) *Dating and Placing: Conclusions?*

Gold objects so far known from West Borneo point to a primarily Indian (mainly Hindu) influence often heavily overlain by

secondary influences, including Java, and also sometimes representing much wider diffusions of ideas or motives.

The earliest *positively* datable object is 10th century (the Persian coin), but of course it may have, like any other, arrived long after it was made. The main run of objects indicate a comparitively late dating, especially about the 14th century. That is to say except perhaps for the Sambas hoard (not considered here, but perhaps three or four centuries earlier) there is no *material* gold evidence of anything that *need* be postulated for a period as early as Sri-Vishaya, far sweeping as that empire traditionally was. The only really strong signs are of the *last* wave of Indian influence, culture Majapahit. Yet in East Borneo, from the Kutei River, come inscriptions of A.D. 400.

VII Other Indian Objects and Sites.

(i) *General Distribution.*

The same rough topographical divisions can be used here as for the gold objects in Section V. Most of the objects below have not been previously described or published. The numbering, for easy reference, continues on from the last gold object group number, No. 14 (V. above).

As usual, the word Indian is here used loosely.

Distribution of Non-gold Objects in West Borneo.

District.	Stone.	Metal	Ceramics.
A.— Montrado—Sambas.	2 — 3	—	1
B.— Bau—Kuching.	4	1	1+
C.— Samarahan—Sadong.	3	—	—
D.— Deltas of (B) — (C).	7+	—	2+
E.— Batang Lupar—Baram.	1	—	—
F.— Brunei Bay & Hinterland	1+	—	—
G.— North of Brunei Bay.	—	—	—

Ceramics here covers terra-cotta, earthenware & glass compounds. The stone objects include 2 *Ganesa*, 1 *nandi*, 3 *yoni*, several *linggam* and 2 relief carvings. There are 3 humanistic figures, one each in stone, metal and ceramics.

Once again, there is a geographical pattern which closely conforms to the distribution of gold in the ground, and correspondingly to golden objects (*cf.* V ii).

(ii) *District Distribution.*

(A) MONTRADO—SAMBAS DISTRICT

Although there is a considerable literature of Buddhist and Hindu objects, including Nandi, Ganesa, Yoni and Yupas, in

East Borneo, in much the same areas where gold objects have been reported (V) little is known further west on the Dutch side—although there may be specimens or references in Holland and Java which have not been accessible to me in this study.[12]

15. A *Mukhilanga* of the *Sarvasma* type (i.e. having the square *Brahma* portion below, the octagonal *Vishnu* part in the middle, anl the cylindrical *Swa-Bhaga* at the top, of equal length) is known from Sepank in the Sintang division, which lies east of Montrado, in the Kapuas basin, on the borders of West Borneo, as here defined (I).

16. In the Kapuas River basin, at Batu Pahat, Sungei Tekarek, are carvings of conventionalised representations of "stupas" flanked by inscriptions in Pallava script which repeat well-known formulae of the Buddhist faith.

17. There are said, in native traditions of the Santubong Bay (D) area, to be some sacred rocks on Tanjong Dato', connected with the Hindu-Islamic hero, Datu Merpati.

18. In 1947, a Malay, Haji Hassan, brought to the Sarawak Museum (No. 3043) a large and striking *amphora*, (?) brick red of body, with bright yellow and and green glaze, which he said was found in the bank of a stream near Sambas. This strange object for Borneo (Plate 15 B) clearly comes from India or further west. I have been unable as yet to find any exact parallel to it in other collections, including those in London and Rome. It is put on record here without any suggestion as to date or exact origin. There is one other piece in the Museum with the same body and glaze, a small pot, but there are no data about it (no. 2340); and a similar pot from Santubong (D3 below). I have heard that objects of this kind are owned and very highly valued by the natives living behind Pontianak.

(B) BAU—KUCHING DISTRICT

19. **The Rajah's Nandi,** now in the Sarawak Museum (No. 847), was found about 1848 on the muddy bank of a stream near Sempro, below the present Land Dayak village of Segu at the 21st Mile out from Kuching, and on the left part of the Sarawak River system. Some Malays and Dayaks were seeking to find a safe place for it in those disturbed times, when they were frightened off by a thunderstorm and abandoned it. Low records that "this relic was much venerated by the Dayaks, who protested against it being removed, declaring that the country would be deluged by rain and that other supernatural events would occur if it were allowed out of the province". Nevertheless, it was brought to Kuching and kept below the Rajah's Astana, after he had promised the natives to guard over it. Nine years later this promise was broken for him, as well as the *Nandi* itself, by the Chinese rebellion (cf II, above). The decapitated and barely recognisable carcase, of weathered quartzite, was deposited in the Museum in 1891.

The base of the hump and tail, the arc of the back, and the high lines and rump are still distinguishable, along with vestiges of the forelegs. On each side, slightly behind and below the middle of the body is a roughly squared hole about 2 inches across and up to 6 inches deep, the purpose of which is not clear (for carrying poles?). The carcase is 2ft. 9½ inches long, 1 ft. 5½ inches high at the forward "shoulder", and 1 ft. 8 inches broad (deep) It looks as if this was a simple, unornamented *Nandi* something like the Mt Kombeng one from East Borneo, (figured by Bosch, 1927, pl. 142).

Mr Banks has suggested (1947, p. 32) that this figure may have been carried over from Bukit Berhala on the Samarahan River (B below) and have been associated with the *ganesa* and *yoni* there. It would be a heavy haul for about 20 miles, partly overland, but possible. On the other hand, it may be associated with Batu Kawa (20 below) B. The mobility of even such bulky objects is impressive. And in this case we have first-hand testimony of the largest Indian object known in West Borneo being moved centuries after its presumed arrival, by persons of two racial groups unrelated to the object itself and having *no direct interest in Hinduism*, by race, by faith or by time.

20. The River Goddess: (Plate 16 B), a seated figure in the Sarawak Museum (no. 2520) was brought up in a net by a Malay fisherman on the main Sarawak river in Kuching township. The arms are broken off at the shoulders and the top of the headdress is broken to reveal the tip of a thick and much corroded iron nail. The material is fairly soft and pliable. It seems to have been moulded in some sort of clay, subsequently dried almost to the consistency of cement. The form is female, the breasts clearly defined. The eyes are heavily browed, the nose flattened at the end, the ears covered by the plain conical headdress. The upper part of the body is bare and a plain belt surrounds the waist; below that it is unclear, but there appears to be some sort of garment. She reclines on a squared platform, which may well have an iron inner framework too; this apparently had some sort of plain back which has been broken—a piece shows behind her left thigh in the Plate. The right foot has also broken; it appears to be resting on something? The legs are typical of the Lalitasana attitude found in many Buddhist figures, even to the strained out-turning of the big toe so well illustrated by Dr Grousset (1949, Plate II). This attitude is rather rare in material from South-East Asia.

The headdress is 5¾" high and 3" wide at the base. The head and neck 2½", trunk 4", and seat or throne 2¼" high, (8" wide, 5" deep).

21. The Cathedral Figurine: ¾" tall and ¼" thick in brass, was found about twenty years ago when part of the site of St Thomas's Cathedral was being cleared, about 300 yards from the right bank of the Sarawak River, on a hillock. Now in the Sarawak Museum (no. 2466). It is not certain if this is a cast from a gold original or the original itself.

The relief design is elaborate for so small an object, and as a result is difficult to make out or to illustrate properly. The base is slightly rounded and curves up to a wider middle section, then tapers to a fine point at the top of the object, the whole recalling a plaque signifying a shrine of some sort. There is an indistinct seated figure in a lotus seat, only the face being clear, with large "feline" eyes. There is a headband and a tall tapering, round-typed headdress. There are traces of a cord or band over the left shoulder. A child is held in nursing position with its head close to the right breast (not discernible).

It is evidently of "Indian" type. Prof. Sastri suggests there is "possibly a halo". Dr Chhabra thinks it may have been a votive object. The most puzzling feature is the presence of five incised marks, like a very crude Indian-type script on the plain back of the object. Prof. Sastri writes of this:

> "(It) consists of five letters disposed in three lines of one letter, two letters and two letters respectively. I am unable to read the letters as they do not appear to belong to any of the scripts with which I am familiar. I referred them also to Dr Chhabra who kindly came over to inspect them, and he writes me under date 3rd March; 'I have not been able to make any sense of the marks'."

22. Hindu earthenware jars are said to have been found in Kuching when Mr Hentig dug up his garden (see quotation in V iii, and gold object No. 4b). There were then no Hindus or Indians in the area.

23. Batu Kawa (Yoni?). This item has been left until last in this district because it is somewhat confused. Low first (1848) specifies it (p. 268) as:- "Batu Kawa" with a "square hole in the centre", adding:-

> "The Malays deny all knowledge of its uses, or the period of its construction, and none of them are now capable of producing anything like it in stone".

Denison, 1876, says that "prior to A D 1848 a Hindu stone was found at Batu Kawa on the Sarawak River about 6 miles above Kuching", and implies that Dayaks may have removed it.

There has been some confusion between this stone and the Bukit Berhala *yoni* (B25) though they are not one and the same, since Low described both and clearly separates them. Banks (1938) refers to the transfer of the Bukit Berhala *yoni* and says that "an otherwise astute Curator" recorded it as from "just below Batu Kawa". He refers to Shelford (1901) who described the Batu Berhala *yoni* as found at Segobang on the Sarawak River. Shelford's measurements fit those given by Low, and correspond with the Batu Berhala *yoni* now in the Museum. But where is the Batu Kawa stone now? Low's and Denison's descriptions seem too definite to be dismissed.

Batu Kawa is now used as the name of a small settlement and police post on the Sarawak River above Kuching. It is also particularly applied to a large dome-shaped stone in the river bed, only visible when the river (tidal here) is low. The rock vaguely appears to be shaped like a huge inverted cooking pot (*kawah*). A rough sketch made on the spot will illustrate this (fig. 2); in the muddy water here it is impossible to be sure of the shape of the deeper part.

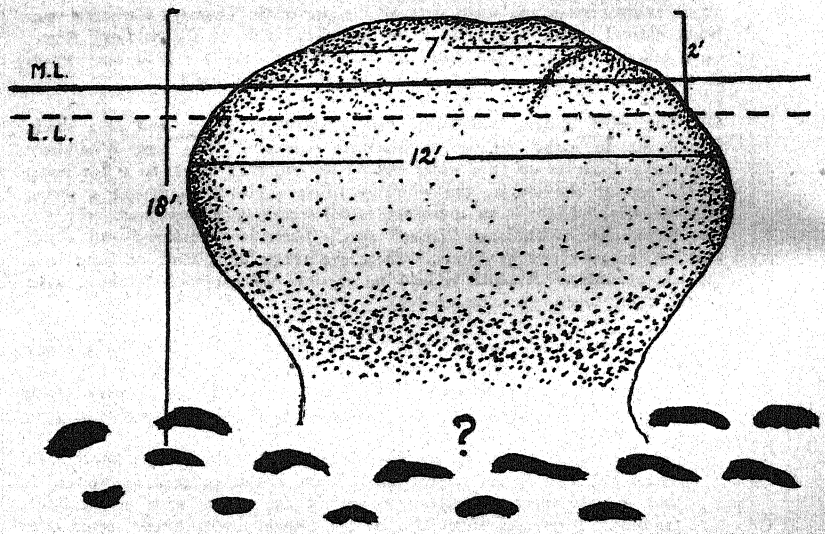


Fig. 2. Batu Kawa(h), on the Sarawak River. Rough sketch. M.L. = average water level of river. L.L. = low limit. Distances are in feet.

This rock hardly first Low's description, and it seems the *yoni* (if such it was) is now lost, or overgrown. Perhaps the tradition of its presence has become attached to another rock in default, preserving the vitality of Batu Kawa (h) **as a name.**. The immediate vicinity is today noticeably rich in stone stories. This is one simple version—recorded by Mr A. Bolang and myself (Feb. 1949) from Nandut bin Japar, aged 80 of Batu Kawa:

> "Long long ago, at the place where the village of Batu Kawa is now, lived Malays, in a large long-house, like Dayaks. One day a couple were married, and the villagers celebrated. cooking much food. A poor child arrived at the time and asked food of those who were cooking for the feast. But those who were cooking did not want to give the child any food. The child burst into tears and returned to his own house to tell his mother. The old woman on hearing his story was upset.
>
> "So she got a cat, and clothed it in a coat like a man, and she tied a rice cake on to the cat, and took it among the crowd preparing the the wedding feast.
>
> "When the people saw the cat walking about in a coat like a human being with the rice cake tied to its body, everyone who was preparing the food began to laugh and make fun of the cat.
>
> "At once, there came a great storm of wind and very heavy rain, so that the house (village) where these people were fooling fell over into the river. Their belongings fell into the river too, and became stone, and the big pot in which they were cooking turned to stone in the water, so that when the river is low it can still be seen like a great cooking pot."

On the river bank are many smaller rocks, the other village "belongings". The association of petrifaction tales with Indian sites is often close (*cf* also C, below), and in this instance may be a transferred tale which previously arose as an explanation for an even more distinctive stone, the one described in such unequivocal terms by Low. Another version, heard from Haji Yusof Sibli, attributes this petrifaction to an act of incest.

Nandut bin Japar also pointed out two grave stones behind the Police Station, saying that these were originally of wood. The Government decided to clear the sites to make a new bazaar, and removed the many wooden grave posts (*nisan*). But these two returned by themselves to their previous position. Three times the contractor removed them; each time they returned, eventually turning to stone . At that the contractor took fright and left them there, cementing them in. They are now treated as *kramat* for offerings and prayers made there by Malays, Chinese and Dayaks. No one knows whose graves they are.

24. Another linggam? Perhaps relevant to the above "missing" stone is the story (Santubong version, Feb. 1949) of how Datu Merpati killed the dragon at Santubong, its head going aground there; the tail proceeded up the left branch of the Sarawak River to above Landeh, where it turned to stone at the spot, now called after it, Lubuk Buaya.

Another version was recorded actually at Landeh, (August 1949), with reference to an upright gravestone there, which stands 3 inches out of the ground and has latterly, like others of these in West Borneo (Panchor *Kramat* in C, below; Santubong stones and Muara Tebas in D; and Datu Permaisuri stone in E) been cemented in, as well as having a formal headstone added. This commemorates the return, upriver, after his death of the sleeping mat of Datu Landeh, associate of Datu Merpati and Datu Permaisuri (VIII).

(C) SAMARAHAN—SADONG

There is a single relevant site in this district, at Bukit Berhala, just below Panchor (Kuching-Serian road) on the Samarahan. But it is the site which has yielded one of the two *ganesa* known from West Borneo, a *yoni* and perhaps a *lingga*—also possibly the *nandi*, (B 19 above).

Bukit Berhala is a hillock (Plate 13A) some 150 ft. above and 200 yards from the left bank of the Samarahan, one of a system of hillocks and miniature valley, arising from the river flats; it has no special striking features. (It is noticeable that Indian finds in West Borneo have **never** so far been associated with topographically striking sites).

25. The Yoni. Found by Sir Hugh Low (1848, p. 268) and called by him "Battu Berala". Brought to Kuching by Sir Spenser St John and damaged in the Chinese rebellion, along with the *nandi* (B19), but not so seriously. In 1891 it was placed in the Sarawak Museum (No. 848). It is a massive block of quartzite in which are embedded also pebbles of quartz.

It is 2ft. 6 ins. at the base, where it is squared off, stepped in, and generally well modelled, with an inset side panel 9″ high. Above this, the symmetry lessens.

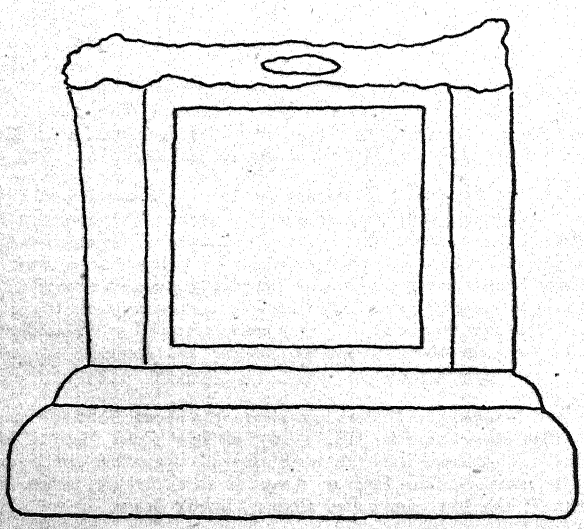


Fig. 3. Yoni from Bukit Berhala. Sketch of present condition of object in the Sarawak Museum.

The top is rough, unworked and projecting out at each side. The squared hole for the lingga is 6¾″ in diameter and 10½″ deep. Beside the hole are two parallel grooves close together, 9″ and 10″ long. which seem to have been made by a sharp instrument and are very like those on stones in

the central uplands, especially one at Balawit, in North Western Dutch Borneo (IX). It is likely that this top section in its present form is the result of the rebellion fire, for Low has a drawing (apparently made *in situ*) which shows a symmetrical top (the base is buried) with elevated sides, and a rough "drain" to one side.

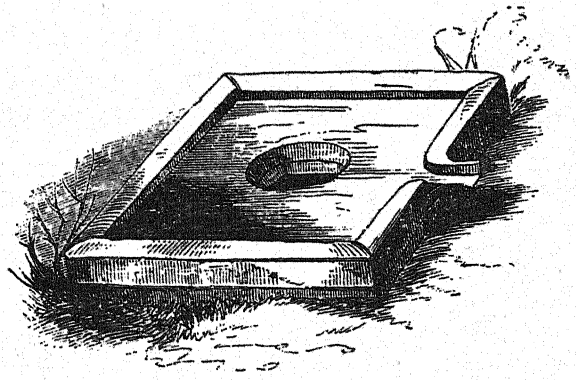


Fig. 4. Yoni from Bukit Berhala. Sketch from Hugh Low's "Sarawak: its inhabitants & productions" (London, 1848), p. 269, showing it as seen *in situ* before 1848.

Low refers to this stone and the site as "highly venerated by the surrounding Dayaks, who suppose the slight elevation on which it is placed to be the residence of some great spirit, in whose honour, once a year, the Dayaks are said at this spot to hold a great feast". He adds that they will not fell trees, or farm in the vicinity; lest they draw upon themselves "the angen of the Divinity". Sir Spenser St John's subsequent removal of the stone may have had two unfortunate effects. In the first place, the people (unaware apparently of the *Ganesa* there) were no longer afraid to farm, felling and burning the area and perhaps destroying the objects. In the second place, those who revered such stones must have been encouraged to conceal them from European knowledge—and this may account for the "loss" of the Batu Kawa *yoni*?

26. Ganesa. Mr E. Banks revisited Bukit Berhala in 1938 and re-examined the hilltop, which had been cultivated and cleared. He found, in a hollow (where the *yoni* may have been), a very weathered but undoubtable *ganesa*, now in the Sarawak Museum (2567).

This figure shows only the vestiges of the body, lower arms and (clearly) the lower part of the recurved trunk. The text figure shows what can now be identified.

Evidently, it was a more or less simple *ganesa*, like that from Limbang (F), and not ornate. Its association with the *yoni* suggests a definite temple on the hillock. Up to date it has not been possible to make any thorough excavation on the site, but cursory examination has not revealed anything else of interest.

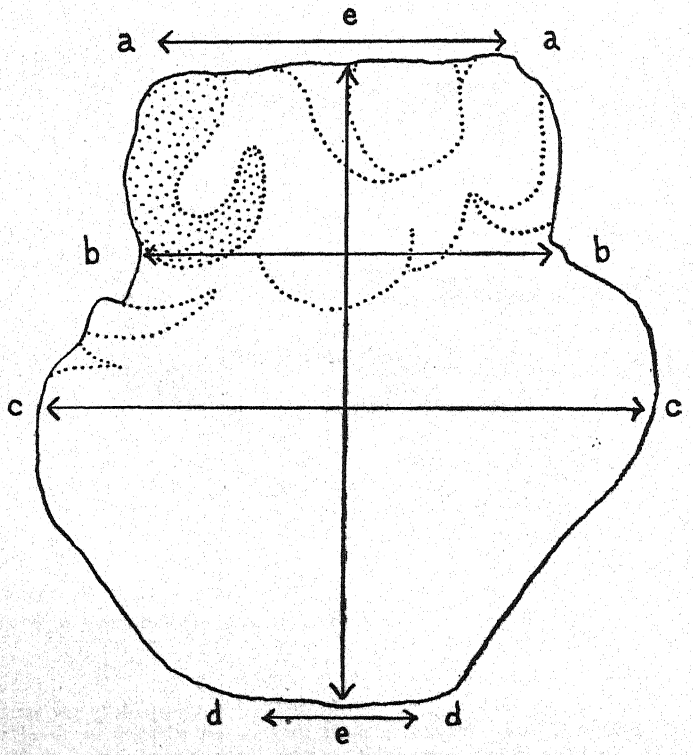


Fig. 5. Ganesa from Bukit Berhala.
a — a, 1 ft 0 inches b — b, 1 ft 2 inches
c — c, 1 ft 6 inches d — d, 0 ft 6 inches
e — e, 1 ft 7 inches

27. Linggam? Low (1848) mentions that "other stones lay about the Battu Berhala, one of which appeared to have formed part of the shaft of a column, but they were so broken, that nothing certain, as to their original shape or uses, could be gathered from these fragments".

This description could hardly apply to the *ganesa*. No other stones are now to be seen on the hillock. It seems—especially in view of the known movement of the *nandi* (B. 19)—quite likely that other objects may have been removed from this site by local natives. And Low's account implies a broken linggam, which indeed is the natural accompaniment of the *yoni*. Possibly one of the offshoots of the Bukit Berhala site is at Panchor, a quarter of a mile up river. There is a piece of stone, (Plate 13B) placed in a small knoll on the left bank of the Samarahan, just on the Serian (Sadong) side of the Panchor road bridge from Koching. It is rough quartzite shaped in a roughly "phallic" form, and marks the head of a grave. Height 11″, circumference round base 2′ 2″; a smaller rough stone pairs with it, standing 1′ 3″; away, and with height 4″, base circumference 1′8″.

This stone has an associated story of interest, which has been recorded by Mr G. Roberts, lately District Officer, Serian, (1948). The grave is that of Syed Kedah, a holy man who lived in Brunei:-

> "In those days Malays nominally followed the Hindu religion, but in practice they were poor ignorant people full of superstition and fear. Syed Kedah knew that Tuan Allah is the only true god.....so great was his zeal that he left his comfortable Brunei home and went out into the wilds to teach and to instruct. Finally, he settled in the big Malay Kampong of Bunkit Panchor, on the Semarahan River. There he laboured for many years".

He converted the "entire population" and on his death the grave was "carefully marked with two stones, for the place that houses the remains of so holy a man must itself become holy". It is natural to suggest that the conversion to Islam was accompanied by a parallel conversion of an adjacement Hindu-pagan object to a holy Islamic purpose. Banks has suggested, (1938, p. 188) that other relics "treasured in many neighbouring Land Dayak kampongs," may come from here, being "no more than the easily portable objects from this site". One of these may be a small column or stone at Emperoh Gerong across in the left branch of the Sarawak River, seen and sketched June 1949 (Museum file). Here, as at Batu Kawa (B23) there is a generalised story relating to a longhouse and petrifaction, which clearly relates to the Indian objects in particular. The relevant passage is summarised from the version told to me by the headman of Kampong Baru, the village at the foot of the hill, (March 1949);

> "Originally this area was inhabited only by (Land) Dayaks, and they had a long-house here. One day there was a feast. During it, two dogs copulated on the padi-drying platform outside the house. After they had copulated they could not separate and become entwined buttock to buttock as dogs often do. At this, the people began to laugh. Then there came a great wind and very heavy rain, which upset the house, and it became the hill (Bukit Berhala). And the dogs were turned into stone as they were, outside the house".

There is a strong tradition that the Dayaks in this area are descendents of immigrants from Pegu (Burma) as recorded by W. T. de M. (1885); and Banks (1938) says the stones are specifically ascribed to them. But Mr G. Roberts (1949) has doubted the Pegu connection. Though the evidence is slender, such a link is not improbable; other aspects of West Borneo culture indicate a possible trade link up to at least a thousand years ago with the gulf of Martaban.

(D) DELTAS OF (B)—(C)

The principle site in the coastal zone of south-west Sarawak is at Santubong, from which numbers of gold ornaments have come, as well as records of working gold dust (IV—VI). It is intended, during 1950, to make the first systematic excavations here.

Lying at the mouth of the Sarawak River, at 110° 20′ E. 1° 43′ N. it is a principal point of entry and exit to the gold-bearing upriver section at Bau, and to this day extensively used as a night port by sailing vessels from Sambas and Singapore. Behind the present village rises an imposing steep mountain, 2685 ft, of uptilted sandstones and shales, with some included iron pyrites. Iron slag and

crucibles are found over a wide area of the ground, and thickly round the Batu Gambar (27 below) and the carved gravestones (28). But there is no record or even traditional tale of persons working iron here; nor do we know whence the iron was obtained on such a large scale.

Round the base of the mountain, and especially along the true right bank of the main river, are considerable areas of flat land. It is on these that a heterogeneous collection of "Indian" or related item have been found over the past hundred years. Some of these have been described by Everett & Hewitt (1909), and Mr I. H. N. Evans (1929) examined some of the Santubong material from the Sarawak Museum—most of which has since been lost.

28. Batu Gambar (Plate 14A) is a striking relief carving of human type on a rock on the Jau'ung creek close to Santubong. I suspect, from air inspection, that this was once one of the mouths of the Sarawak River, which would explain the rock's present isolated position on the edge of an unpleasant mangrove-nipah swamp area. Ling-Roth (1896, II. p. 280) first illustrates the figure with a line drawing. Gould and Bampfylde (p. 39) have a photograph. Van der Hoop (p. 99) wrongly describes the figure as one "that Ling Roth found on a rock in North Borneo". W. Kaudern (1939, p. 187) has reproduced Ling Roth's figure with reference to his Celebes studies. The picture published here is of a cast made from the original, and now on display outside the Sarawak Museum; it is rather smoother than the original, which is gradually becoming more eroded.

Carved on a dome shaped sandstone boulder, 57 feet from the creek, at the foot of a hillock the figure is on a sloping face towards creek, 3′9″ high, 4′8″ across arm stretch, 4′3″ across leg-stretch, 0′8″ width of body at waist. Spread-eagled and apparently face down. Local people consider it female (as did Shellshear. 1925). There is no penis, and two small (? natural) holes suggest anus and vagina. But a type of **sexless** figure not unlike this is common among the Kelabits of the far interior (*cf* Harrisson 1948).

The peculiar feature is a sort of "trunk" or tapir-like probiscis to its left, though this is not mentioned by Everett (1909) who considers it "of Indian workmanship"; Shellshear regards it (1925) as a headdress.

It is possible that part of the headress on one side may have been eroded away, giving the proboscis effect, thouh it seems unlikely. It has, however happened on some of the Kelabit relief figures (one of which is illustrated in a plate to Sir Roland Braddell's paper in this symposium.

This stone was "discovered" by a Malay in 1886. In later years, the area was cultivated by Santubong people and many "related" objects were unearthed. Local tradition regards it as a "photo" of a woman, and though it has (unusually) no remembered legend, it is regarded as of "Hindu" origin, largely because sundry "Indian" objects, including the afore-mentioned and distinctive gold nose-clip (6a), have been found nearby. No-one to whom I have shown photographs is sure of any relationship, though Mr Basil Gray thinks it perhaps may be associated with figures used in seeking rain, and there are vague affinities with the Dongson culture of Indo-China. Shellshear (1925) refers to another figure on the Batu Gambar, "much smaller of the same design", but "the head has eroded away". This

seems to refer to an adjacement stone which has been cut. But I doubt if this ever had a head. It is more like some sort of sacrificial table.

My Santubong friends paid double tribute to this stone's powers. For nearly an hour we could not locate it exactly. They muttered and moaned and said: "It is always like that. If you want to find it, it makes it as difficult as possible. It is tough." A capacity for invisibility at will is characteristic of such revered stones, Batu Landeh (B24) being a specialist in this. Also, the iron slag all around is explained as the "*faeces* of the stone".

29. Santubong Grave Stones (Plate 15A). Between the present village of Santubong and the Batu Gambar a mile up river, are two unusual stone pillars, erected (and now cemented in) fifty yards on the river side of Everett's old coolie lines here. This locality is called Bongkisam. One of these is clearly that mentioned by Everett (1909, p. 13) as:-

> "crudely carved stone found at an elevation of 300 feet on the mountain .....it is about 4 ft high and 1 ft broad; its history is quite unknown".

He has a crude text figure of two of its four decorated top facets. The faces are considerably eroded, the clearest and most characteristic being that shown in my plate. It is not now as high as 300 ft above sea level, but it is not clear whether or not the present site is the original one. For at one time, these stones were removed to the Sarawak Museum. Then people started to cultivate the Bongkisam section and the stones were remembered and their site marked—after a dream which reminded the people of the exactly correct site. Presently Everett was taken ill and treated in Singapore. Treatment was of no avail and he had to go to England. His Dayak wife, Limau Merjan, very worried lest he be unable to return, made offerings and prayers at the old *kramat* site. Eventually he returned; then she, voicing public opinion, attributed his recovery to the site, and begged him to ask for the return to it of the original (and even more efficacious) stones from the Museum. Everett made representations to the Resident at Kuching who, with the Curator, summoned the Santubong people to take the stones back, and re-install them (about 1910?). The top of one is now cracked and balances precariously upon the base.

The decorated stone is 2′7″ (out of the ground), 11″ wide, and 8″ deep. It is rectangular, well faced, but the top slopes a little to one side. There is an inset "collar" below the engraved area, 8½″ from the top. This is, from the measurements, clearly the same as the one briefly described by Everett, but Shelford (1901) seems once more to have been in some confusion when he wrote of:-

> "a roughly squared column of sandstone, 4½ ft. high, tapering from the base which measures 11″ × 6½″ to the apex 8″ × 3″. On each side of the base (sic.) is carved in relief a phylomorphic pattern".

Beccari (1904, p. 365) mentions seeing "two monumental stones" from Santubong in the Museum. It is not clear if the second, and lower, stone of the pair, 2′8″ high, 11″ across at base and tapering to a foliate top, was at the same spot as the other or a subsequent acquisition.

Shellshear appears to have confused these stones with the unworked "dragon stones" on the beach at Santubong (cf 24, above). Some of the other locals, who are a mixture of Melanau, Malay, and much else, say the grave is that of a Sultan of Sambas who died here en route to Brunei long ago.

But Mary Murjan, niece of Everett, now aged 70, gave the fullest information yet recorded (Feb. 1949):-

> "After the stones were returned from the Museum, one of the ruling family of Pontianak came to Santubong. He had heard from his father of ancestral talk that long, long ago one of their family, second brother of the then Sultan of Pontianak, had journeyed to Brunei. In those days Pontianak paid homage to Brunei and made periodical visits. Now he sought his ancestor's grave. At this, the village people thought it must clearly be these stones, and thus informed him, to his delight."

This tradition seems to have some historic basis, which may well have been modified subsequently. The story may be older than the Brunei Mohammedan sultanate, and the journey have been of the Hindu period,—when Brunei was the northern centre of Majapahit. The designs certainly do not appear to equal anything of Mohammedan character, and are vigorously denied as such by leading local Malays. But no-one to whom I have sent or shown photographs of them in other countries has so far offered any other solution. They are included here as much because of their association with other objects in the locality as for their particular characteristics. If not "Indian", the influence is distinctly "foreign".

30. Yoni and Linggam? At Santubong, Everett (1909, p. 13) mentions a "cylindrical block of sandstone about 6 feet long" with well-smoothed surface and carefully rounded ends, indicating human workmanship. This sounds much like a *linggam* and stood "near the Government bungalow". In 1939 the bungalow was rebuilt and the site flattened out more carefully. In the process, what I assume (in the absence of other data) to have been this stone (which has not been otherwise described) was upset and smashed. Examination of the remains suggest that it had been hand-worked, but into a rectangle rather than a cylinder? Local informants now say it stood about 3½ ft. out of the ground and leaned on another stone—which is often the way with Bornean monoliths, especially when transplanted, as they frequently have been.

It is tempting to relate this to yet another stone, described by Everett as a large block of sandstone in which a shallow rectangular cavity has been cut. He describes this as near his house. In two early visits I could not locate this; but on a third, I found what may be it, not at the well-known site of his final home, but at the Bongkisam site, 100 yds downhill from the gravestones (D 28, above).

This Bongkisam stone is something between a very crude *yoni*, subsequently worked for another purpose, and a trough deliberately made in the stone. Like Batu Gambar (D 27) there are quantities of iron slag about, and it is said that several of the "Hindu" gold objects obtained by Everett were found between this and the gravestones (D 28). The rock stands 1½ ft, out of the ground and is about 8 ft long, roughly flat on top. It has a rectangular depression, 4″ deep, 30″ long and 18″ wide, quite well made but worn by constant rain-water.

31. Pedestal with feet. This part of a definitely Indian sandstone object, now in the Sarawak Museum (no. 2143), was found by a Malay while making a garden at Santubong (according to the catalogue), and presented in 1918 by Everett. Its base is 1¾″ high, 4½″ across, with an inset groove halfway up. It is carved into a lotus petal pattern of a formal sort. On this are two feet, an inch high, sloping forward—as if the forelegs of a beast couchant. There are five toes clearly marked on the left foot. There is a hole through the narrow stone section which joins these two forelegs above the knee; above that the figure is broken off.

Some animal or other figure was presumably attached, though it is not easy to visualise exactly what it was—certainly not a bull or elephant. Like all the Santubong items (above), this one does not fit clearly into any familiar category. It may be regarded as Indian, but perhaps Indian at the same Javanese or other remove as the Limbang rings and other gold objects (VI).

32. Terracotta figurine. A 2½" long headless clay figure, burned to chocolate colour and apparently of terracotta or clay, was found near Batu Gambar (Everett, 1909) and is now in the Sarawak Museum (No. 1283). It has been examined by Evans (1929, p. 33).

It is a delicate little object and feminine. The hands are crossed above the breasts; there is a collar, ornate shoulder cords crossed at the back, an armlet above each elbow, and a loin cloth with serrated edge. Although there are no shown legs she is surely formalised in a cross-legged or kneeling position of tranquility, above a simple pedestal which is broken.

Everett considered it a "female Hindu deity", and the Indian atmosphere is evident. But not until Mr Basil Gray showed a cast of it to Mr T. M. Rama Chandram could I get closer identification. He identified it as *Tulasidavi*, a figure associated with the tulasi plant. The tulasi (*Ocymum sanctum*) is considered by Brahmins to be the wife of Vishnu, and is the object of much veneration as a purifier and salve, both ritual and medicinal.

33. Pottery from Santubong (Plate 16 A). At least eight pots or jars of possibly Indian character have been recovered from about Santubong, usually in fishing nets. Two were obtained for the Sarawak Museum in 1888 (Nos. 828 & 829) and are catalogued as "old Hindoo" pottery, 3½" and 3" respectively, one with some brown glaze and the other unglazed. In 1925 Dr Shellshear obtained a crude, irregularly shaped pot by purchase at Santubong (No. 2364), and I got a similar one in 1949 (AC/49 in Santubong archaeological series). These pots somewhat resemble certain early peasant Chinese kind, but Shellshear (like persons to whom I have shown photographs) apparently preferred a western influence. Three other items are illustrated in Plate 16. It has not yet proved possible to identify them certainly at all, although copies have been seen by the Institute of Archaeology (London), and those concerned in the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum. To me there seems a certain atmosphere of Khmer, but Professor Coedes did not register this when I showed him the photographs. Publication may lead to further comment, which will be welcomed.

In 1949 I also obtained, from a Santubong man, a small vase (AC 5/49, Santubong series), which is evidently of the same origin as the Sambas amphora (A 18, above). It has a similar reddish body, bright yellow and green glaze, though much smaller and simpler. It is said to have been found in the ground at the Bongkisam site (*cf* D 28, above). Whatever its origin, this sort of ware can hardly originate from *east* of India?

34. Muara Tebas Stone. Mr. Banks tells me that at Muara Tebas, which lies on the Santubong side of the easterly mouth of the Sarawak River, some Chinese not long ago re-erected what may once have been a linggam. The Hon'ble Mr D. C. White, (Resident, 1st Division, Sarawak) tells me of a stone near the wharf, regarded by the Malays as that of the ancestor of the present headman. They say that it was originally of nipah palm and became stone later (*cf* Batu Kawah etc., above). A certain Haji is once said to have doubted its petrifaction, and to have hit it with a sword; he was struck blind. When aircraft shot up Muara Tebas during the late war, the inhabitants rushed to touch the stone. The trees all round were torn and felled, but no person was hurt.

In general, along the coast from Santubong, between the main arms of the Sarawak River delta, are other vague but considerable Indian associations, which it is hoped shortly to investigate more fully. One site is named for a supposedly stone cow (Batu Sapi) and there are said to be stone deer too.

35. Pulau Laki Linggam (Plate 16C). Just off Tanjong Po is a small islet, which is regarded as a *kramat* site. Its name Pulau Laki is itself suggestive of the 20" *linggam* found there, associated with other less certain stones, and the grave of a famous Malay of the past, Haji Bujang, whose grave this stone (now in the Sarawak Museum) marked. It is 5¾" in diameter at its base. It is a cylindrical column, very slightly waisted over halfway up, and with the end tapering to a roughly rounded end, asymetrical because the stone has been worked only at one side, so that it has a diagonal slant at the top. Under the base is a circular inset rim. There are some uneven marks and grooves on the surface. The general effect is quite "phallic".

There is no proof that such objects are Indian, Hindu, etc., but the indications and associations in this area are strongly in that directon. Theoretically, Mohammedans may neither make nor erect *kramat* of this character (*cf* IX iii).

35a. Figure Base?

This is a worked pedestal or base, 6" high and from 3½" to 6" wide, with a circular lower part and an undercut ledge below this (in the same style as 34). From this arises what may be an arm or trunk, or a shoulder effect—evidently part of some figure. The atmosphere is decidedly Indian. The provenance is uncertain; in the Sarawak Museum it has no number, but it is believed to have been formerly in the possession of Mrs Everett, and to have come from Santubong. It is of quartzite.

(E) NORTH OF THE BATANG LUPAR TO THE BARAM

36. Datu Permaisuri's Grave: (Plate 14B). This is a low cylindrical stone with a polished domed top, in a graveyard near Miri. It is supposed to mark the grave of the famous female who seems to link Hindu and Mohammedan near-history in West Borneo, and for that reason deserves inclusion here (*cf* VIII, below).

No other possibly Indian object is known from this very large area, as is also the case with gold objects, (V).

(F) BRUNEI BAY AND ITS HINTERLAND

Despite supposed Majapahit and Sri-Vishaya links (VIII & X) only one Indian type non-gold object has been found in this area.

37. Limbang Ganesa, figured (but not described) by Moulton (1922, p. 210). This, the only complete *ganesa* from West Borneo, was found while coolies were levelling a site for the Residency at Limbang (1921), in a site about 100 feet above the right bank of the river not far from the mouth, and under the foot of Bukit Mas, on the side of which most of the Limbang gold objects were found (V iii). It was about 3 ft below the surface, in a clay soil lying on its face. Beside it lay a large square block of worked stone on which it presumably rested. The figure is seated, its feet touching evenly sole to sole. The head is surmounted by a triple crown in the manner of a Siva headdress, rather unusually. One hand rests on the characteristically distended belly, the other (right) holds a "serpentine" sceptre, which passes under the trunk (which curves to the left) up to the left shoulder. It is seated on a typical lotus "throne".

The "stand" is roughly squared and about 18" at the base, tapering up slightly (height 13") to the top. It tapers unevenly, more on one side than the other. The *ganesa* itself 24¼" high 12½" wide at the base, and with the back (of the throne) tapering to a rounded tip behind the crown. The lotus throne is 3½" high; the trunk 10¼" long; the wing—like ears are 3" long; the headress is 6½" high. The whole is handsomely executed in an unassuming way. The figure has been well finished and smoothed but the block shows marks of working by chopping and is not smoothed off (perhaps it was not visible in the original site). The material is a hard quartzite, similar to that of the *nandi*, *yoni* and *ganesa* from districts B and C but rather finer grained. When first found at Limbang it "caused great excitement among the natives, numbers of whom have been to inspect it. They believe it to be a Jin, and say it was most fortunate a piece was broken off, as that prevented it from escaping" (Anon. 1921, p. 28). When first put on display in the Sarawak Museum it was "examined with eager curiosity throughout the months by numerous visitors..... close to ten thousand having been registered" (Anon, 1921, p. 104).

Moulton showed photographs to Dr H. J. Krom and Sir John Marshall (then Director-General of Archaeology, India). Krom paralleled it with Mt Kumbeng figures from East Borneo, but thought this one "of more direct Hindu origin and therefore probably older (6th or 7th Century)". Marshall considered it "similar to the ordinary type of *ganesa* in India", but pointed out that the foot position is not characteristic, and perhaps Javanese, while the general atmosphere of poised contemplation is "not known in India". He dated the figure at perhaps "somewhat earlier than 13th Century". Banks (1937) has followed Marshall's attribution—"about the 13th Century". Professor Sastri refers to it in a letter about the Limbang inscribed ring (9 in V, above), pointing out that *ganesa* and ring inscription could both well be 13th to 14th century.

(G) NORTH OF BRUNEI BAY:

The negative already recorded for gold objects (V) is confirmed. I cannot do better than quote once more from Mr H. G. Keith (17.2.49), who has taken a life-long interest in these matters. Referring to the territory of North Borneo as a whole he writes:

> "There is **nothing** recorded and I know of nothing attributable. Otley Beyer in "A History of the Orient" (Steiger, G. N., Beyer, O., & Benitez, C.) tentatively suggests Hindu immigration and settlements here, but I have never been able to find anything remaining. The only thing Indian I have ever found is a jar, of some age, but an isolated find like that proves nothing, as it may well have trickled in by trade from somewhere else".

(iii).—*General Indications.*

The non-gold objects with more or less Indian associations are usually more difficult to pinpoint than the gold ones. One reason for this is the ease with which materials like stone lend themselves to improvised local usage almost anywhere without any definite craft. And the ceramic objects are so generalised in style as to provide no certain local clues. Several of the objects, notably those from Santubong, are decidedly puzzling. But, taken in their

general context, it would seem that the majority of those listed above do belong broadly to the pre-Islamic pattern, however bastardised (*cf.* XI). For instance, the relief rock and the gravestones at Santubong probably link somewhere—however uncertainly—with the bodyless pedestal and feet, and with the headless *tulasavari*.

Such breakage is another serious obstacle in this case. The Rajah's *nandi*, if complete, might give us a clear iconographical link. But, like the only definite *yoni* and one of the two *ganesa*, the necessary details are no longer distinguishable. We are left with the Kuching "river goddess" and the Limbang *ganesa* as objects of clear character. But these have few peculiarities. The most we can do is to deduce a fairly late date; and possibly other influence superimposed on the basic Indian?

These West Borneo objects show, as a whole, a certain simplicity and strength which may amount to something of a local characteristic—or decadence, if you hold that point of view. Local manufacture, or importation from places not very far away, seems quite likely, and the quartzite usually used for the stone objects is available immediately, for instance at Satang Kechil Island off Santubong (D). Santubong, with its parallels to Hindu Kuala Selinsing in Perak (*cf.* VI iii, above), may have been a local centre for this kind of activity. It is hoped that the 1950 studies will afford us an answer.

VIII Golden Legends

While making the present study approximately 50 legends and stories connecting with gold have been recorded. Taken in conjunction with previous recorded material there is once again, as with gold and other Indian objects, a marked concentration in the south-west corner (districts A—D) and again at Brunei (F). This material can only be dealt with in a brief summary here.

(i) *The Golden Monkey.*

A characteristic story in this group was recorded at Biawak, on the border between Lundu and Sambas (Dec., 1948). It tells how a Land Dayak woman catches and kills a monkey continually robbing her crops. Her husband tries to carry it home but finds it turned to gold and so heavy he cannot carry it. In a dream, he is told to obtain yellow cloth in which to wrap it; then he will be able to carry it. The only person from whom he can obtain yellow cloth is the Sultan, so he wanders off and tells his story to the Sultan of Sambas, after some obstruction. The Sultan agrees to go with him; with the yellow cloth he supplies, he and the Dayak are able to carry the monkey. The Sultan gives one golden ear to the Dayak as a reward, and this is still preserved at the village of Riam near Sambas. The Sultan took the rest.

In the case of petrifaction, follow-ups frequently reveal that there is some man-made stone as background for the story (VII). In the case of aurification, at least one tale has been followed up to a material source, a necklace.

(ii) *Manging's Golden Necklace.*

In 1875 Denison recorded the story of how a Land Dayak named Manging from Senah (near the Pengkalan Ampat gold centre) went to Java. Later, by his cunning, he become Rajah of Java. After a long absence his son, left behind in Borneo, visited him there. Manging wanted to return to Borneo with his son; but he was prevailed upon to remain. So, as a gift, he sent back a gold necklace made in snakelike form. The then chief of Senah told Denison that he was the 13th in descent from Manging, "whose house turned to stone". Denison was then shown the object, a gold necklace with small links like "imitation snakes", which had "all the appearance of Hindu manufacture".

During May and June 1949 a more local and intricate story of Manging's exploits was recorded, again closely linking the Land Dayaks with Java, especially the village of Emperoh Gerong (near Pengkalan Ampat), where the people trace descent from Sukang in Dutch Borneo. According to enquiries kindly made for me by Father Howes of the S.P.G. Mission at Quop, some of Manging's direct descendants now live at Kampong Annah. In a letter of 21.3.49 he writes:

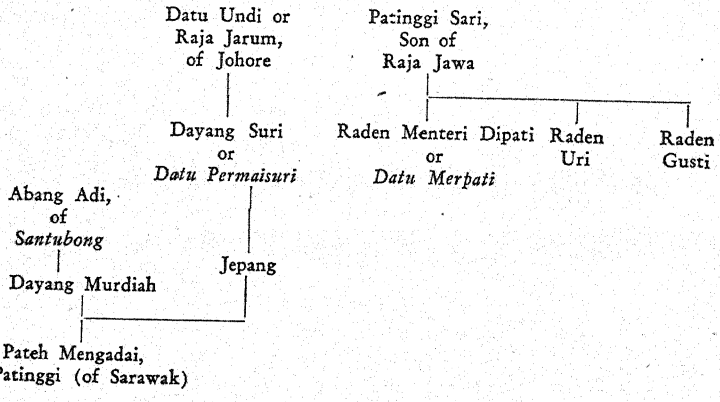
> "Nio claims to hold the necklace looking like a number of small snakes linked together. Samen has a piece of gold which was brought there from Java with the necklace."

The Land Dayaks from the village of Terbut, near Serian, have a story that shows considerable parallels with that of Manging. In this tale four brothers go to Java. The eldest, Siju, dies there. He then returns to Serian in the form of a frog, to guard over his people. This frog is stolen by another group, but Siju outwits them and they only get away with his *barowan,* a "necklace of gold". But both thief and necklace are then turned to stone and are still to be seen at Sinakan Tuma. Here again, I asked for Father Howe's help. He reports that the frog, said to be made of copper, is still in existence there, though no outsider is allowed to see it.

Among the Sea Dayaks, Mr A.J.N. Richards has pointed out (1949) the leading part played by Kling Aji, apparently a Javanese character, in their mythology. But the most persistent link with Java and elsewhere, running all through this area, comes from the legendary figure Datu Pati, in his various pseudonyms.

(iii) *Datu Pati.*

His treble associations—with Santubong Bay, with Malays and with Java—are most clearly indicated in the family tree of some of the leading Malays in Kuching today, as recently recorded by Haji Yusop Sibli (Sarawak Museum archives files).



According to the Santubong version "Dipati" was driven out of Java to Johore; married the Sultan's daughter (as on the Kuching genealogy); was carried out to sea by a storm to Sukadana in Dutch Borneo, where his sister married the Sultan. Thence he went to Sambas, where his other sister married the Sultan of Sambas. After that he came to Tanjong Datu, and took over new territory for himself, with the new name Datu Merpati. He settled at Santubong, where he had a fierce fight with a dragon or monster, whose head became the stone at the mouth of the Santubong entrance, the (petrified) tail going upriver to Batu Landeh (*cf.* VII B).

He has a long sequence of subsequent adventures, centring on journeys up into the interior, including Batu Kawa; his exploits on the Sadong (district C); the capture of his wife (Datu Permaisuri) and her escape to Brunei with their son. Later Datu Merpati seeks her. In one version a dragon helps him on his quest with a charm of gold. Everett, in 1909, recorded a version in which the whole dragon is of gold; and it gives Dipati one of its scales, "which by the way is still in the possession of one of the nobles of Brunei".

Datu Permaisuri is, in most accounts, said to have been buried at Miri (*cf.* VII E); but in some cases she is supposed to have died there on her way back from Brunei, in others to have been carried there from Tanjong Datu. Among the Sibayau Dayaks who mainly inhabit the delta (D) area, Datu Pati emerges 15 or 16 generations back, when he marries a spirit ancestor of these

Dayaks, who is in turn the great-great grandson of their founder Allah Ta'ala (*cf.* Walker 1949).

Among the Land Dayaks on the Sadong (C), Datu Pati appears as an associate of their progenitor Padat, who came from Java. Among the Land Dayaks of the Grogo district, near Bau (B), one of their most important ancestors is Bondi, who married Merpati, the "daughter of the Sultan of Brunei". He (or she) appears also in the earliest stories of the Kedayans and among the Melanaus of the Niah area.

It seems to me that the many-faceted Pati-Merpati represents a transitional period round about the introduction of Mohammedanism, symbolised even in his own name change on reaching Santubong Bay. I think he was probably one of the last of the great figures from Majapahit Java to come to West Borneo, and that his story has become considerably Mohammedanised, as is obviously the case with many characters in the written Brunei stories—and is even more probable in the purely spoken Dayak legends.

Professor Beyer (in Steiger 1929, p. 120) has emphasised important Panay manuscript material in the Philippines, containing the tale of a Datu Puti, who fled with a party from Brunei as a result of a dispute, and became an important (non-Mohammedan) influence in Philippine settlement. Beyer relates the event perhaps too definitely to the early Hindu Empire of Sri-Vishaya, largely basing this on the word similarity: Vishaya = Bisaya. Professor Coedès draws attention to the outstanding *Pati* of Majapahit in 1331, who raised that Empire to its highest level.

(iv) *Brunei Traditions.*

Brunei written manuscripts are rich in golden allusions, and the throne of Brunei is said to have been at one time of pure gold (III). Again, there is a decided Javanese link-up in the early Brunei history. Sima'un (Sema'on), the brother of the "first sultan"—that is the first Sultan to be converted to Islam—rejects the bet offered by a princely visitor from Java (lines 501—509 of an unpublished Brunei manuscript in the Sarawak Museum):

patek membawa ayam sa-ekong
mahrajaleila manjawab kata
apakah petarohan kita yang nyata
malek Sema'on pula berpari
atau bertaroh badan sendiri
takot mandengar nakhoda di-kapal
sekadar bertaroh dengan tawakal
berkata lagi malek penglima
sapuloh laksa mata jelama

membawa bermain hendak bersabong
ayohai nakhoda kepala biranta
atau kepala intan permata
baiklak kita bertaroh negri
apalah gunanya intan baiduri
tiada boleh jalan manyesal
hendak bertaroh amas berbungkal
halanga amas disebotkan nama
baik berterpa bersama sama

The Javanese cock is defeated and turned to stone, its master becoming subservient to the Brunei native, who is not yet Mohammedan. Later marriage gifts are sent to the Sultanate of Malacca, an event which could hardly have occurred before 1400 A.D.

berapa intan bukan sadikit
pekayan dasu bertapeh intah
saribu ulon ditinggalkan
tikarnya amas besarnya lampit
kumbangnya mas beribu kaban
raja melaka sangat heiran
(lines 838-840)

If this and other Brunei manuscripts are any indication, in the 15th century (at the latest) Brunei was apparently rich in gold—presumably gold obtained from elsewhere in Borneo, in the same way as the tribute recorded at a later date (IV iv).

(v) *Golden Story.*

These tales do not contradict the picture already obtained from other and more material sources. They add and supplement its as follows:—

(a) with a further emphasis on Java;

(b) with further links to Sambas and Santubong etc;

(c) with further indications of a special activity in the (13th and) 14th centuries;

(d) with further indications of Brunei as a major gold entrepot, but still with nothing direct suggesting gold being mined or worked at any particular point;

(e) with very little of interest from the central section of the west coast (district E) or from north of Brunei Bay (G).

IX Other Megaliths

The association of Indian influences and stoneworks has often arisen in this report. Stones revered by all sections of the community are numerous in West Borneo, and seem to be especially so in two main sections—the south-west of Sarawak (B—D), and about and behind Brunei Bay (F). They are most abundant from Santubong (including several not detailed here, because clearly "natural"), on up the left branch of the Sarawak River. Frequently these are associated with petrifaction legends. Further study may reveal more intricate tie-ups between these items and pre-Mohammedan culture, although this is certainly not directly Indian, but rather a compound with Indian elements included?

Relics of a localised stone-carving interest are revealed in some stone figures found in a bank upriver from Saratok (C),

of no certain origin. These will be figured in a forthcoming *Bulletin of the Raffles Museum* (Series B).[16] And in the far interior the Kelabits have an active megalithic culture which (as I have suggested elsewhere) may link over into the Batang Kayan, and perhaps via Long Nawang to the Kutei in East Borneo (*cf.* IV i). There is no evidence that any of this contemporary work was ever Hindu or otherwise so directly influenced. Perry's statement (1927) that the Kayans "were preceded in the centre of the island by Hindus" is certainly far ahead of the data. But inward pressures from Islam, such as probably brought the Hindu objects up the Kutei to Mt Kumbeng, cannot be excluded as one of several relevant influences.

Stutterheim has pointed out that Javanese menhir-like stones appear to have been corrupted versions of *linggam* carried over into a royal ancestor cult, and he goes on (1937) to indicate one possible way in which "phallic" stoneworks may have been centred in mountain regions. Van der Hoop has lately elaborated on Professor Krom's association of some Hindu designs with Javanese megalithic objects, especially crude figures "exceeding all reasonable proportions". He particularly links the well-known "polynesian figures" of Java with "the last days of the Hindu-Javanese civilisation."

X Indian and.....

So many writers in the previous century have attested to Hindu and other Indian influences in Borneo, that there has been a tendency to accept general statements, often submitted on very slender evidence. For present purposes, we may try to distinguish three main kinds of impact. We shall never now be able to reconstruct these accurately. In many instances it was probably a matter of single individuals or items, accidents or errors.

(i) *Indian and Pagan.*

There is one group which has attracted many observers as indicative of direct Indian influences upon earlier pagan attitudes; namely the Land Dayaks of the south-west (districts A, B, and C of this paper). St John, Low, Brooke, Mundy, Denison, Hornaday, Earl and Beccari, all emphasise their Hindu affinities. Nowadays, it is not so evident, since the Land Dayaks have "lost" much of their culture. But in 1876 a writer in the *Sarawak Gazette* declared: "the traces of Hinduism so thoroughly pervade the manners, customs, and religious observances of these Dayaks, that it seems superfluous to refer to them."

Little scientific attention has been paid to this subject in Borneo, however. One of the few subjects so far properly studied is the handle on the native knife or sword of the Dayak, Kayan and Kenyah people of West Borneo. Professor Heine-Geldern has

demonstrated (1925) that these everyday objects of pagan carving and use show characteristics of Javanese-Hindu work of the 13th and 14th century. He states (p. 150):

> "We may infer from this that the Dayak sword-hilts in question have originally been copied from Javanese sword-hilts imported during this period. This seems the more plausible as the coasts of Borneo were under the supremacy of the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit during a part of the 14th century."

Similar parallels have been found on the Asian mainland and in the Philippines, where Steiger (1929) describes handles with "quite pure Hindu designs".

Borneo paganism has remained in many respects, stronger than anything that has impacted upon it. Whatever Indian beliefs came to Borneo, they were probably not spiritually so influential as they were materially and visually—as Crawfurd pointed out in 1820, when he wrote:—

> "The Hinduism established throughout the Archipelago was by no means of the same inveterate character as that of continental India. It had not laid a strong hold on the imagination".

On the contrary, it may well be that native pagan influences assimilated much of what came from India, turning it into something else; or, at the least, modifying it. It is evident that much of the Indian influence in West Borneo was late, and indirect. Geographically and numerically it did not appear to have penetrated far. Borneo took over Indianism, rather than the other way round —just as Sir James Brooke found Dayaks and Malays succouring a *nandi* made maybe 500 years earlier.

(ii) *Indian and Chinese.*

Although Chinese influence has been multiple and strong in Borneo gold and in Borneo life generally, right down to the present day, Buddhist (ex-Indian) influences from the Asian mainland appear to have had hardly any significance—if the existing data are indication. There is not a single Chinese Buddhist figure known from the area; even at the present time, with a large Chinese population, Buddhism has quite a small influence among the Chinese themselves. Many of them look to local *kramat* and belief as their daily yardstick of health and hope. Despite vast quantities of Chinese and related ceramics, I have only seen one with Buddhist indications—a commonplace celadon saucer with a "wheel" symbol stamped on the unfired clay (Museum No. 4755, from Kuching). Probably in the past, as now, the main Chinese influence has been

secular, artistic and economic during the Christian era. It is symbolic enough that one of the few definitely Chinese legends in Borneo tells how the emperor's sons came to *remove* the jewel guarded by the dragon of Mt Kinabalu.

(iii) *Indian and Mohammedan.*

It is usual to speak of the "overthrow" of Majapahit by Islam from the 14th Century, and Mr Tan has given a striking account of a "mighty force of rival missionaries" upsetting Sri-Vishaya. As far as West Borneo is concerned it appears to me that the process was more casual, or less decisive—just as, in the past 10 years, Christianity has made rapid strides in some districts, without "overthrowing" anything, and a hundred years after its nominal advent. "Taking over" is the more usual Borneo trend, I think. The "conversion" of Brunei—by marriage, sheikh infiltration and the exchange of rare gifts—is a fair example of what probably happened. Acts of violence occurred, but we have few signs of them. A find of gold at Limbang does not necessarily imply the cache of a hunted Brahmin, any more than piles of celadon at Santubong imply a desperate mandarin. The Sambas hoard has been confidently put in this "sword of Islam" class. But the incense-burner may well be a post-Islamic piece, and shows Brunei-ware affinities! And the jar in which those lovely figures were contained; what if we found it was late Ming?

In "taking over", the Mohammedans absorbed much that was pagan or Isdian—and there is a great deal of it surviving in Bornean Mohammedanism still. *Most* Hindu-type stoneworks have since acquired respected Malay characteristics (VII). Brunei ceremonial itself is full of Hindu elements, as Mr. E. E. F. Pretty has pointed out to me (*in litt.* 4.3.49). Even the annual "fertility" rite of *Semah* on the Turtle Islands in Santubong Bay is performed under the aegis of the Mufti and Datus, by Pagan Land Dayaks with, surely, Hindu associations.[17]

Brunei was, at the height of its power in the Mohammedan period, in nominal control of the greater part of Borneo. But this control was ineffective when it tried to reach far inland; that was no reason why Sir James Brooke so easily "took over" most of West Borneo. Islam barely touched the Kayans or Sea Dayaks. It obtained a political dominance over the Land Dayaks, who are accessible (in A, B, and C), and it has gradually and continually absorbed, from the coast, marginal groups such as the Melanaus and Bisayas. But if it was "overthrown" to-morrow (*e.g.* by Chinese communism) it would leave *no* fine buildings, indeed very little of distinctive character at all. For in West Borneo Mohammedanism has developed *out of* a section of the population; there has been no "mass invasion" or "overrunning"; it has been slow and gradual (*cf.* VII C 27); and it still goes on.

XI Geography and Sequence of Indian Influences

In this paper I have attempted to bring together all that is known about Indian influences and the related complex of gold in the western half of Borneo. The main points have been sufficiently summarised in each section. It remains to draw broad conclusions. But with so many gaps in our knowledge, and particularly with the near paucity of Borneo archaeology, any conclusions must be exceptionally tentative.

However, certain points emerge. There is a fairly intimate tie-up between the main gold producing areas and known objects of Indian and related origin. Large areas of West Borneo have as yet revealed no indications of direct Indian influence. On the other hand, indirect influences, for instance in pagan sword handles, are quite widespread. The general trend of such influences appears to have been largely overland from the south and south-east to the north and north-west. This line of movement also characterizes development of the gold-fields in historic time.

The direct evidence for gold mining prior to Mohammedanism is light. Circumstantial evidence is considerable. Indications of natives casually collecting gold dust for many centuries back is strong.

There is no proof of early gold craftsmanship, and indeed none of the gold objects found north of Sambas need be attributed to a particularly early date. And although the Sambas figures may be 10th century, it is quite possible that they were brought there by other people at a later date, like the Persian coin from Limbang. The objects in stone and ceramics are all dateable after the 10th century, too.

We do not know to what extent "Indian" objects were made locally. Many of those considered in this paper show distinct signs of local modification or atrophy—for instance, the Santubong gravestones, the inscribed ring, the Kuching figurine, and the lion. There are strong indications of Javanese secondary influence, but there are special local characters which are not "Javanese", especially at Santubong. Certainly, the cultural background which produced these objects was complicated by many different groups and influences at work.

The number of Indian indications is such that there is at present no reason to suppose that there were any large-scale settlements of directly Indian nature in West Borneo. Santubong is the most likely site of settlement yet known, but evidently this was far from being a simple colony of Indians or other uniform outsiders. All Indian indications of significance have come from the lowlands. Every site at which gold or Indian objects have

been found in West Borneo is either immediately adjacent to a tidal stream or on the low-lying area connecting the gold fields of Sambas and Bau. Practically all the objects and sites are on the Sarawak river system and the associated Samarahan river, in the Kuching area; or in the immediate vicinity of Brunei.

There is definite proof of early Indian contacts with East Borneo, but this is lacking in West Borneo, although many writers have assumed that it existed. The repetition of statements to this effect, without evidence, has given rise to the erroneous impression that the matter has been proved. I rather doubt if the early Pallava migration reached West Borneo directly. We even have no direct indications of the presence of the Sailendras. And whereas most genealogies in this part of the world incorporate a Sumatran influence, this is lacking in much of West Borneo tradition and mythology. If Sri-Vishaya had more than an ephemeral influence in West Borneo, we have as yet no sign of its strength. In fact, Brunei traditions indicate antagonism to that empire.

When it comes to the last "Indian" Empire of South-east Asia, Majapahit, the indications of contact and influence are quite numerous and strong, both through material objects and through traditions and legends which continually point to Java. These form a link with the Javanese ancestry of Malacca. It is probable that West Borneo only came into full Majapahit influence towards the middle of the 14th century; by the end of the century that empire was crumbling. Before this, however, Brunei had become the northern centre of administration, handling the Phillipines and northern Celebes, with probably some Javanese settled at the capital. From this, it was an easy carry-over to become the area head-quarters for Islam. The transition does not seem to have been a difficult one.

For West Borneo has received the last gasp of the ideologies of the West, the final faint ripples. Hindu influences just reached as far as the Phillipines, visibly petering out even in North Borneo. Arab influences and Mohammedism again just about reached their limit here, and failed to influence a large majority of the population directly. European influences followed much the same pattern. Part of West Borneo was one of the last places in the world to be brought under "control". Only since the war have modern methods of "colonial development" been applied to the British part of it—as the very last accretion to the British Empire.

Notes.

(1) *Ptolemy's Argentea Regio*, with the adjacent terrain of *Anthropophagi*, has not been at all satisfactirily explained by those who seek to pinpoint his places in Malaya (or elsewhere). Braddell (1941, pp. 38-9) has suggested that *Argyra* may refer to "the glittering antimony deposits at Tagora in the Bau goldfields area of Sarawak. The highest recorded output of this antimony

was 2,322 tons in 1872. Braddell has also suggested Ptolemy's Jabadiou may be the west coast of Borneo and that antimony gave it its "silver" attribute (1941).

(2) Landak has, over the years of historic record, been the main centre of diamonds in Borneo; it is immediately east of Montrado (see iii, below). Much of Holland's predominence in diamond-cutting arose from the Borneo supply. A considerable cutting industry grew up locally too, and it survives at Pontianak. The art is said to have been introduced by Sultan Sapoh of *Java*, and there were sixteen cutting places at Ngabong, centre of the Landak district, in 1838 (Posewitz). Unlike the gold-mining, much of the diamond seeking has been done by Malays.

While most of the diamonds have come from the south-west in what is now Dutch Borneo, further north in Sarawak they have been found fairly frequently in the Staal area of the Bau goldfield (IV ii) and on the Sadong and Samarahan rivers.

Brunei, though outside the diamond zone, is mentioned as an exporting point to China, where this jewel was at one time valued second only to jade —although Crawfurd in 1820 says the Bugis (from the Celebes) as the diamond traders of Borneo and diamonds are "in no repute among the Chinese". The well-known tale of the dragon of Mount Kinabalu, and how the Emperor of China's sons stole its jewel, may well be regarded as an allegory for Borneo diamonds (VIII). It is hoped shortly to publish a new and authoritative version of this important legend from manuscripts in the Sarawak Museum.

The most famous Borneo diamond was that in the possession of the Sultan of Matan, at one time valued at over a quarter of a million pounds. After many authorities had enthused about it, the jewel was found to be of rock crystal! Braddell (1949) has shown the significance of crystal in the early history of Borneo, especially in the Chinese trade. See also: Anon. (1922, p. 91); Braddell (1936, p. 22, & 1949); Boyle (1865, p. 68); Collingwood (1869. p. 224); Crawfurd (1820, p. 492); Earl (1837, p. 287); Geikie (1911, p. 195); Keppel (1866, 1, p. 43); Laufer (1915); Marryat (1848, p. 8); Pfeiffer (1855, p. 146); Posewitz; Rutter (1929, p. 40).

(3) Veth says the Dayak name for the district is Selakow, a term used today by a group of Land Dayaks who partly originated on the Dutch side of the border in fairly recent times, and inhabit villages on the Sarawak side, including one featured in the tale of the golden monkey (VIII).

(4) Sambas is nowadays local administrative headquarters of the south-west Dutch including Montrado. During the recent world war the Japanese executed the Sultan of Sambas and the Sultan of Pontianak. The latter's brother was in Holland, where he married a Dutch lady. He is now titular ruler of the whole of that part of Dutch Borneo; there is currently no Sultan of Sambas.

(5) It is also distinctly within the bounds of possibility that individual foreign travellers going up the larger (and comparitively safe) rivers by ship, taught some of the inland natives to work gold in simple forms and that this craft survived after they left. The influence of **individuals** and single **incidents** on the inner history of Borneo is very considerable, as I have sought to show elsewhere (1949).

(6) Posewitz (p. 369) quotes Everett and other sources for early Sarawak figures. His statement that "in the forties" Sarawak exported 7,000 ozs annually is based on Low (1848, p. 26), a rather wild guess and highly optimistic; while his citation of Veth (p. 326) for 1854 confuses a figure evidently intended to cover a much wider area. These quotations are therefore too high. His 1864—1866 figures, based on Everett are accurate, but only include direct exports from the territory, and are therefore too low.

(7) World production in 1938 was 37,165,000 fine ounces.

(8) In this table a small string of gold beads or a bunch of thin beaten gold "badges" belonging probably to one coat have been treated as a single item from the statistical point of view. The basis is the **find** of any gold object, or part of one, at the same place or time; a later **find** at the same place being counted afresh.

(9) It must again be emphasised that this paper deals only with gold mining to date. There is no suggestion that gold may not be found in the future in entirely new areas.

(10) For a good example of such object mobility, see the curious story of item B19, in section VIII.

(11) This term needs re-defining in West Borneo terms, and research is now being conducted at the Sarawak Museum in order to ascertain "Malay" origins more precisely.

(12) Nos 15—17 are not detailed; references I have seen for these: Banks (1937, p. 411; 1947, p. 29). A Banerji (1947) Bock (1882, pp. 47 & 119); Bosch (1925); Braddell (1949); Coomaraswamy (1947), Denison (1876, p. 7). Heine-Geldern (1936 & 1945); van der Hoop (p. 118); Miller (1947;) Nieuwenhuis (1900); Tan (1948, p. 34).

(13) The distribution and spread of the *Zebu* (Indian Cattle) would provide an interesting study in Indonesia. Within this century it has extended up from Brunei Bay via the Limbang and Trusan river into the Kelabit plateau.

(14) Similar worked stones occur in the Kelabit country. The report of this will be presented at a later date. (See also some notes by the present writer in the *Journal of the South Seas Society* (V. 2. 1948, pp. 41—46).

(15) Comparison with Bosch's plate of the Mt Kumbeng *ganesa* (1927, plate 140) suggests only moderate parallels, most marked in the "sceptre". The workmanship of the East Borneo specimen seems more formal, less assured.

(16) These figures are provisionally attributed to an almost extinct pagan group called Serus.

(17) A description of this ceremony by the present writer will appear in Vol. 23, pt. 3 (1950) of this Journal.

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III. In addition to references cited in the text see:

Subsection (ii): Boyle. 1865. p. 68; Collingwood. 1869. p. 224; Newbold. 1839. I. p. 430.

Subsection (iii): As well as the points cited, constant use has been made of Veth's detailed though sometimes partial account. More localised and much less scholarly is Van Rees (1860), whom I have not cited directly.

IV. Throughout this section the various Brooke volumes (with Mundy and Keppel also), and the first-hand accounts by St. John, Low and Helms are rich in information. For a later survey see Gould and Bampfylde. For some details on movements of native peoples see also papers by Elam (1937), Richards (1949), Roberts (1949) and Aichner (1950). For local, post-Posewitz, technical gold data see Geikie (1908, 1911), Scrivenor (1905), Lucas (1949); also Hornaday (1885, p. 479); Collingwood (1869, p. 225); Anon (1874); Crocker (1881), Everett (1878); Ling Roth (1896 II p. ccvii). Some specific points relating to China are from Goodrich (1948) and Latourette (1946).

V. VI. The basic material for these sections is unpublished material in the Sarawak Museum catalogue. Banerji, Bosch, Coomaraswamy, Gangoly, Groslier, Kempers (and many others), threw additional background light.

VII & VIII. Here the material is mainly from native informants or Museum catalogue sources. The Brunei Manuscripts referred to in VIII (iv) are, like most of the other legend material, filed in the Sarawak Museum and awaiting fuller study.

IX. A full study of Borneo megaliths is in preparation. See also for recent comment Banks (1937), Keith (1947) and Harrisson (1948).

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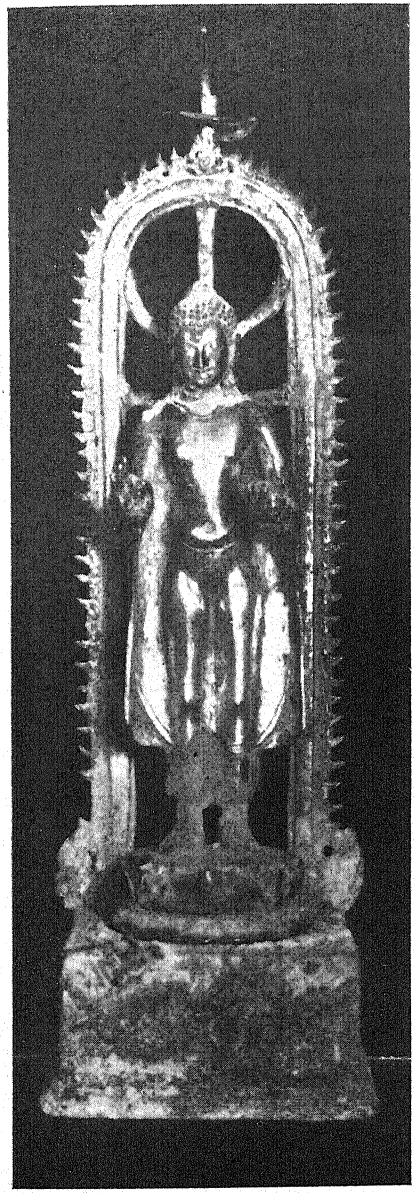
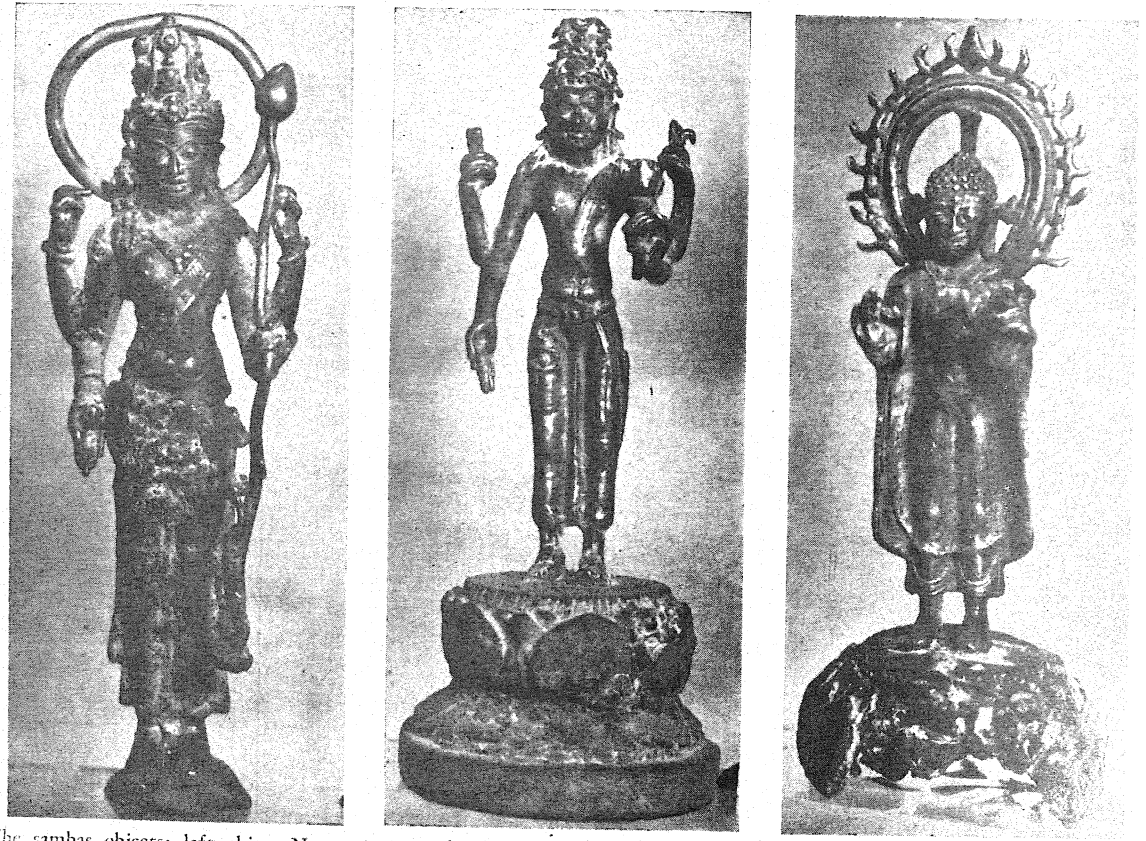


The Sambas objects; left object No. 1 (over-all height approximately 30 cms), right No. 2 (over-all height approximately 18·5 cms). Object No. 1 is made of silver; the remaining objects are gold, gold leaf covering or bronze.

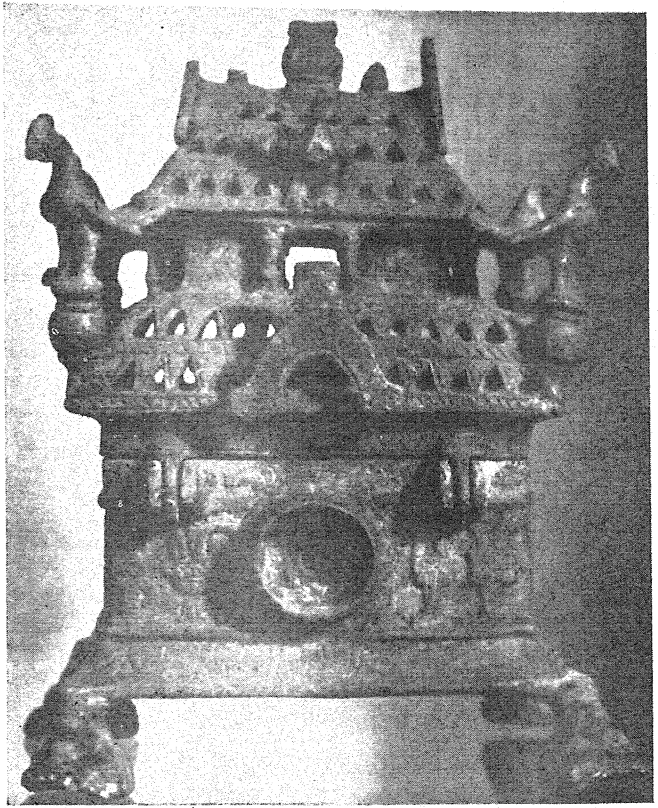
Details from two of the Sambas objects; left the head of the figure on object No. 1; right the head of the figure No. 3.

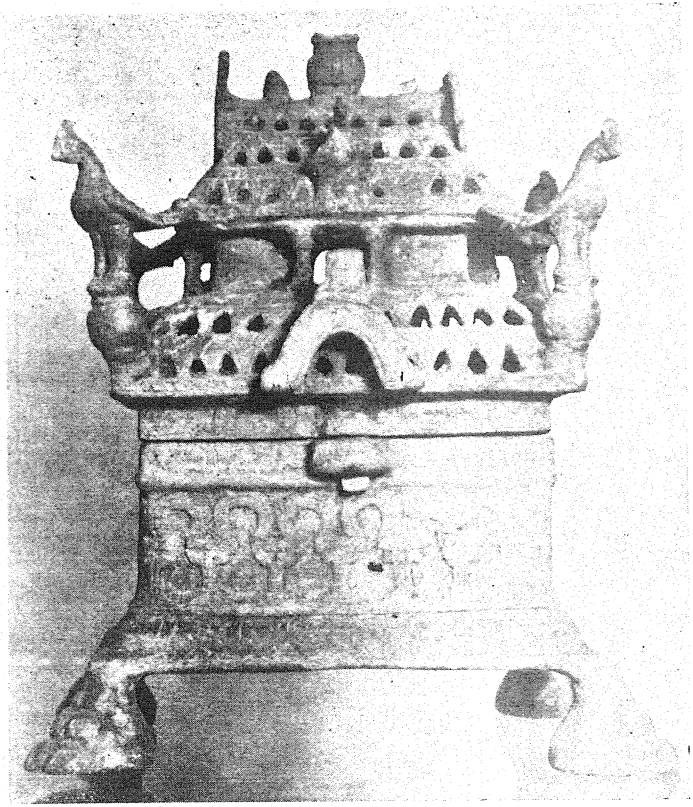


The sambas objects; left object No. 3 (approx. height 13.5 cms.), centre No. 4 (approx. height 13·5 cms), and right No. 5 (approx. height 9·5 cms).

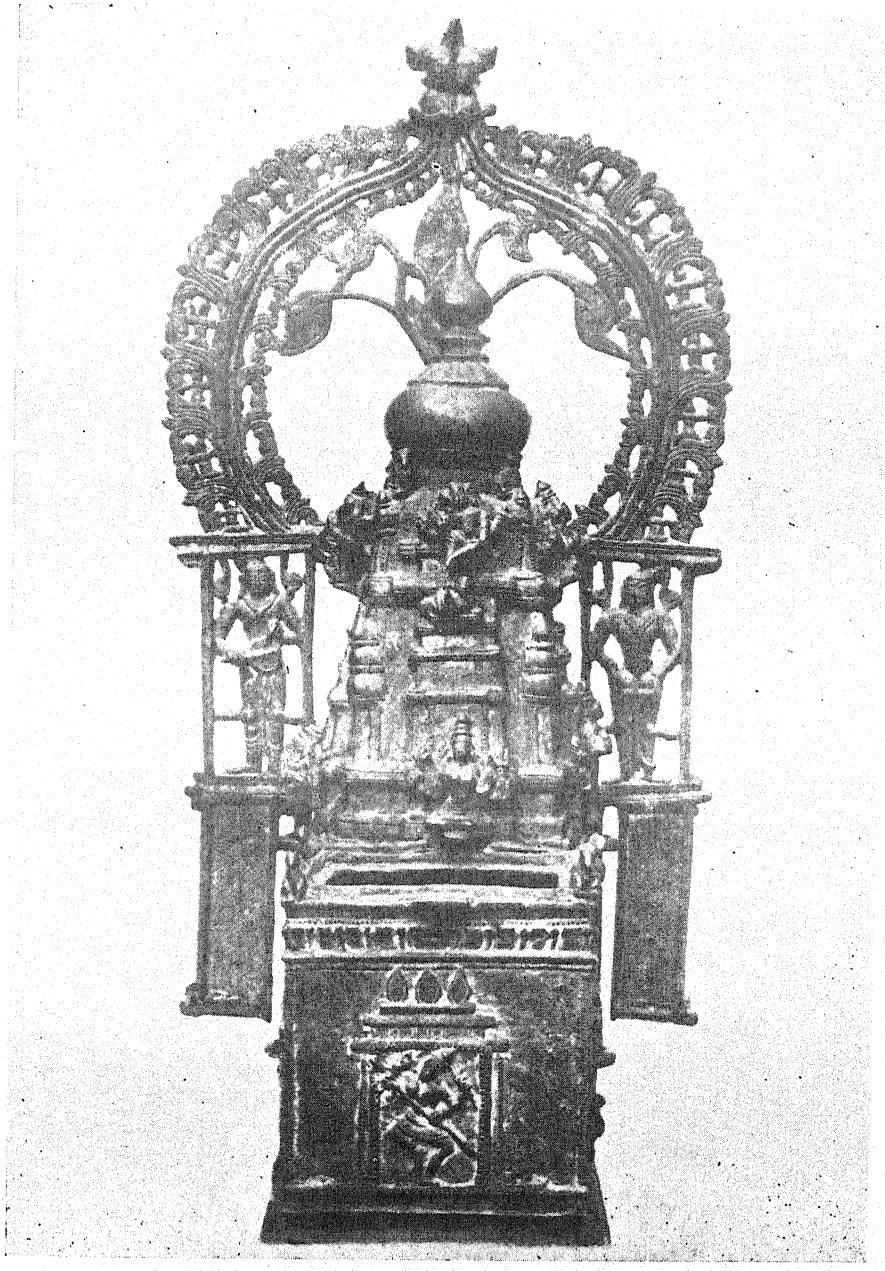
The Sambas object; left object No. 6 (height approx. 9·5 cms), centre No. 8 (height approx. 8 cms), and right No. 10 (height approx. 12·5 cms).

The Sambas object, left No. 9 (height approx. 6 cms), and right No. 7 (height approx 8·5 cms).

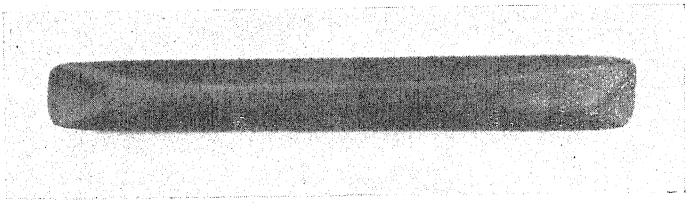




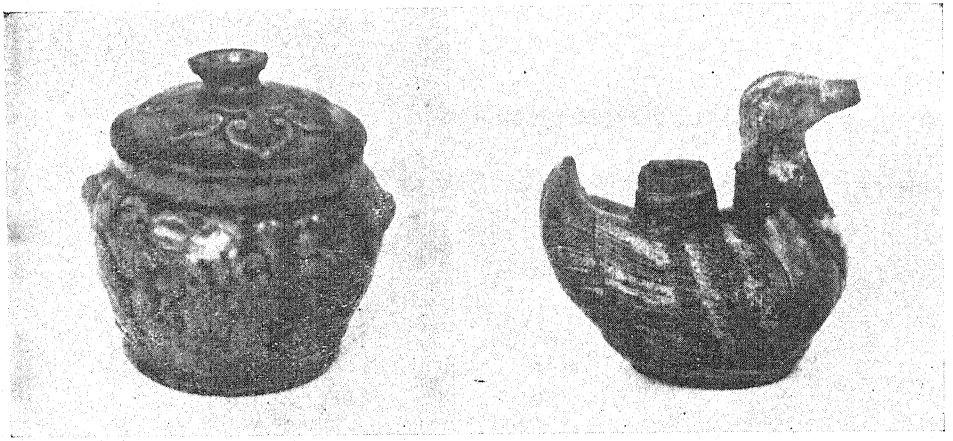
The bronze casket or incense-burner from the Sambas find (height approx. 17 cms.) This is discussed in the papers by Dr Quaritch Wales and Tan Yeok Seong.



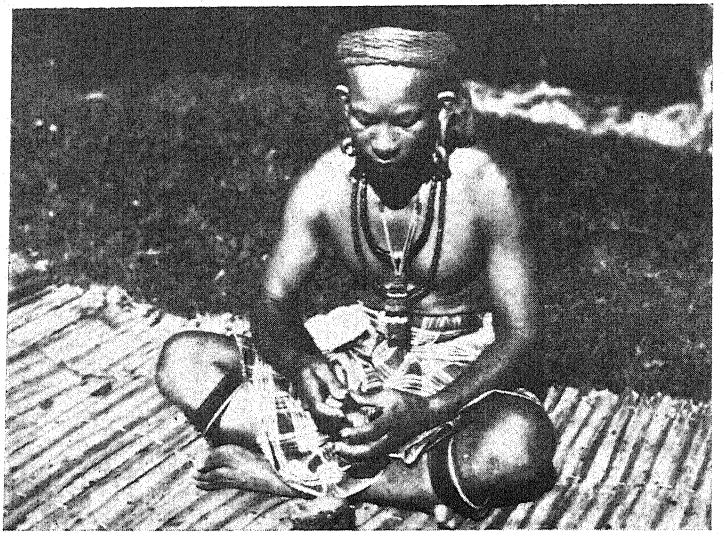
A later and more ornate casket in the Madras Museum. Note the seated bull of Siva at corners (see Quaritch Wales, *antea*).



A Murut Stone Impliment



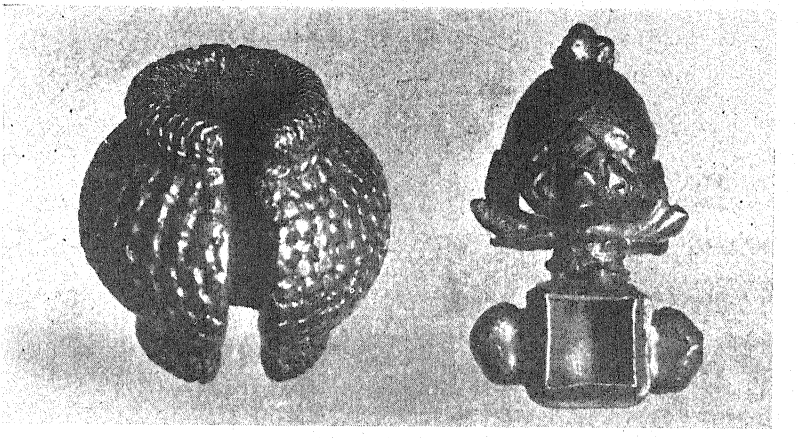
Left, a jar from the Kelabit Plateau—very light earthenware, buff in colour, glaze with blue opalescence, figures in relief of cock, deer and dragon. Right, an earthenware bottle, Kelabit Plateau.



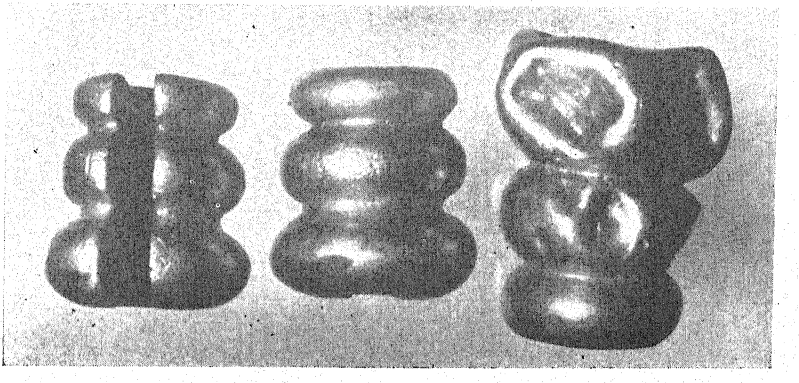
A Kelabit carving; he wears two necklets of very old beads.

(Photographs by courtesy Curator Sarawak Museum.)

9(A). A lion in gold from Limbang (item No. 1 in Harrisson section V).

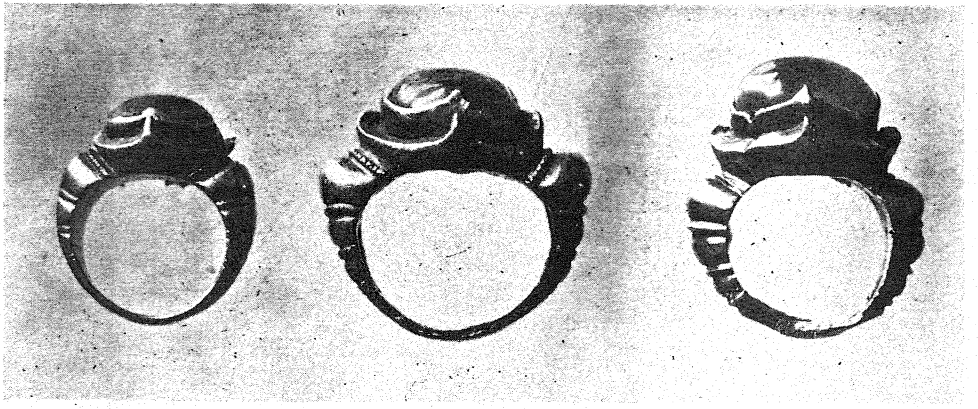


Left, 9(B), a gold nose-clip (?) from Limbang (item No. 6b in Harrisson section V). Right, 9(C), a gold ear-drop from the Sarawak River (*ibid*, item No. 5d).

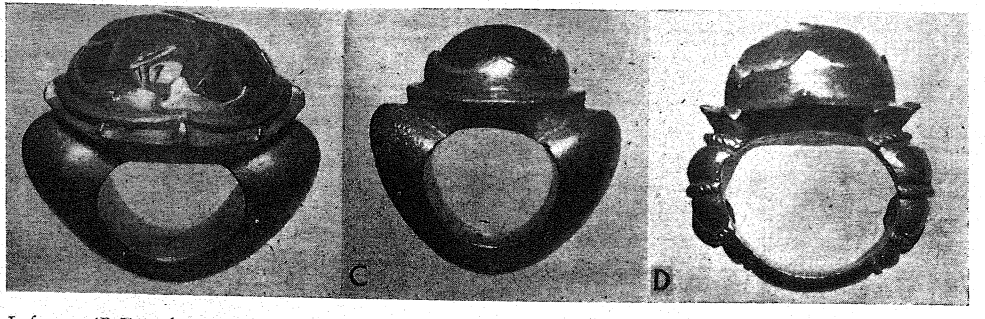


9(D). Three coat-fasteners (?) from Limbang (items Nos 7a-c in Harrisson). section V).

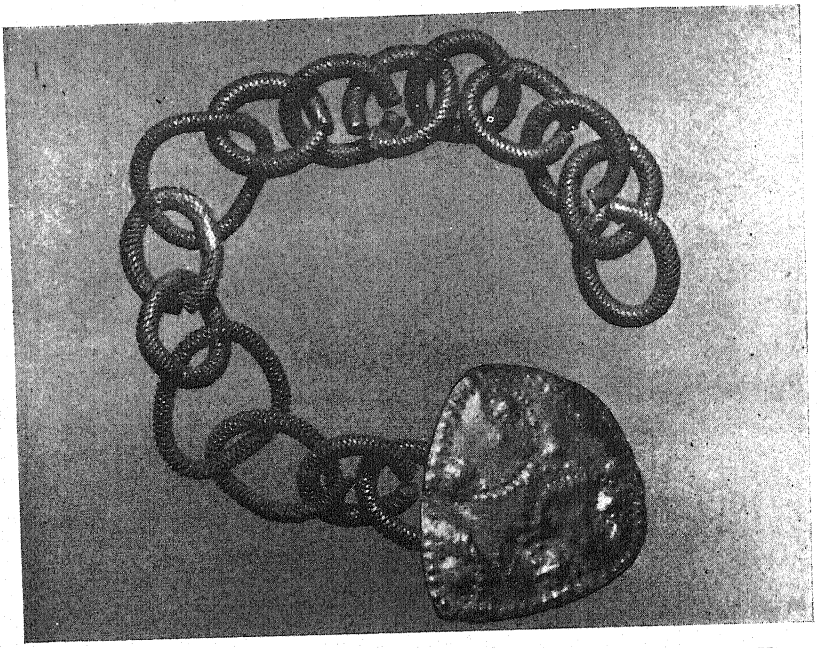
10 (A-D). Rings from Limbang; see Harrisson, section V. (A), a gold ring with Nagari inscription (item No. 9d). (B), a dolmen ring (item No. 11a). (C), a conch ring (item No. 11f). (D), a fish ring (item No. 11g).



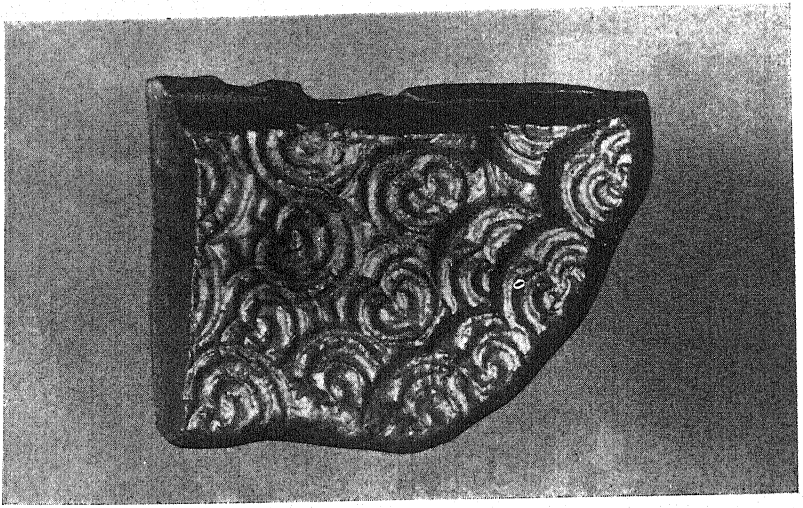
11(A). Three rings from Java in the Franks Collection (Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



Left, 11 (B-D), three rings from Limbang; see Harrisson section V. (Extreme left, B, a massive gemmed ring, item No. 11h; centre, C, a gemmed ring, item No. 11j; right, D, a collared gemmed ring, item No. 11i, almost identical with the largest of the three Java rings, 11(A) above). Extreme right, 11(E), a terracotta figurine, Tulsidavi (Hindu) from Santubong; item No. D.31 in Harrisson section VII.



12(A). Chain and buckle from Limbang; item No. 12b (in Harrisson section V).

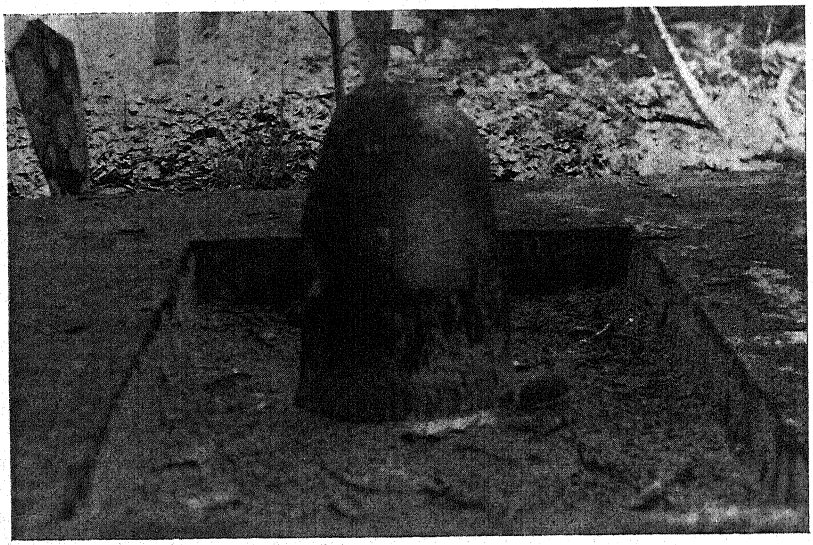


12(B). Gold bar or buckle from Limbang (item No. 14 in Harrisson section V).

13(A). View from Bukit Berhala over flats of Sadong River and to limestone hills in distance. In foreground is the site of the Ganesa and Yoni (section VII.C. in Harrisson; see also section XI).

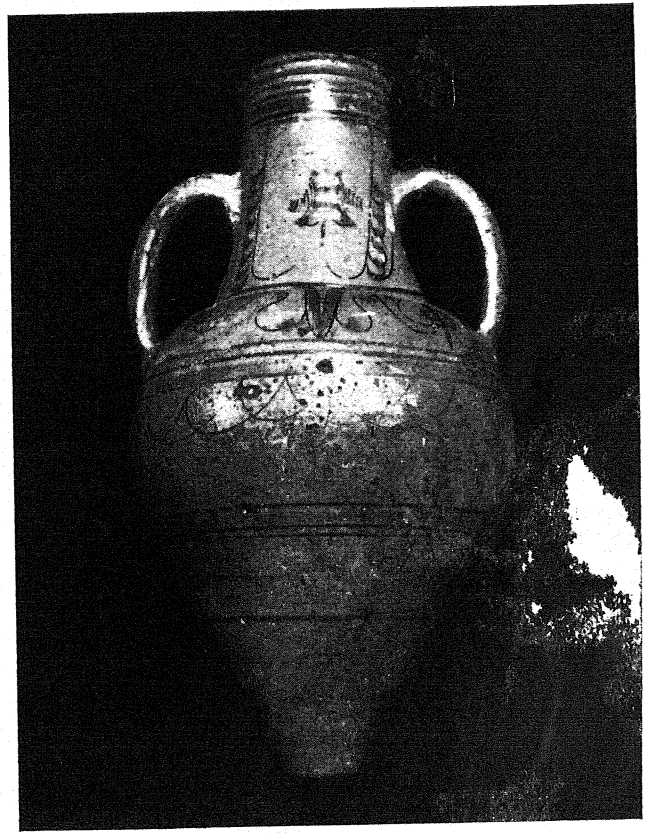
13(B). Village headman and informant from Bukit Berhala area with gravestone of Syed Kedah, Panchor (see section V, item No. D.26, Harrisson).

14(A). Batu Gambar at Santubong; item No. D27. (see section VII of Harrisson).

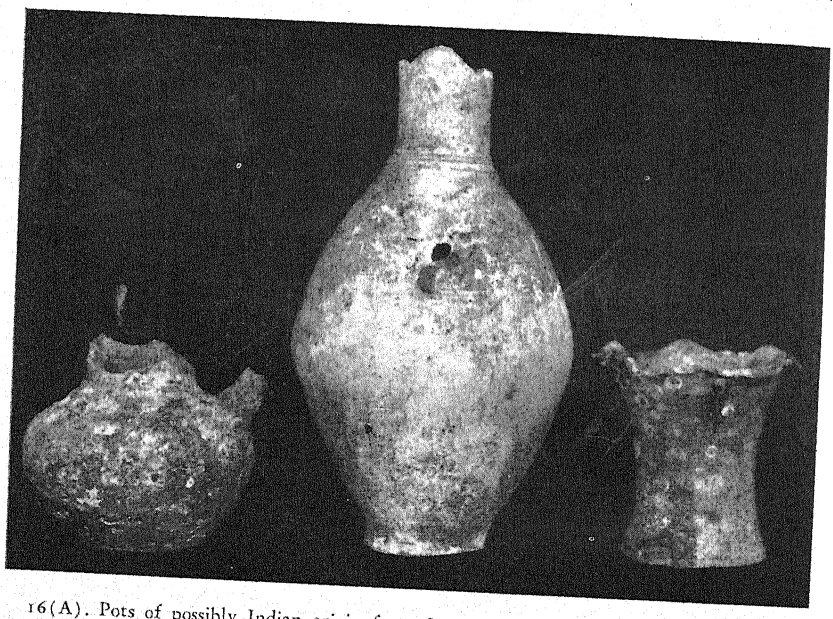


14(B). Gravestone of Datu Permaisuri at Miri (see section VIII E. of Harrisson).

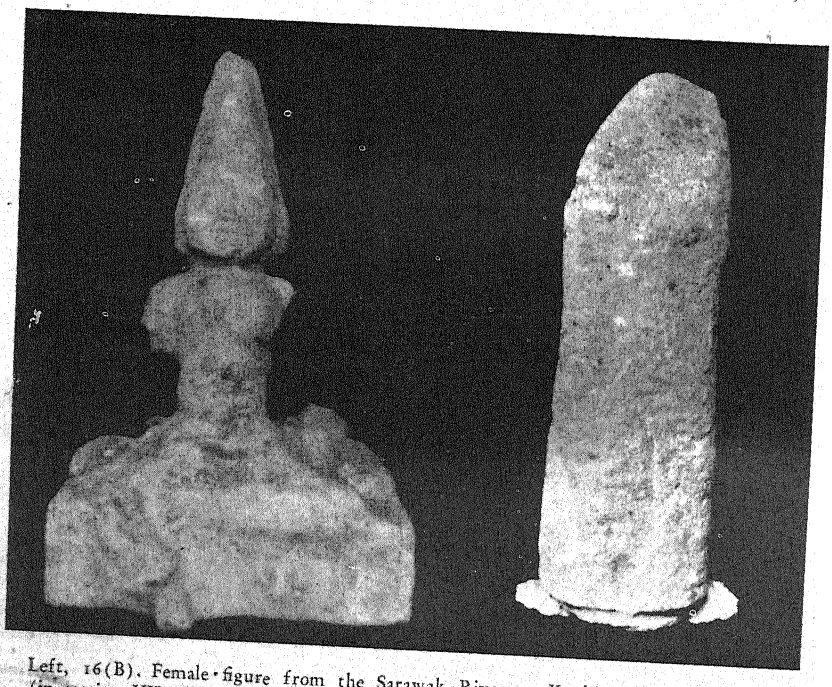
15(A). Gravestone with design in relief, from Santubong; item No. D.28. (section VII of Harrisson).



15(B). Amphora from near Sambas, item No. A. 18 (Harrisson).



16(A). Pots of possibly Indian origin from Santubong, item No. D.32 (Harrisson).



Left, 16(B). Female figure from the Sarawak River at Kuching; item No. B.20 (in section VII of Harrisson). Right, 16(C). Linggam from Pulau Laki, Tanjong Po, item No. D.34 (Harrisson).